Aristotle Poetics

EDITIO MAIOR
OF THE GREEK TEXT
WITH HISTORICAL INTRODUCTIONS
AND PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARIES

LEONARDO TARÁN
DIMITRI GUTAS

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Aristotle
Poetics

Editio Maior of the Greek Text with Historical Introductions and Philological Commentaries

By

Leonardo Tarán
(Greek and Latin, edition of the Greek Text)

and

Dimitri Gutas
(Arabic and Syriac)

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PREFACE

In the course of my research on Aristotle's *Poetics* I came to the conclusion that an *editio maior* of its text was indispensable for the scholarly study of this difficult work. While as a classicist I felt competent to deal with the Greek and Latin traditions, I needed the cooperation of an orientalist, given the importance of the Syro-Arabic tradition. Dimitri Gutas agreed to undertake this time-consuming and difficult task: his work appears as Chapter Two and in the Graeco-Arabic Critical Apparatus and Commentary. For the rest of this book I am solely responsible. I wish to thank Gutas for his important contribution, his patience in answering my questions, and his insightful cooperation at all times. I also would like to acknowledge the help of Gerhard Endress in January 2005, which decided me to seek the collaboration of an orientalist.

For the sake of simplicity, I refer to Arabic and Syriac words without the diacritics in the transliteration.

I am grateful to Nigel Wilson for his aid in obtaining copies, which were made around 1930, of the Oxford photostats of the *Poetics* part of codex *Riccardianus* 46.

I also thank the staffs of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and the Biblioteca Riccardiana in Florence for their unfailing courtesy, the Stanwood Cockey Lodge Foundation of Columbia University for helping to defray the cost of travel, and the anonymous referee for a number of suggestions. I am grateful to the staff of Butler Library for their help, especially to Karen Green and Mayra Melendez.

Last but not least, I would like to express my gratitude to all the scholars, since the Renaissance to our days, whose work, whether I agree with it or not, has contributed to the study of the text of the *Poetics*.

Leonardo Tarán
Columbia University

PREFACE

The last frontier in the preparation of critical editions of classical Greek texts in philosophy and the sciences is the full and proper utilization of their medieval Syriac and Arabic translations, which as a rule are primary witnesses that provide independent and ancient evidence. The Arabic translation of the *Poetics* has been known to exist for close to two centuries, and there have been repeated attempts to use this source by both classicists and orientalists, often working in tandem: Vahlen and Sachau, Immisch and Socin, Butcher and Margoliouth, Gudeman and Tkatsch, and Kassel and Walzer, to name the most prominent. The yield of these attempts has been relatively slight, however, but by their very shortcomings they have identified the problem areas. Most significantly, the Arabic translation has to be acknowledged as a primary witness for the text, with all its stemmatic implications, and its analysis, which requires sustained commitment and not merely ad hoc responsa, must be conducted, in depth and with greater caution and precision, on the original texts (Arabic and Syriac) and not on the basis of a translation to yet a fourth language. When Leonardo Tarán asked me to provide such an analysis for an *editio maior* that he was preparing, I readily agreed to the collaboration both because of the intrinsic worth of the project and the desire to cross this frontier for Aristotelian editions, which has been long overdue. I am grateful to him for his initiative and vision, for his incisive and erudite discussions that helped my research and sharpened my focus, and for a most congenial collaboration.

The essential document for the study of the Arabic translation of the *Poetics* is the unique Paris manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, 2346 Arabe. I wish to acknowledge here with sincere gratitude the service to international learning performed by the authorities of this venerable institution by providing on their site (http://gallica.bnf.fr/), free of charge, digitized images of their manuscript holdings, including this magnificent document. Because of the superior quality of the images provided, I was able to determine with precision the readings of doubtful passages.

I am grateful to all my predecessors, and in particular to Margoliouth and Tkatsch, for the work which they accomplished and upon which I could build. All analysis of translations is difficult and complicated if the

objective is to divine from the target language the wording of the underlying source text. It is particularly treacherous, uncertain, and frustrating when there is an intermediate translation, in this case Syriac, which is not extant. For their ready willingness to provide answers to questions, advice, and suggestions on sundry issues of morphology, grammar, and cultural context of the Syriac translation, I am indebted to my friends and colleagues in Arabic and Syriac studies, Sebastian Brock, Aaron Michael Butts, Alexander Treiger, Kevin van Bladel, and John W. Watt, to whom go my heartfelt thanks. All inaccuracies and expressions of uncertainty are mine, but they are attended by the hope that, thus localized, they can be an incentive to, and accordingly be corrected by, future scholarship when the philology of Greek into Syriac into Arabic will have reached higher levels of accuracy and sophistication.

Dimitri Gutas
New Haven, April 2011

ABBREVIATIONS

AAWW	*Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien.*
ABAW	*Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-philologischen Classe.*
AGPh	*Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie.*
AJP	*American Journal of Philology.*
BICS	*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* (University of London).
CAG	*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*. 23 vols. with 3 vols. of *Supplements.*
CP	*Classical Philology.*
CQ	*Classical Quarterly.*
CR	*Classical Review.*
GGA	*Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JP	*Journal of Philology.*
LCL	Loeb Classical Library.
MH	*Museum Helveticum.*
Peripatoi	*Peripatoi. Philologisch-historische Studien zum Aristotelismus.*
PCG	*Poetae Comici Graeci*. Ediderunt R. Kassel et C. Austin.
RAC	*Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum.*
RE	*Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.*
RhMus	*Rheinisches Museum.*
SAWB	*Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.*
SHAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften.*
TGF	*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* recensuit A. Nauck.
TLG	*Thesaurus Linguae Graecae.*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik.*

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER ONE

HISTORY OF THE TEXT OF THE *POETICS*

In the last ten years, while studying the *Poetics* as the work of Aristotle the philosopher, I found that interpretation of some difficult passages suffered from the lack of an edition providing sufficient information about the primary witnesses to the text. I therefore decided to interrupt my work in order to produce such an edition of the *Poetics*.

This chapter sets forth, among other things, the additional reasons that led me to do so. As pointed out in Chapter Three and in the *Notes to the Text*, the *Poetics* has suffered in its transmission more than any other authentic work of Aristotle, as is shown by the large number of emendations a contemporary editor must adopt. The majority of such emendations dates from the time when the four primary witnesses to the text (cf. *infra*) were still unknown. For this and other reasons (cf. Chapter Three (*k*)), instead of simply citing emendations by the name of their author I precede that name with the abbreviation ci. for *coniecit*. Many of those emendations, however, could be called palmary, the result of *divinatio* at a time when the readings of the primary witnesses were not completely known. The serious dislocations of the text are few, solved in many cases by likely conjectures or later supplied by the Arabic translation, e.g. Bernays' ἀνώνυμος at 1447b9. In short: the transmitted text of the *Poetics*, though inferior to that of other works in the Aristotelian corpus, required, unlike what was common in the twentieth century, to ascertain the readings of the primary witnesses while abiding by the rules of textual criticism and avoiding unnecessary emendations. And this, although the *Poetics* is one of the works Aristotle did not publish, and in spite of Strabo's unreliable story that Aristotle's technical treatises were rediscovered in the first century BCE in a unique and very damaged exemplar which was then badly emended. Consequently I decided to devote part of my Introduction to the fate of Aristotle's treatises from his own lifetime up to the presumptive time of the archetype of the *Poetics*. There is not enough evidence until the end of the Hellenistic age to deal with any individual work by itself; hence most of my analysis treats first the transmission of the whole corpus of Aristotle's technical writings. I also discuss in detail the reception and

history of the text of the *Poetics* from the fifteenth century to the present, since literary and philosophical interpretations often affected the constitution of the text. I occasionally explain, for the more general reader interested in Greek poetry, some terminology familiar to textual critics.

The Primary Witnesses. The Editor's Task. Some Miscellaneous Matters

In 1953 was published the first critical edition of the Medieval Latin translation of the *Poetics* by William of Moerbeka or Moerbeke.[1] Since that date, therefore, the four primary witnesses to the text of the *Poetics* have been available to scholars and editors, and the knowledge that these four sources are the only primary ones[2] is even earlier than 1953, as we shall see. They are: 1) The codex *Parisinus Graecus* 1741 (= **A**), of about the middle or second part of the tenth century;[3] 2) The codex *Riccardianus* 46 (= **B**), generally dated to the thirteenth or fourteenth century, but more probably of the first half of the twelfth century;[4] 3) The Latin translation mentioned above (= Lat.);[5] and 4) The Syro-Arabic translation (= Syr. or Ar.).[6] Up to the present, the only critical edition of the text of the *Poetics* that has taken into account these four sources is the one Rudolph Kassel published in 1965.[7] It is in many ways meritorious, and all students of this difficult work must be grateful to the editor. I have

[1] For this edition see the bibliography under Moerbeke (1953). I have used the revised edition by Minio-Paluello, cf. under Moerbeke (1968). On the two editions cf. section 7 *infra*. On the translation itself cf. Chapter Three (*b*).

[2] A primary source is an extant MS or translation that does not depend on any other extant MS or translation. This does not mean that an ancient or medieval translation is in all instances equivalent to a Greek MS, for in many cases we are unable to reconstruct the Greek exemplars from which the translations were made. Cf. what is said in this section *infra* and also in Chapter Three.

[3] On *Parisinus Graecus* 1741, cf. Chapter Three (*a*).

[4] On *Riccardianus* 46, cf. Chapter Three (*d*).

[5] Cf. note 1 *supra*.

[6] For full information about the Syriac and Arabic translations cf. Gutas' discussion in Chapter Two. Cf. also the remarks in Chapter Three (*f*) for my evaluation of the contribution these translations make to the text of the *Poetics*.

[7] In the series *Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis*. In a later reprint of Kassel's text included in Lucas (1968), what was probably a printer's accidental omission of γάρ after καί in 24, 1459b10 has been corrected. Kassel's text was reprinted in Lucas (1968) without his Introduction.

myself learned much from it; but, for reasons that will be discussed later, I believe it is not sufficiently informative and reliable for the scholarly study of the *Poetics*.[8]

In saying that this is the only critical edition hitherto published, I am using the terms "edition" and "critical" in their very strict scholarly sense.[9] A critical edition of the *Poetics* requires the editor to study the transmission of the text from Aristotle to the present, to determine what the primary witnesses are,[10] to collate them, establish the text, and fully report the readings of the primary MSS in the critical apparatus. In the case of the *Poetics* the primary witnesses are two Greek MSS, **A** and **B**, and two translations, a Latin one and an Arabic translation from the Syriac, a quotation from the latter, and some other information to be gathered from later Arabic, and perhaps also Syriac, authors.[11] These two translations of the *Poetics* are not equivalent to Greek MSS, and they present peculiar, though quite different, problems when we try to reconstruct their respective Greek models.[12] In many cases even if we cannot exactly reconstruct those models, their readings must be reported when the text of the Greek MSS is itself uncertain or corrupt.[13] Unfortunately, Kassel too readily dismissed the full extent of the contribution the two translations make to the establishment of, and the difficulties presented by, the text of the *Poetics*.[14] In the case of the Syro-Arabic translation he relied mainly on the work of Tkatsch, which is not entirely satisfactory.[15] For the reports and the elucidation of the Syriac and Arabic readings Gutas provides in the second chapter of this Introduction an account of the *Poetics* in Syriac and Arabic, and later (after my own *Notes to the Text*) a detailed apparatus and commentary when needed. I have myself

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[8] I discuss Kassel's edition in Chapter Three (*j*).

[9] The minimum requirements of a critical edition of any classical text are two: 1) A text with a full critical apparatus that includes the readings of all the primary witnesses; 2) An introductory account that presents the evidence and the arguments on the basis of which the primary witnesses have been selected. However, sometimes the editor's Introduction must discuss additional items, as I have done in the case of the *Poetics*.

[10] On what is a primary witness of a text cf. note 2 *supra*.

[11] Cf. Gutas' account in Chapter Two.

[12] The Latin translation by Moerbeke goes back to a Greek MS called Φ. The Syro-Arabic translation, to a Greek MS called Σ. In some instances we have readings from an additional Greek MS or source called Ψ. Cf. Gutas, Chapter Two.

[13] Among other reasons because sometimes the translations may help in understanding what went wrong and thereby contribute to the solution of the problem.

[14] Cf. the third chapter of this Introduction.

[15] Cf. Tkatsch I (1928), II (1932). Cf. Gutas in Chapter Two.

thoroughly studied the Latin translation and obtained some important results for the establishment of the Greek text and of its transmission. Editions earlier than Kassel's have not provided texts that can be called critical;[16] and the so-called editions later than Kassel's have either relied on his reports of the manuscript readings[17] or have been rather extravagant.[18] Nor have the reviews of Kassel's edition contributed much to the text of the *Poetics*.[19]

From the viewpoint of its text, there are two requirements for the scholarly study of the *Poetics*. First, an *editio maior* which would enable the scholar to evaluate the characteristics of the primary witnesses as a whole, and also the contributions of each witness to the establishment and understanding of specific readings, as well as to the detection of errors, corruptions, etc.[20] Second, the edition must provide an introductory account of the transmission of the text through the many centuries which have elapsed from Aristotle's time to our own. I have added, after the Greek text with critical apparatus, a section entitled *Notes to the Text*, the main purpose of which is to explain many of my editorial decisions and to discuss the views of other scholars. This section, an essential part of my edition, also includes supplementary material to the critical apparatus. It is not a commentary on the *Poetics*, but of course that could not always be avoided, since after all the solutions to some textual problems necessarily involve what the editor thinks Aristotle was trying to say. Thus, most of the *Notes* should actually be part of a scholarly commentary on the *Poetics*.[21]

The editor of Greek classical texts must have a general knowledge of their transmission throughout the many centuries that separate their authors from the present time.[22] Expertise in the disciplines of paleography, textual criticism, and editorial technique is also necessary, as well as a thorough knowledge of the author and of the work one is editing. The first task is then to determine what are the primary witnesses to the text.[23] (Some texts depend on a single extant MS, but such is not

[16] Because they have not given a full account of the four sources described above.
[17] Cf. e.g. the editions by Halliwell (1995) and by Pesce (2000).
[18] So for example the edition by Gallavotti (1974). Cf. Chapter Three (*j*).
[19] Cf. Chapter Three (*j*).
[20] Cf. Chapter Three.
[21] Cf. the more detailed introduction to the *Notes to the Text*.
[22] The principles of editorial technique are the same for classical Greek as for Latin texts, but the problems of transmission are quite different.
[23] Cf. note 2 *supra*.

the case of the *Poetics*.) During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries several scholars acquired such a knowledge of the *Poetics*, in different stages.[24] Next, an editor must carefully collate and study the primary witnesses and, from the information they provide, try to determine whether or not there was an archetype[25] from which all the primary witnesses ultimately descend, or whether the recension is an open one.[26] An archetype requires that there be several significant mistakes[27] in all the primary witnesses, supporting the inference that they all go back to a common source. In the case of the *Poetics* it has been generally supposed that there was an archetype: in Chapter Three I offer proof of this which, so far as I know, has not been provided before.[28] There are of course many instances in which the reconstruction of the specific readings of the archetype is not entirely certain or cannot even be ascertained with good probability. In addition, there are instances where the archetype itself is corrupt or has been interpolated.[29] In such cases, from our knowledge of the author and of the context,[30] we must try to reconstruct by inference what he is likely to have written, or declare the text of the passage in question irremediably corrupt or interpolated.[31] Even when we can reconstruct the archetype, it is not always easy to go back through it to what the author probably wrote. In the case of the *Poetics*, at least seven and perhaps as many as nine centuries separate its archetype from Aristotle.[32]

In this Introduction I have discussed in Chapter One the transmission of the text of the *Poetics* from Aristotle to the present, and only then, in Chapter Three, dealt with the manuscript evidence: it is important that the reader be acquainted with the vicissitudes of the text through the ages before evaluating the work done on the text itself. For practical

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[24] Cf. sections 6) and 7) of this chapter.

[25] Strictly speaking, the archetype is the MS, extant or not, from which, directly or indirectly, all the extant MSS, relevant translations, etc. depend.

[26] The recension is open when it is not possible, due to a lack of common significant mistakes, to trace back all the primary witnesses to an archetype.

[27] Significant mistakes are those that are unlikely to occur in two or more MSS independently of one another. It is the essential principle that permits us to relate two or more witnesses to a common source.

[28] Cf. Chapter Three (*g*).

[29] Cf. Chapter Three (*g*).

[30] The context may be a word, a sentence, a whole paragraph or chapter, or even our general conception of what the author's thought in the *Poetics* was.

[31] Cf. Chapter Three (*g*).

[32] On the approximate time of the completion of the archetype cf. this chapter, section 3).

considerations I have divided the transmission of the *Poetics* into the following seven periods: 1) The *Poetics* and its Place among Aristotle's Works. The Availability of Aristotle's Scholarly Treatises during his Lifetime and those of Theophrastus and Eudemus. 2) From the Deaths of Theophrastus and Eudemus until the End of the First Century CE. 3) From the Second Century CE to the *Poetics*' Archetype. 4) From the Ninth to the Fourteenth Century. 5) From the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century. 6) The Nineteenth Century. 7) From the Twentieth Century to the Present.[33]

Our information for the transmission of the *Poetics* is rather scarce, especially for the period between Aristotle's lifetime and the dates of our primary witnesses, tenth to twelfth centuries. This makes it all the more important to ascertain the few facts that are still available, and to examine critically some of the more influential unsubstantiated hypotheses and theories that have been formulated; for they, sooner rather than later, have led to misinterpretation of the text and of the thought. Paul Shorey more than once said that classical scholarship has suffered from two main shortcomings: the formulation of hypotheses on the basis of insufficient facts, and the confusion of hypothesis with fact. Unfortunately, some of the work done on the *Poetics*, both on the text and on its interpretation, has these shortcomings. It is therefore important to distinguish between wildly speculative hypotheses and the genuine progress made since the Renaissance to the present.

It is now standard practice to refer to any work included in the Aristotelian corpus of scholarly treatises or writings[34] by the pages, columns, and line numbers of the edition produced by Immanuel Bekker for the Berlin Academy in 1831. (However, not all the works included either in Bekker's edition or in some important MSS are necessarily authentic works of Aristotle,[35] though the *Poetics* certainly is.) I have followed here this convenient custom as much as possible. Some modifications are necessary, because Bekker in his edition was not able to utilize all the

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[33] Of course some nineteenth century scholars, e.g. Vahlen, Bywater, and Margoliouth, published also in the twentieth century.

[34] I call "scholarly or technical treatises or writings" the extant and genuine works of Aristotle now included in Bekker's edition, e.g. *De Interpretatione*, *Topics*, *De Caelo*, etc. in order to distinguish them from those works, now extant only in fragmentary form, that Aristotle himself published. For more details about the three kinds of works Aristotle produced cf. the next section of this chapter.

[35] For example, the so-called *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* is not, nor are the *Problemata*. On the latter in relation to the *Poetics* cf. my note on 1455a32–33.

primary witnesses available to us, and so at times single words or lines needed to be inserted by later editors both in the case of the *Poetics* and in that of other Aristotelian treatises. The same thing has happened when an editor, for textual or conjectural evidence or reasons, has had to add words or sentences to the text printed by Bekker: this forces the editor to modify Bekker's lines in a forward direction.[36] Hence, like other editors of Aristotle including Kassel, I have had to add line numbers to those of Bekker; I have followed the standard custom of repeating the previous line number and of adding a superscript 1, 2, etc. The most notorious case in the *Poetics*—but there are other instances—is the passage 16, 1455a14–14^2: here **A** (and all the other Greek MSS except **B**, which directly or indirectly depend on **A**)[37] plus the Latin translation, both of which ultimately go back to a common ancestor, Π,[38] have omitted two lines of the text by the frequent mistake of homoioteleuton (τὸ τόξον … τὸ τόξον).[39] The omitted words have been preserved both by **B** and by the Arabic translation. In the case of the *Poetics*, Bekker's edition of the text is not of intrinsic importance. For that reason, and also because the Oxford editions of Bywater and of Kassel have become standard, I have adopted the layout of their text. This implies occasional discrepancies with Bekker's lines, e.g. at 1452a6–10.

Though the division of the *Poetics* into chapters is modern and does not go back to Aristotle himself, to Antiquity, or to the Byzantine period, I have preserved it for practical reasons: it enables the reader to determine at once the location of a given passage within its context; it facilitates the task of students and scholars by allowing them to abbreviate references: for example, it is standard practice and quite correct to refer to the first five chapters as introductory to Aristotle's main concerns in the extant *Poetics*, his theory of Tragedy and of Epic. The chapter division is not perfect[40] but is generally accurate and, in many cases, implied by

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[36] I have followed the standard practice of classical editors of leaving in the text, within square brackets, a word or words considered to have been interpolated. This has the practical advantage of avoiding a backward revision of Bekker's lines. However, the word or words in question must be preserved in all or in some of the primary Greek MSS.

[37] Cf. section 5) of this chapter.

[38] Cf. Chapter Three (*c*).

[39] In such a case the scribes' eyes go from the same (or, in some cases, the similar) word or words to the same, and so he omits the intervening word or words. This kind of mistake can occur to two or more scribes independently of one another. Therefore, it is *not* a significant mistake and cannot by itself help us in classifying MSS. Cf. note 27 *supra*.

[40] Cf. e.g. 1451b33–1452a11 in chapter 9.

Aristotle himself.[41] At the very least it goes back to the edition of Daniel Heinsius, published in 1611, motivated perhaps in part by his attempt to change in a very substantial way the order in which our MSS have transmitted the *Poetics*.[42]

The question of the *Poetics*' division into chapters, like other editorial decisions taken for the practical reasons mentioned above, should remind us that a modern edition of an ancient Greek work is not the text closest to what any ancient author, including Aristotle, wrote[43] but only an *interpretation* of what he did write. If the purpose of editions of classical Greek authors[44] had been to produce Greek texts as close as possible to what the author wrote, then in the case of the *Poetics* we should have to print one entirely written in majuscules, without word separation, and with no accents and breathings, for we know that literary works[45] were then written in majuscules and in *scriptio continua*: though some signs of punctuation seem to have existed already before the Hellenistic age,[46] there was no systematic punctuation of literary texts, even poetic ones, during the centuries that go from the Hellenistic age till the end of the eighth century CE.[47] Accents[48] appear to have been written first by Aristophanes of Byzantium (ca. 257–180), the fourth head of the Alexandrian library;[49] written breathings are probably later, but accents and breathings were used very sporadically, not in systematic fashion, and mostly in the case of poetic texts. This situation changed drastically beginning with the early part of the ninth century CE. We may conjecture with good probability that a decision was then made to transliterate the texts of the

[41] Cf. e.g. the formulaic passages in 1, 1447b28–29; 2, 1448a16–20; 3, 1448b2–3, etc.

[42] Against Heinsius' and others' attempts to change drastically the order of exposition in our primary witnesses cf. Bywater, pp. xix–xx.

[43] It is important to mention this because frequently in books on textual criticism we read that the task of textual criticism and edition is to produce a text as close as possible to what the author wrote.

[44] By classical Greek authors here I mean writers who produced their works before the process of transliteration into calligraphic minuscule that happened beginning with the ninth century CE. Cf. note 50 *infra*.

[45] I mean to distinguish such texts from documents of all sorts. But within literary texts I include history, rhetoric, philosophy, religion, science, etc.

[46] Cf. Pfeiffer, pp. 178–181, a fundamental discussion of all the issues mentioned in the rest of this paragraph. Pfeiffer clearly distinguishes the question of punctuation from that of accentuation.

[47] Cf. Pfeiffer, pp. 178–180 (top).

[48] Cf. Pfeiffer, pp. 180–181.

[49] Cf. Pfeiffer, p. 172.

Greek authors that continued to be copied into a new calligraphic minuscule Greek script.[50] Now words were separated and provided with accents and breathings; punctuation too was added. In general, the early scribes who accomplished this difficult task were well trained; later scribes less so. On the whole, they performed their task fairly well but sometimes they made mistakes, and so it is legitimate for a scholar today to modify the word division in order to achieve better sense. The same is the case with accents. The authority of scribes in the matter of breathings and punctuation is of even less importance. In addition, we must keep in mind that the book form in use in Aristotle's time was the papyrus roll.[51]

This is an edition of the *Poetics* as it is extant in the manuscript evidence that has come down to us. I have therefore not listed passages appearing in later authors that may contribute or not to our knowledge of Aristotle's theory of Comedy and of Catharsis beyond what is said about these topics in the extant *Poetics*. Several scholars have assumed that such later authors still had some form of access to—or information about—the lost second book of the *Poetics*: these are questions which I plan to discuss elsewhere. Finally, dates BCE are usually given without further specification. Other dates, when necessary for clarity's sake, are specified as CE.

1. *The* Poetics *and Its Place among Aristotle's Works. The Availability of Aristotle's Scholarly Treatises during His Lifetime and Those of Theophrastus and Eudemus*

In the preceding section, the *Poetics* was called one of Aristotle's scholarly treatises or writings. To clarify the meaning and the implications of this, something must be said about Aristotle's life and the kind of works he wrote. This is essential both for an editor of any Aristotelian treatise and for a scholar interested in the interpretation of Aristotle's works, especially the *Poetics*. One must consider the availability of Aristotle's scholarly treatises as a whole, since there is not enough evidence to

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[50] This transliteration of Greek literary texts resulted in the loss of many works which were still extant: texts not transliterated mostly disappeared, since they were no longer copied.

[51] Only gradually, beginning with the second century CE, were the works of earlier authors transcribed into codices. For recent information on ancient books cf. W.A. Johnson (2009), pp. 256–281.

discuss that of any individual treatise from his lifetime until the end of the Hellenistic age. Finally, throughout this and the following section we must keep in mind that the terminology used by ancient authors in connection with Aristotle's scholarly writings changed drastically over time, a point which is often disregarded.

We do not know as much as we could wish, and the surviving data are of difficult interpretation; this requires us to discuss the ancient evidence still extant. Besides writing relevant introductions and comments, I. Düring has collected the Graeco-Latin material in his book *Aristotle in the Ancient Biographical Tradition* (= Düring). This is an important work, indispensable indeed for research in the area, but readers should be aware of some of its shortcomings: First, the section where Düring collects the evidence extant in Syriac and Arabic texts is not reliable.[52] Secondly, in many cases it has been superseded by new evidence, new translations, and interpretations, as we shall see. Thirdly, Düring, though rightly critical of other scholars' interpretations, puts forward some highly speculative views as if they were facts. Naturally I will refer also to other relevant publications earlier and later than Düring's.

For our purposes here, these are the significant dates of Aristotle's life.[53] (More will be presently said about them in relation to the *Poetics*.)

384	Aristotle was born in Stagira, in the peninsula of Chalcidice, Macedonia.
367–366	At seventeen or eighteen he entered Plato's Academy.
348–347	At Plato's death, he went with Xenocrates[54] to Assos, to the court of Hermias, ruler of Atarneus and Assos, where he spent three years.

[52] For an excellent analysis of the Syriac and Arabic material about Aristotle's life and works cf. Gutas (1968), pp. 15–36. For his criticism of Düring and others cf. especially pp. 15–18 with the notes on pp. 32–34. Cf. also Daiber (1988), p. 130.

[53] For the chronology of Aristotle's life cf. the texts and discussions in Düring, pp. 249–262. They should be read with the comments of O. Gigon, "Interpretationen zu den antiken Aristoteles-Viten," *MH* 15 (1958), pp. 147–193; cf. also his review of Düring's book in *GGA* 212 (1958), pp. 1–19. The main sources for Aristotle's chronology are: Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ad Ammaeum* c. 5 (pp. 727–728 = pp. 262–263 [Usener-Radermacher]), and Diogenes Laertius V, 9–10. The two go ultimately back to Apollodorus of Athens' *Chronicle* (second century BCE). Cf. Jacoby (1902) and *FGH*, Nr. 244, Düring, p. 253 (top), Pfeiffer, pp. 253–266. It is possible that Apollodorus himself depends on Philochorus (fourth century BCE).

[54] Xenocrates went with Aristotle to the court of Hermias at the latter's invitation (cf. Strabo, *Geography* XIII, 1, 57 [610]). Therefore it can hardly be the case that Aristotle left the Academy because Plato was succeeded by Speusippus, "who represented a tendency of Platonism repugnant to Aristotle, its tendency to 'turn philosophy into mathematics'," as Ross, *Oxford Classical Dictionary*^{2}, p. 114 b says. Moreover, Ross has misinterpreted

345–344 He moved to Mitylene with Theophrastus, a native of the island.

343–342 Invited by Philip of Macedon to be the tutor of Alexander, he went to Pella with Theophrastus. At the time Alexander was thirteen years old.

335–334 Soon after the death of Philip, Aristotle returned to Athens and taught at the Lyceum,[55] one of the three gymnasia of the city.

323 On the death of Alexander, a charge of impiety being brought against him[56] caused Aristotle to withdraw to Chalcis.

322 Aristotle died at Chalcis.

Scholarly opinion has divided the whole of Aristotle's literary output into three classes: 1) A group of works of diverse nature which Aristotle is said to have published; 2) The technical treatises now included in the corpus of his scholarly writings, which were undoubtedly used also for his school-lectures. (More about this *infra*.); 3) A group of collections of data and of memoranda, or notes, intended to be used as materials for his scholarly treatises. The works included in the first and third categories are no longer extant[57] but in some cases we still can derive fragmentary information from Aristotle himself, from the ancient lists of his writings, and from quotations, paraphrases, later references, etc.[58] Here we need to discuss only the first two categories.

Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 992a32–33 (ἀλλὰ γέγονε τὰ μαθήματα τοῖς νῦν ἡ φιλοσοφία), as his commentary on 992a33 shows: here τοῖς νῦν are those who like Plato believe in the separate existence of ideas (cf. 992a24–b1), and *not* Speusippus, since he had substituted numbers for Plato's ideas, cf. Tarán, *Speusippus*, p. 459. Finally, even at the time of the election of Xenocrates to succeed Speusippus as head of the Academy in 339–338, Aristotle was still considered to be a member of the Academy. Cf. *Acad. Philos. Index Herculanensis*, cols. VI, 41-VII, 14 (Mekler) = Speusippus T 2, lines 14–31 in my *Speusippus*, with my remarks on pp. 7 and 206–207. But to be a member of the Academy did not mean to accept Plato's doctrine of the ideas, etc. On the nature of the early Academy cf. Cherniss, *Riddle*, pp. 60–85 and 99–103.

[55] Our earliest sources say that Aristotle taught at the Lyceum, not that he founded a school with its own building. Cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ad Ammaeum* c. 5, p. 728 = p. 263, 7 (Usener-Radermacher): ἐσχόλαζεν ἐν Λυκείῳ ἐτῶν δώδεκα; Diogenes Laertius V, 10: καὶ ἐν Λυκείῳ σχολάσαι ἔτη τρία πρὸς τοῖς δέκα. The two passages go back either to Philochorus (fourth century BCE) or to Apollodorus of Athens (second century). The earliest statement to the effect that Aristotle built a school (i.e. a building) at the Lyceum appears in Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* I, 63, 4 = p. 40, 9–11 (Stählin): παρὰ Πλάτωνι Ἀριστοτέλης φιλοσοφήσας μετελθὼν εἰς τὸ Λύκειον κτίζει τὴν περιπατητικὴν αἵρεσιν. Cf. Düring, p. 260.

[56] Cf. Diogenes Laertius V, 5–6 with Düring, p. 59.

[57] The *Athenaion Politeia*, extant (with gaps) in papyri, given its style and contents, belongs perhaps to the third kind of Aristotelian writings.

[58] There is no need to discuss other works ascribed to Aristotle, such as poems, letters, etc.

The extant evidence to determine what kinds of works Aristotle wrote is: 1) References and cross-references found in Aristotle's scholarly treatises; 2) Ancient lists of his writings; 3) Fragmentary remains of his lost works; 4) References by later authors to the kind of works Aristotle was supposed to have written. Discussion of the last two topics need not concern us here.

Let us begin with the three ancient lists of Aristotle's writings:[59] that in Diogenes Laertius V, 21–27, which is part of his life of Aristotle; the catalogue extant in the *Vita Hesychii*; and the list extant in the life of Aristotle by a certain Ptolemy, most probably a Neoplatonist, whose biography exists in Arabic translation. These three lists P. Moraux studied in his important but speculative monograph *Les listes anciennes des ouvrages d'Aristote* (= Moraux, 1951),[60] and the texts appear in Düring.[61] However, in the case of the Ptolemy list Düring was not aware of the existence of the Arabic translation of Ptolemy's life of Aristotle, just as Moraux himself was not.[62] This translation has not yet been published nor turned in its entirety into a modern language. But the introductory letter to Gallus and the list of Aristotle's writings have been edited and translated into German with notes by Christel Hein (1985),[63] who has also provided what can be gathered about Ptolemy's book from two

[59] Each of the three lists presents problems which cannot be discussed here. I limit my comments to the inferences that can be drawn for the purposes of this chapter.

[60] Cf. the review of this book by G. Verbeke = Verbeke (1952). He rightly points out Moraux's speculative bent in trying to solve too many questions about which the extant evidence is insufficient.

[61] For a convenient, annotated text of the two Greek lists, with brief comments, cf. Düring, pp. 41–50, 67–69, 83–89, 90–92. For the lists in Diogenes Laertius I have also checked the readings as given in Marcovich's edition. For the text of the Ptolemy list cf. the text above that follows this note.

[62] Düring in his 1957 book, Moraux (1951), and even Moraux (1973) are unaware of the existence of Ptolemy's *Life of Aristotle* in Arabic translation. They both wrongly think, like Baumstark, that the Arabs had only an abridged recension of Ptolemy's *Life*, which is refuted by Gutas (1986), pp. 17–18 with nn. 10–17 (on pp. 33–34). Düring (1971), pp. 264–269 offers a translation with some comments of the dedication to Gallus and the Introduction: for criticism cf. Gutas, *op. cit.*, p. 18. The unique MS of the Arabic translation of Ptolemy's *Life* was discovered in Istanbul by H. Ritter, cf. Gutas, *op. cit.*, p. 23 with n. 32 (on p. 35). For the rest of Ptolemy's *Life* cf. Gutas, *op. cit.*, p. 23 with nn. 33–34 (on p. 35).

[63] For the Arabic text and the German translation of the introductory letter to Gallus cf. Hein (1985), pp. 416–419. When Düring published his 1957 book he did not know of the existence of the Arabic translation of Ptolemy's biography of Aristotle but later he became aware of it, cf. Düring (1971), pp. 264–269. He considered the opening, dedicatory letter to Gallus on the basis of Bernhard Lewin's translation. However, Düring

Arabic authors who used it, including the list: Ibn al-Qifti (d. 1248) and Ibn-Abi-Usaibia (d. 1270). In the case of al-Qifti, the original is not extant; there is only a summary of his work by al-Zawzani.[64] In addition to Hein's translation and notes, Gutas translated several passages for me. My references to the catalogues in al-Qifti and Ibn-Abi-Usaibia are based on Hein and particularly on Baumstark (1900).

These three lists present to the modern interpreter difficult problems which more often than not cannot be solved with reasonable certainty. The earliest list is preserved by Diogenes Laertius. It has been claimed that it goes back to Ariston of Ceos (Moraux), who succeeded Lyco, ca. 225 BCE, as head of the Peripatos, or to Hermippus of Smyrna, called "the Callimachean" (so Düring, and many other scholars before and after him). Though we need not decide this issue here, I believe the latter opinion to be right. Therefore, the likelihood is that the list in Diogenes Laertius reproduces the record of some library; in any case, it was most probably drawn up during the third century BCE. There is evidence that Diogenes himself had access to Aristotle's scholarly treatises in an edition different from the one which the list exhibits.[65] In Diogenes' list we find no evidence of the later arrangement of the Aristotelian corpus generally ascribed to Andronicus of Rhodes (first century BCE);[66] for example, there is in it no separate work called "*Metaphysics*," though we do recognize a few individual treatises, some of which were later rearranged by Andronicus or someone else. In short, whereas Diogenes is to be dated in all probability to the third century CE, the list of Aristotle's writings he has preserved goes back to the third century BCE.

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still maintains that the Ptolemy catalogue practically reproduces Andronicus' *Pinax* and denies the truth of Ptolemy's statement that at the time of writing his biography of Aristotle he did not have at his disposal Andronicus' work.

64 On all the Aristotelian material in Syriac and Arabic biographical authors cf. Gutas (1986).

65 Thus Diogenes Laertius in V, 21 says: ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἑβδόμῳ τῶν Ἠθικῶν ἐστι of a saying that is in *Eth. Nic.* IX. 10, 1171a15–16 and *more exactly* in *Eth. Eud.* H, 12. 1245b20–21 (i.e. in Book IV *or*, counting Δ, E, Z as belonging to *Eth. Eud.*, in Book VII). From this it appears that Diogenes Laertius (or his source here) first, considered Δ, E, Z as books of *Eth. Eud.* and, secondly, knew as "the *Ethics*" the *Eudemian Ethics*. This is further significant because in the subsequent catalogue of Aristotle's works the only "Ethics" is Ἠθικῶν α′, β′, γ′, δ′, ε′ (V. 23), which in the usual view would be "*Ethics* in *five* books," possibly our *Eth. Eud. without* Δ, E, Z. In any case this proves that the catalogue given by Diogenes does *not* accord with the text of Aristotle he knew.

66 For Andronicus cf. the next section.

Next we must consider the list preserved in the *Vita Hesychii*, in all likelihood an epitome from the *Onomatologos* of Hesychius of Miletus, who lived in the sixth century CE.[67] This list is puzzling for more than one reason, but here we need only be concerned with the fact that it is a complex document. The first 139 titles are somewhat parallel to those in Diogenes,[68] but in titles 148–158 we find some of the "Andronicean" treatises,[69] as well as many other titles which are absent from Diogenes' list.[70] Concerning the items that find parallelism in Diogenes, two hypotheses have been suggested: (*a*) that Hesychius' list in its first 139 titles depends on that of Diogenes (Moraux); (*b*) that Hesychius had access to the same materials as the author (or authors?) of the Diogenes list. Be that as it may, there can be little doubt that in the first section, titles 1–139, there are later interpolations.

The Ptolemy list, extant in the MS Aya Sophia 4833, is now published by Hein (1985), as we saw above. (In this MS Aristotle's works are numbered. It is these numbers that Hein reproduces and to which I refer.) The Ptolemy who authored the *Vita Aristotelis* was undoubtedly a Neoplatonist,[71] certainly younger than Porphyry (232/3 – ca. 305), if he was a contemporary of him, but he might have lived later. In extant Greek authors he is mentioned only by late scholars of the Alexandrian school of Neoplatonism. He was certainly not Ptolomeus Chenos nor any other Ptolemy known to us; the Arabs call him Ptolemy al-Gharib, "the Unknown" or "the Foreigner."[72] His list most probably has some relation

[67] Cf. H. Schulz, "Hesychios 10," *RE* VIII, 2 (1913), cols. 1322, 4–1327, 46, esp. 1323, 29 ff.

[68] Nevertheless, there are obvious interpolations in this section. For example, *pace* Jaeger and Moraux, #111 Μεταφυσικὰ κʹ is probably an interpolation, and so is #110 Φυσικῶν λη' κατὰ στοιχεῖον.

[69] Cf. Düring, p. 87.

[70] Cf. titles Nrs. 159–197.

[71] This is shown, *inter alia*, by his very arrangement of Aristotle's works (n.b. that he places the ethical works after the logical ones, just as Porphyry does with Plotinus' *Enneads*) and also by his references to topics characteristic of the late Neoplatonic Introductions to Aristotle and classifications of his works. On the Neoplatonic "Introductions" to Aristotle, cf. Westerink (1962), pp. XXVI–XXVII; Hadot (1987), pp. 249–285.

[72] Since some critics have expressed doubt about the accuracy of the transcription of the name Ptolemy in the case of the *Vita Aristotelis*, I cite the following private communication by Gutas: "The name Ptolemy is well attested both in the unique MS preserving the work directly, and also indirectly in the citations of parts of Ptolemy's *Vita* and *Pinax* in the biographical dictionaries of Ibn-an-Nadim (the Fihrist, 10th century), Ibn-Abi-Usaybia and Ibn-al-Qifti (mid-13th century for both). They call him Ptolemy

to the catalogue of Aristotle's writings made by Andronicus, but despite Düring, it certainly does not reproduce exactly Andronicus' list.

In Diogenes' list, the *Poetics* is number 83: Πραγματεία τέχνης ποιητικῆς α′ β′; in Hesychius', it is number 75: Τέχνης ποιητικῆς β′; in Ptolemy's, the *Poetics* followed by the *Rhetoric* are both number 38: Τέχνης ποιητικῆς β′ and then Τέχνης ῥητορικῆς γ′. We see then that already in the third century BCE the *Poetics* is listed as being in two books. So far as the *Rhetoric* is concerned, in Diogenes it is number 78 and is listed as being in two books (Τέχνης ῥητορικῆς α′ β′); in Hesychius, the *Rhetoric* is number 72 and listed as being in three books (Τέχνης ῥητορικῆς γ′), and so too in Ptolemy, as we saw. In all three lists the *Poetics* and the *Rhetoric* appear among the scholarly treatises, after a first section which includes the works Aristotle himself published (cf. below). The order of the Ptolemy list is interesting because, *pace* Moraux and others, it coincides in part with Aristotle's own cross-references, as we shall presently see. There is also an important difference between Diogenes' list and Hesychius' concerning the *Rhetoric*: the latter has it in three books, the former in two, and in number 87 a Περὶ λέξεως in two books; this is significant since Diels has shown that what is now the third book of the *Rhetoric* was originally a separate treatise Περὶ λέξεως.[73] In short, Hesychius' list, somewhat parallel to that in Diogenes, exhibits a later arrangement of the *Rhetoric*.

Perhaps the most important discussion for this section is that concerning Aristotle's references and cross-references to his own works in his scholarly treatises, especially because overreaching and often unfounded inferences have been drawn from them.[74] It is generally admitted that Aristotle published the writings in the first category, but not those in the second, the technical or scholarly treatises. (It is likely that most or all of the first twenty titles in Diogenes' list, to which the same number of titles in Hesychius' are somewhat similar, were published by Aristotle himself. In Ptolemy's list only the first nine can refer to the published works.) We

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al-Gharib, 'the Unknown' or 'the Foreigner', perhaps translating a Greek original ξένος, as some have suggested, or perhaps just given to him by the Arab biographers to distinguish him from the famous Ptolemy the astronomer. But exactly because of this there can be no mistake about the name Ptolemy: it was well known to Arab translators, biographers, and scribes, so there can be no doubt about the accuracy of the transliteration and ascription."

[73] Cf. Diels (1886).

[74] For example, some theories are based on ascribing to a definite work, fragments or references which are not such; and/or drawing on unwarranted inferences from the ancient lists of his writings.

must first establish what publication of a literary[75] work implied in Antiquity, certainly not to be confused with what it means after the invention of printing,[76] namely that a number of identical copies can be obtained by mechanical reproduction once the "model" has been established. In Antiquity, ἔκδοσις and related words refer to a manuscript book: the author made a copy of his work available to a bookseller[77] (or to someone else), who could then produce individual copies for sale. Afterwards, anyone who had the work available could also produce further copies: there were no copyright laws, and of course in this process errors were introduced. Two wrong inferences have been frequently drawn from the fact that Aristotle did not publish his scholarly writings in the above sense, and from a tendentious and unreliable story in Strabo (cf. the next section): either that the Aristotelian scholarly treatises were not at all known during the Hellenistic age until the time of Andronicus' edition, or that they were so rare that almost any reference to Aristotle or any allusion to his doctrines was taken to come from his published writings. Yet the extant evidence does not support such theories; though the topic cannot be discussed here, in the next section sufficient evidence will be presented to show that Aristotle's scholarly writings were available during the Hellenistic age.

Some scholars have conjectured that the *Poetics* was written before Aristotle's second Athenian period (see the dates above); others, that it belongs, like most of his scholarly writings, to his second Athenian residence, when he gave systematic lectures on his philosopy. Yet there is really no evidence to decide every detail of the issue.

Before considering the question of Aristotle's references and cross-references in his scholarly writings, something must be said about his use of the word πραγματεία, which some critics have interpreted in relation to Aristotle's scholarly writings as "the written λόγοι", that is, the "manuscripts."[78] Yet πραγματεία does not have this meaning in Greek

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[75] "Literary" is taken here to exclude documents. Cf. note 45 *supra*.

[76] This applies especially to books published from the nineteenth century onwards. In earlier centuries after the invention of printing, sometimes texts were modified while the process of printing copies was going on.

[77] The commerce of books, though most probably earlier, is attested in Plato, *Apology* 26 D–E. Xenophon, *Anabasis* VII, 5, 14 shows that at this time there was in Athens an export-trade in books.

[78] So, for example, Dirlmeier (1962), pp. 9–12. Cf. especially p. 10: "... so wird klar, dass πραγματεία ein Synonym für den geschriebenen Logos ist ...".

or in Aristotle, who uses it several times:[79] the word in its technical use has several related meanings in Aristotle, oscilating between "treatment or discussion of a subject," "philosophical questions or disputations," "philosophical doctrine or system," etc.[80]

Aristotle himself in the *Poetics* differentiates between his published and unpublished works: in 15, 1454b17–18, speaking of some of the poets' mistakes in relation to the art of poetry, he states καὶ γὰρ κατ' αὐτὰς ἔστιν ἁμαρτάνειν πολλάκις· εἴρηται δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐκδεδομένοις λόγοις ἱκανῶς, where he is using ἐκδιδόναι in the technical sense "to publish."[81]

In his scholarly writings, Aristotle at least once gives a chronological indication about the composition of some of his treatises: in *De Gen. Animal.* V. 1, 779b21–27 he says that the *De Sensu* is earlier than the *De Gen. Animal.* and that the *De Anima* is still earlier than the *De Sensu*. (The very context of *De Gen. Animal.* 779b21–27 shows Aristotle indicating that he could not have made this statement before elaborating on certain doctrines in the first two treatises. Cf. ἀλλ' εἴπερ ἐστὶν ὥσπερ ἐλήχθη πρότερον [cf. 779b19–20] ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις καὶ τούτων ἔτι πρότερον ἐν τοῖς περὶ ψυχῆς διωρισμένοις.) Yet some scholars have disregarded this explicit statement of Aristotle's in order to put forward their own theories about his alleged evolution.[82] Often Aristotle points to another treatise with a vague reference such as ἐν ἄλλοις, or by identifying it by its contents,[83] since in the proper sense they did not have titles. (Cf. the introduction to Chapter Three, under *Title*.) In the majority of such

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[79] Cf. LSJ, *s.v.* πραγματεία III, 1–2 and especially Bonitz, *Index* 629b26–630a2. Such a use of πραγματεία is pre-Aristotelian, cf. Buchheit, *Gnomon* 41 (1969), p. 733.

[80] This word does not occur in the *Poetics*. In the lists of Aristotle's writings it appears only in the "title" of the *Poetics*: Diogenes Laertius V, 24, # 83, πραγματεία τέχνης ποιητικῆς α' β'.

[81] Cf. LSJ, *s.v.* ἐκδίδωμι I. 7. Van Groningen's paper on Ἔκδοσις—Van Groningen (1963)—is informative on the implications of ἔκδοσις and related words. Unfortunately, however, his discussion of the transmission of philosophical works, especially those of Aristotle, mistakenly treats the terminology as if it had never undergone any change.

[82] Cf., for example, Nuyens (1948) who, among other things, claims that Aristotle's final position was to deny human immortality. Against him cf. esp. Block (1961), pp. 50–77, esp. 50–61; Solmsen (1955), 150f., and 150, n. 8.

[83] *Metaphysics* I. 4, 1055b6–7 refers to book Δ as ἐν ἄλλοις. For Aristotle's own references to his περὶ κινήσεως, περὶ φύσεως, τὰ φυσικά, τὰ περὶ ἀρχῶν, cf. Ross, *Physics*, pp. 1–11; Tarán, *Gnomon* 46 (1974), pp. 134–137 with p. 137, n. 4 = *idem* (2001), pp. 392–395 with p. 395, n. 45. On this topic of Aristotle's references and cross-references, cf. Dirlmeier (1962), pp. 14–24 and 40; Zeller (1888), pp. 1333–1340 = Zeller, I (1910), pp. 445–453. For a fair treatment of Aristotle's references and cross-references in his scholarly treatises cf. Zeller, *Philos. d. Gr.* II, 2, pp. 127–132.

cases those references and cross-refereces do not provide us with reliable information about the relative chronology of such writings (cf. *infra*). More important for our interest in the *Poetics* are the cross-references back and forth between different treatises, a typical example being the treatises now included in the *Metaphysics*. (The word or title *Metaphysics* is not Aristotelian but probably due to Andronicus. Aristotle himself calls this discipline πρώτη φιλοσοφία or θεολογία.) It should be clear from such cross-references that he intended to include all or at least most of them within a single discipline.[84] In any case, forward and backward references throughout his treatises show that Aristotle meant his philosophy to be taken as a unitary and organic whole.[85]

Let us now list Aristotle's own references to the *Poetics*:

Politics 8. 7, 1341b38–40: τί δὲ λέγομεν τὴν κάθαρσιν, νῦν μὲν ἁπλῶς πάλιν δ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ ποιητικῆς ἐροῦμεν σαφέστερον.
Rhetoric I. 11, 1372a1–2: διώρισται δὲ περὶ γελοίων ἐν τοῖς περὶ ποιητικῆς.[86]
Rhetoric III. 1, 1404a38–39: περὶ δ' ἐκείνης[87] εἴρηται ἐν τοῖς περὶ ποιητικῆς.
Rhetoric III. 2, 1404b7–8: ὅσα[88] εἴρηται ἐν τοῖς περὶ ποιητικῆς.
Rhetoric III. 2, 1404b26–28: ὄντων δ' ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων ἐξ ὧν ὁ λόγος συνήστηκεν, τῶν δ' ὀνομάτων τοσαῦτ' ἐχόντων εἴδη ὅσα τεθεώρηται ἐν τοῖς περὶ ποιήσεως.
Rhetoric III. 2, 1405a5–6: εἴρηται καθάπερ ἐλέγομεν ἐν τοῖς περὶ ποιητικῆς.[89]
Rhetoric III. 18, 1419b5–6: εἴρηται πόσα εἴδη γελοίων ἐστὶν[90] ἐν τοῖς περὶ ποιητικῆς.

From the fact that the *Politics* refers to the *Poetics* using the future and that in the six references to the *Poetics* in the *Rhetoric* Aristotle employs the perfect tense, we might think that he intended to indicate the chronological order of composition *Politics-Poetics-Rhetoric*. These references show that the dogmatic attitude of Moraux and others for the order *Rhetoric-Poetics* is an illusion. Though this order would seem to some justified by *Poetics* 19, 1456a34–36 (τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐν

[84] The cross-references in them show that books A, B, Γ, E, Z, H, Θ, I, M, N, Λ belong together. The reference in 1055b6–7 (cf. the previous note) points to book Δ as belonging to the same treatise, though probably not in its present place.

[85] Cf. the important remarks of Cherniss (1935), 270 = *idem* (1977), p. 405 concerning the unity of the *Politics*. Similar remarks could be made about most of Aristotle's long treatises, such as the *Metaphysics*, the *Physics*, etc.

[86] Both references may be to the lost second book.

[87] Sc. the poetic style.

[88] Similar reference as in the previous note.

[89] This refers to the cited previous passage of the *Rhetoric*.

[90] Same reference as in note 86 *supra*.

τοῖς περὶ ῥητορικῆς κείσθω· τοῦτο γὰρ ἴδιον μᾶλλον ἐκείνης τῆς μεθόδου), which might be taken to imply that the *Rhetoric* is already written, certainly it explains why Aristotle does not deal with διάνοια in the *Poetics*—he is referring the reader to the *Rhetoric*. However, the present imperative κείσθω is due to the polemical nature of his remark: critics might object that the thoughts of characters in a play are not quite dealt with by what he says about διάνοια in the first two books of the *Rhetoric*. But Aristotle's reference to the *Rhetoric* on the subject of διάνοια is to the first two books; what is now the third was originally a separate treatise on (prose) style, as we saw above. In short, in a few instances Aristotle indicates the order of composition of some works, but in the majority of cases such as the chronological relation between the *Poetics* and the first two books of the *Rhetoric* one cannot use forward and backward references to make that inference.

The *Poetics* is one of Aristotle's scholarly treatises; its style and the very way in which Aristotle puts forward his ideas testify to this fact. Moreover, his reference in the *Poetics* to at least one of his published works as ἐν τοῖς ἐκδεδομένοις λόγοις[91] implies that the *Poetics* is one of his "unpublished" works, i.e. one of his scholarly writings. And so at least a few remarks on some of the main characteristics of such writings are needed.

We do not find in them the style Cicero,[92] among others, describes as "*flumen orationis aureum*," ancient praises that must refer to at least some of Aristotle's published and more popular works. Undoubtedly, most of the scholarly writings he delivered as lectures to his advanced students at the Lyceum: this is clear by occasional addresses to his audience,[93] which must have consisted of advanced students, sufficiently acquainted with his thought and terminology to be able to follow the lectures.[94] In some cases his style is so abbreviated as to be almost telegraphic. For example, in *Metaphysics* A. 9, 990b11–17 Aristotle mentions some objections to Plato's theory of ideas without even referring to his own published work *De Ideis*: he must have supposed that his audience, or most of it, had some knowledge of what those objections were, yet only thanks to Alexander's

[91] Cf. above my remarks on 15, 1454b17–18.

[92] Cf. Cicero, *Academica* II, 38, 119.

[93] Cf. especially *Soph. Elench.* 34, 184b6–8 with Zeller, *Philos. d. Gr.* II, 2, pp. 131–132. I cannot accept the interpretation of Verdenius (1985), p. 21.

[94] Cf. the beginnings of the *Poetics* and of the *Soph. Elench.* with the testimony of Aristoxenus about Aristotle's procedure: *Harmonics*, 30–31.

commentary on the first book of the *Metaphysics* do we know what they are. When Aristotle could not presuppose such a knowledge on the part of his listeners, he added an explanation, even if sometimes a concise one. In this instance it will not do to say that he may have expanded his lecture and given an oral explanation to his audience. For in *this* case, since, as we shall see, he envisaged that his scholarly writings would be read by others beside himself, he would have incorporated his oral explanations in his written text, or at least would have referred to the *De Ideis*. In other cases of short, allusive sentences perhaps he added some brief remarks.[95] Yet the fact that Aristotle gave lectures to advanced students and did not publish his writings, in the sense given above to ἔκδοσις, does not imply that his doctrine was secret or mystical. This needs to be stated because, in this instance too, some later authors, beginning with the first century CE, read into Aristotle's advanced lecturing the purpose of keeping his doctrine secret. Most of modern scholarship, however, has rightly rejected this view.

On the other hand, some linguistic traits in Aristotle's scholarly writings show stylistic and literary characteristics of works that were meant to be read. Long ago Zeller called attention to the presence of formulas of introduction, transition, and conclusion[96] which prove that Aristotle was writing not merely for himself but also for other readers. Furthermore, there are some eloquent passages where, because of the topic at hand, he uses a rather "elevated" style.[97]

In view of what precedes, condensed and elliptical passages, as well as literary and elaborate ones, suggest that, besides reading them to his audience or using them as basis for his lectures, Aristotle had another, perhaps more important, aim in producing his scholarly writings: to keep a written record of his thoughts and researches, for himself and for others as well. This aim goes a long way to explain the fact that in some important cases, mostly in the *Physics* and the *Metaphysics*, he wrote more than once on the same topics and preserved the diverse versions.[98]

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[95] But the hypothesis that in the case of the reference to catharsis in 6, 1449b27–28 Aristotle added an oral explanation of what he meant by catharsis, as Verdenius (1985), pp. 19–20 contends, seems unacceptable.

[96] Cf. e.g. Zeller, *Philos. d. Gr.* II, 2, pp. 134–135.

[97] Cf., e.g., *Politics* 7. 14, 1333b26–1334a10; *Eth. Nic.* 10.7, 1177b26–1178a8; Düring, p. 363 (only; *not* p. 364).

[98] For example, in the *Physics*, Book VII, on which cf. Ross, *Physics*, pp. 11 ff. In the case of the *Metaphysics*, Book K, chs. 1–8 (1059a18–1065a26) contain a shorter version (whether earlier or not) of what we find in books BΓE. Cf. note 126 *infra*.

Aristotle's writings, as we said above, sometimes have short allusive and elusive sentences;[99] at other times he can be verbose, prolix, and even somewhat repetitious.[100] His writings are dense and complex; the originality of his thought and his development of a technical philosophical terminology make them very difficult even for scholars in the field. Surely most of his Athenian contemporaries would have found his technical treatises practically unintelligible: what would they have made, for example, of such an expression as τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι? The *Poetics*, because of the very nature of its subject matter, has less of that terminology but still presents difficulties to a reader unfamiliar with Aristotle's philosophical thought and technical vocabulary. Thus, when he introduces a philosophical idea of his own couched in what appears to be common vocabulary to which, however, he attaches a rather technical meaning, many critics fail to understand the implications of his statement.[101] On the other hand, at times he uses technical expressions in a non-technical way, and scholars, apparently unaware of this, mistakenly assign the technical meaning to such words.[102]

Other characteristics of Aristotle's scholarly writings also make it difficult to follow his train of thought. In the case of the *Poetics*, it is appropriate to quote Bywater's justification for attaching to his edition of the Greek text an explanatory paraphrase rather than a translation:

> Aristotle's mode of statement here[103] is often elliptical, allusive, and overcharged with meaning; and he not unfrequently omits to indicate the connexion of ideas in his sentences and paragraphs, so that the logical relation between them is left for us to perceive as best we can.[104]

(These characteristics, however, appear in almost all of the scholarly treatises, not merely in the *Poetics*.)

Finally, we must consider the question of the availability of Aristotle's scholarly writings during his own lifetime and those of his most important students, Theophrastus and Eudemus. The fact that Aristotle did

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[99] For an example in the *Poetics* cf. 25, 1461a21–23 with Bywater's n. on line 21, κατὰ δὲ προσῳδίαν.

[100] Cf. e.g. 6, 1449b36–1450a3, not only in itself but also in view of what has been said before. Cf. note *ad loc.*

[101] Cf. for example 6, 1450a38–39, ἀρχὴ μὲν οὖν καὶ οἷον ψυχὴ ὁ μῦθος τῆς τραγῳδίας.

[102] Cf. 1447a9 δύναμιν and note on 1447a8–13.

[103] Bywater is referring to the *Poetics*.

[104] Bywater, p. v.

not make his scholarly treatises available to the public at large through booksellers does not necessarily imply that he kept them exclusively for his own use and absolutely prevented copies to be made in certain circumstances. We must rather say, in Aristotle's fashion, that "publication" is used in several ways.[105] In the first place, we should recall the physical condition of the papyrus roll, the form of the book Aristotle and his contemporaries had.[106] (In fact, this was the standard book form until the second century CE, and even after that the papyrus roll continued in use for a few more centuries.) The repeated rolling and unrolling of the papyrus in order to read or consult it would relatively soon result in the deterioration of the writing and of the papyrus material. This would lead an author, and Aristotle in particular,[107] to have an extra copy available for his own use. Moreover, in all probability Aristotle would have permitted at least some of his students, such as Theophrastus and Eudemus, to own copies of his scholarly works, especially given the nature of his school with its emphasis on cooperative research.[108] Nor is it likely that the advanced students who had attended his lectures would have been deprived of the possibility of consulting the related works of their teacher. Furthermore, is it possible that, when Aristotle left Athens in 323, he did not carry with him copies of at least some of his most important treatises or arranged that they be sent to Calchis? (Aristotle's testament[109] does not refer to any books at all, but it is only a private document which does not mention the school either.) Certainly Theophrastus, who succeeded Aristotle as head of the school[110] and who had been his associate for more than thirty years, must have possessed copies of Aristotle's scholarly works for his own research as well as for his teaching. There is also some evidence in the lists of Aristotle's and Theophrastus' writings that

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[105] I certainly do not mean that the copies of Aristotle's scholarly writings that circulated in his school, at least until the death of Theophrastus (and perhaps even later) were published in the sense that booksellers could produce copies and sell them. Cf. the remarks in the text above that follow this note.

[106] Cf. p. 11 with note 51 *supra*.

[107] Since he must have gone back to his writings often, as even the references and cross-references show, most of which he must have inserted himself.

[108] Cf. especially Jaeger, *Aristoteles*,[2] pp. 346–365 = *Aristotle*,[2] pp. 324–341. I refer to Jaeger for his emphasis on Aristotle's organization of research as a collective enterprise, but I do not agree with his theory about Aristotle's evolution.

[109] On Aristotle's testament cf. Diogenes Laertius V, 11–16, cf. Düring, pp. 61–64. Ptolemy's biography of Aristotle also contains his will (cf. Hein's translation of the introductory address to Gallus; Hein, p. 419); it probably goes back to Andronicus.

[110] In 323. He held the headship of the school until ca. 286. Cf. Diogenes Laertius V, 36. At his death Strato succeeded him, until 268 BCE. Cf. Diogenes Laertius V, 58.

points to Theophrastus' utilization of Aristotle's writings.[111] (I cannot go here into the obvious fact that several of Theophrastus' works reveal his dependence on Aristotle's scholarly treatises.) In the case of Eudemus, we know that he eventually went back to Rhodes; whether this happened during Aristotle's lifetime or after his death, there is good evidence that at least some of Aristotle's most important scholarly writings were available there during the Hellenistic age, well before Andronicus' edition. This is reinforced by the testimony of Simplicius, who refers to Eudemus' *Physics* and also cites a letter from Eudemus to Theophrastus (and the latter's reply), where Eudemus consults Theophrastus as to the precise reading of a passage in Aristotle's *Physics*.[112] This shows that Theophrastus and Eudemus must have had copies of the *Physics* available to them, and that they paid the closest attention to Aristotle's *ipsissima verba*. Nor is it likely that when Theophrastus left his library to Neleus (cf. the next section), the Peripatos under Strato was deprived of all his works and those of Aristotle; the probability is that there was at least one copy of Aristotle's and Theophrastus' works in the school.

2. *From the Deaths of Theophrastus and Eudemus until the End of the First Century* CE

Let us begin with four texts related to the external fate of Aristotle's library and of his MSS: 1) Strabo, *Geogr*. XIII, 1, 54 (608–609); 2) Plutarch, *Sulla*, ch. 26 (468 A–B); 3) Athenaeus V, 214 D–215 A; 4) Athenaeus I, 3 A–B.[113]

Strabo's story is the more circumstantial and least trustworthy of all; I will here refer only to those parts of his account related to the point at issue. According to him Neleus inherited Theophrastus' library,[114] which included that of Aristotle. Eventually, Neleus went back to Scepsis and left his library to his heirs, uncultivated people,[115] who shut up the books, not storing them carefully. Still later descendants of Neleus, fearing that,

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[111] Cf. Nr. 75 in Diogenes' list: Πολιτικῆς ἀκροάσεως ὡς ἡ Θεοφράστου (sc. ἔκδοσις) α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ ς′ ζ′ η′, probably our *Politics*.

[112] Simplicius, *Phys*., p. 923, 9–15.

[113] In this section I adopt and expand on some of my remarks in *Gnomon* 53 (1981), pp. 721–750 = (2001), pp. 479–524. I hope to publish elsewhere a full analysis of these four texts and others related to the transmission of Aristotle's works.

[114] Cf. in Theophrastus' will (Diogenes Laertius V, 52): τὰ δὲ βιβλία πάντα Νηλεῖ.

[115] Given the context this is probably what ἰδιώτης means here. Cf. LSJ, *s.v*. III. 1. Of course the meaning "ignoramus" (LSJ, III. 3) would also make sense.

in their eager search for books to build up the Pergamene library, the Attalid kings (to whom Scepsis was subject) might get hold of Neleus' library, concealed the books underground in some sort of trench where they suffered damage by the effect of moisture and of moths. Some of Neleus' descendants later sold both the books of Aristotle and those of Theophrastus to Apellicon of Teos for a large sum of money. Apellicon was a lover of books rather than a philosopher; trying to restore the damaged copies he made new ones, filling up the lacunae incorrectly,[116] and published[117] them full of mistakes. Consequently, the old Peripatetics after Theophrastus had only a few of Aristotle's books, mostly exoteric works; hence they were not able to philosophize effectively (φιλοσοφεῖν πραγματικῶς) but only to declaim commonplaces in rhetorical fashion (θέσεις ληκυθίζειν).[118] On the other hand, the later Peripatetics, from the time the books were published, were better able to philosophize and aristotelize[119] but they were nevertheless forced to call most of their statements probable[120] due to the large number of errors. Rome, where Sulla carried Apellicon's library after his death, also contributed to this. There the grammarian Tyrannion of Amisus,[121] an admirer of

[116] Cf. Strabo's words about what Apellicon allegedly did: ζητῶν ἐπανόρθωσιν τῶν διαβρωμάτων εἰς ἀντίγραφα καινὰ μετήνεγκε τὴν γραφήν, ἀναπληρῶν οὐκ εὖ = "(Apellicon) seeking to correct the worm eaten parts, transferred the writing into new copies, filling up (sc. the empty places) not well."

[117] That Strabo means that Apellicon published the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus, is shown by his use of the technical expression ἐξέδωκεν. On ἐκδίδωμι in this sense cf. note 81 *supra*.

[118] The context in Strabo shows that θέσεις ληκυθίζειν refers to rhetorical, not to philosophical θέσεις. On the possible origin of such an expression cf. Brink (1940), col. 907, 34–44. Callimachus, frag. 215 (Pfeiffer), referred to by Barnes (1997), p. 12, n. 55, is not a parallel, for it, as well as Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1200 (cf. Dover's note) and 1208 (cf. Stanford's note) refer to Tragedy and are not related to the rhetorical use of θέσεις ληκυθίζειν in Strabo. Cf. also the texts Pfeiffer cites in his note on frag. 215.

[119] Strabo must mean that they were able to do so because they had access to all of Aristotle's works, for immediately afterwards he points out that the later Peripatetics were hampered by the deficient texts to which they had access.

[120] Because they could not be sure that the conjectures they contained were right. The objections Barnes (1997), p. 2, n. 4 raises against such a meaning of εἰκότα seem to have no validity. εἰκός is neuter participle of ἔοικα. It means "like truth," "probable," "reasonable," with or without ἐστί. Cf. LSJ, *s.v.* εἰκός. Of course we should not in this case take εἰκότα as implying probability in a technical, mathematical or logical sense. The emendation Barnes proposes, εἰκῇ is not only unnecessary but gives the wrong sense, since εἰκῇ λέγειν would mean "to speak at random."

[121] On this Tyrannion cf. Wendel, *RE* VII A, 2 (1948), cols. 1811, 55–1819, 11 (on his relation to Aristotelian and Theophrastean MSS, 1813, 16–1814, 4); Düring, p. 421; and especially Pfeiffer (1968), pp. 272–273.

Aristotle, got access to his works by befriending the librarian, as did also some booksellers[122] who employed poor quality scribes and did not collate the texts,[123] a not unusual practice, according to Strabo, both in Rome and in Alexandria. It is only in regard to the booksellers, not to Tyrannion, that Strabo explains his previous statement that in Rome further mistakes were introduced into the MSS of Aristotle and of Theophrastus.

Strabo intended this story, whatever his source, to denigrate the value of the Peripatetics, both Theophrastus' successors and also those of the first century BCE. The later school, in the first century BCE and after, had access to Aristotle's works but in unreliable copies full of conjectures. This alone would suffice to reject Strabo's story, for it assumes as facts two things that contradict our evidence: first, that Aristotle's technical writings were unknown during most of the Hellenistic age, which is not the case, as we shall presently see; second, that the MSS of Aristotle's treatises eventually were full of errors, which of course cannot be true, since our MSS of Aristotle are not corrupt to that extent. Moreover, Strabo's story implies that the books were concealed in a trench for fifty years or more (from the time of Eumenes II, when the Attalids began to build up their library, until the books were sold to Apellicon), enough time for the moths to have eaten all or practically all of the papyri books, as Drossaart Lulofs (1999), pp. 19–20 says (he consulted an entomologist).

Plutarch's passage is somewhat parallel to Strabo's, indicating that they both ultimately go back to a common source. But Plutarch does not denigrate the early Peripatos and does not mention the later one, nor does he say that the works of Aristotle were totally unknown until the first century BCE. In the third passage (Athenaeus V, 214 D–215 A = Posidonius, *FGH* 87 F 36 = Posidonius, F 253 [Edelstein-Kidd]), Posidonius mentions Apellicon's acquisition of Aristotle's works or library but does not say from whom Apellicon bought them; in fact he seems

122 *Pace* Barnes (1997), p. 19 with n. 89, no verb is missing in the sentence καὶ βιβλιοπῶλαί τινες κτλ. See the full text in the following note. We must supply διεχειρίσαντο from the preceding διεχειρίσατο: in cases such as this, Greek authors do not repeat the verb.

123 The words Strabo uses must mean that the booksellers, who employed bad scribes, failed to compare the copies the scribes produced with the MSS they had copied. Cf. βιβλιοπῶλαί τινες γραφεῦσι φαύλοις χρώμενοι καὶ οὐκ ἀντιβάλλοντες. For ἀντιβάλλω in this sense cf. LSJ. *s.v.* III and *Suppl.*, *s.v.* II.

not to have found anything unusual in the possibility of Apellicon's purchase. Our last text, Athenaeus I, 3 A–B states that Neleus sold all the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus to Ptolemy Philadelphus, i. e. in the third century BCE.

It is of decisive importance that we have uncontroversial evidence that Aristotle's works were available during the Hellenistic age, but before listing some of the extant testimony, preliminary considerations are in order. First of all, with a few exceptions that do not affect the point at issue, the works of Hellenistic philosophers are not extant;[124] we have only fragments and reports about them. Secondly, the difficult nature of Aristotle's scholarly treatises—pointed out above—made them inaccessible to the general public, even a cultivated one. Finally, and from a different point of view, we must mention the attitude of the enthusiasts of the "lost Aristotle." They, when confronted with evidence that Hellenistic philosophers were acquainted with technical and difficult doctrines found in Aristotle's scholarly treatises, even with verbatim terminological allusions, usually argue as follows: in his scholarly treatises Aristotle is merely quoting from his published books.[125] Such an attitude, however, apart from its circular character, is contradicted by the evidence we still have, as will be pointed out below. It is also implausible because even in different scholarly treatises, when Aristotle is writing about the same doctrines, his language is often not verbatim the same.[126] The very lists of his works as extant in Diogenes Laertius and in the first part of Hesychius go back to the third century BCE,[127] which is evidence that at least some of Aristotle's scholarly treatises were available well before the first century BCE, in some library, either in Athens or in Alexandria. Moreover, the evidence of Cicero's *De finibus* discussed below shows that in the first part of the first century BCE, at least some of Aristotle's treatises were available in Rome.

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124 The letters of Epicurus preserved in Diogenes Laertius and Cleanthes' *Hymn to Zeus* are the exceptions.

125 Against this facile interpretation cf. the remarks of Diels (1883), and *idem*, *GGA* (1894), pp. 296–297.

126 One example out of several: *Met*. K. 1–8 (up to 1065a26) is a shorter version of the doctrine developed in books ΒΓΕ. *Pace* Aubenque (1983) and others, these chapters in book K are an authentic work of Aristotle, though we cannot tell, *pace* Jaeger (1912), pp. 63 ff., Ross, *Metaphysics*, I, pp. xxv ff., and other scholars, whether it is earlier or later than the longer version found in ΒΓΕ. Cf. Décarie (1983).

127 Cf. pp. 14–17 *supra*.

The following examples provide evidence of the availability of Aristotle's scholarly writings during the Hellenistic age: Aristophanes of Byzantium's *Epitome*,[128] Athenaeus, Aelian, and others,[129] show that Aristotle's zoological writings could be found in Alexandria and probably in other cities as well. A fragmentary papyrus makes it clear that Epicurus states he was acquainted with Aristotle's *Analytics* and *Physics*,[130] and he must have known the *De caelo* also.[131] Moreover, his arguments against certain typical doctrines of Aristotle; in other cases, his utilization of Aristotle's criticism of the Atomists in establishing some of his own peculiar doctrines, show that he knew other Aristotelian technical writings as well.[132]

In the case of Chrysippus, the following examples should suffice. What he says about mixture, as the very wording shows, contradicts an explicit statement of Aristotle's.[133] The same is true when he rejects certain typical Aristotelian conceptions, and when he maintains that ἐπιχαιρεκακία is non-existent, whereas Aristotle considers it a vice.[134] On the other hand,

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[128] Aristophanes' work on animals is extant only in a Byzantine summary made by Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Cf. Lambros' preface and edition in *CAG*, *Suppl.* I, i. Cf. also Fraser (1972), I, pp. 460–461 with nn. 116–120 (II, pp. 665 ff.).

[129] Cf. Düring (1950) and Keaney (1963), pp. 52–58.

[130] Cf. Crönert, *Kolotes und Menedemus*, p. 174; *Pap. Hercul.* # 105, frag. 21 = F. Sbordone, *Philodemi Adversus [Sophistas]* (1947), p. 75, lines 11–14 = *Epicuro* frag. 127 (Arrighetti^2), p. 473 with note on p. 683. Cf. the important remarks of Simplicius, *Phys.*, p. 925, 15–22.

[131] Cf. W. Schmid (1944), pp. 44–50; Capone Braga (1955), p. 109; W. Schmid (1962), cols. 700–701. On Epicurus' knowledge of Aristotle's scholarly writings for his physical doctrines cf. also Barigazzi (1959), 29–59 (about time); Mau (1954), pp. 27–28, 29, 32–33, 34–35, 43, 45; Furley (1967), pp. 111–130. Cf. also the following note.

[132] Epicurus introduced the "swerve" of the atoms for the purpose of answering the physical problem posed by Aristotle's objection to Democritus' atomism. Cf. Epicurus, *Epist.* I, 61 + 46^b with Aristotle, *Physics* 215b21–22 and 216a20. Cf. Katz, *AJP* 64 (1943), pp. 432–435; Cherniss, *Plutarch's Moralia* (LCL), XIII, ii, p. 548, n. *c* with additional references to the scholarly literature. For Epicurus' dependence on Aristotle's scholarly writings for his psychology cf. Diano (1940), pp. 151–158; for his use of Aristotle's ethical writings cf. Furley (1967), pp. 164–168.

[133] Cf. *SVF* II, frag. 480 in Plutarch, *De comm. notit.* 1078 E: καὶ ταῦτα προσδέχεται Χρύσιππος εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Φυσικῶν Ζητημάτων οὐδὲν ἀπέχειν φάμενος οἴνου σταλαγμὸν ἕνα κεράσαι τὴν θάλατταν and contrast Aristotle, *De gen. et corr.* I. 10, 328a26–28: διὸ σταλαγμὸς οἴνου μυρίοις χορεῦσιν ὕδατος οὐ μίγνωται, λύεται γὰρ τὸ εἶδος. Cf. Pohlenz, *Stoa* I, p. 72 and II, p. 42 (top), and especially Cherniss, *Plutarch's Moralia* (LCL), XIII, ii, p. 810, n. *a*.

[134] Cf. *SVF* III, frag. 672 (p. 168, 10–12); Plutarch, *De Stoic. repug.* 1046 B–C (on Chrysippus' allegedly self-contradicting himself). For Aristotle's doctrine about ἐπιχαιρεκακία cf. *Eth. Nic.* II. 6, 1107a8–17; II. 7, 1108b1–6; *Rhet.* II. 9, 1386b34–1387a4 and II. 2, 1379b17–19. Chrysippus' polemical attitude would not really be affected even in

what Chrysippus says about φαντασία is almost certainly indebted to one of Aristotle's statements about it.[135] In the case of Posidonius we have good evidence that he was acquainted with Aristotle's *De anima* and with some of the physical works,[136] but he probably knew other Aristotelian treatises as well.[137] The testimony of Cicero is important on two counts. In the first place, he was aware of the existence of Aristotle's scholarly works, even though he probably either did not read them at all or not to any great extent; that he was acquainted with their existence in Lucullus' library is shown by the way he refers to them in his *De finibus*.[138] Secondly, in his philosophical writings he makes use of the works of Hellenistic philosophers no longer extant. Hence, when we find in Cicero evidence of Aristotle's scholarly treatises, we have additional indication that Hellenistic philosophers were acquainted with them. I offer two examples: what Cicero writes in a passage of *De natura deorum* reproduces what Aristotle says in *De partibus animalium*;[139] and in *De divinatione*, Aristotle's *In somniis* and *De divinatione per somnum* are paraphrased, as Pease saw.[140]

In addition we know from Cicero's *De Finibus* (III, iii, 10 and III, ii, 7) that he saw technical works of Aristotle—he calls them *commentarii*—in the library which young Lucullus had inherited from his father.

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the case that his doctrine about ἐπιχαιρεκακία were self-contradictory. But cf. Cherniss' important note, *Plutarch's Moralia* (LCL), XIII, ii, p. 517, n. *e*.

[135] Cf. *SVF* II, frag. 54 (pp. 21, 28–22,2): εἴρεται δὲ ἡ φαντασία ἀπὸ τοῦ φωτός· καθάπερ γὰρ τὸ φῶς αὐτὸ δείκνυσι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ περιεχόμενα, καὶ ἡ φαντασία δείκνυσιν ἑαυτὴν καὶ τὸ πεποιηκὸς αὐτήν. Compare with Aristotle, *De anima* III. 3, 429a2–4: ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ ὄψις μάλιστα αἴσθησίς ἐστι, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα (sc. τῆς φαντασίας) ἀπὸ τοῦ φάους εἴληφεν, ὅτι ἄνευ φωτὸς οὐκ ἔστιν ἰδεῖν.

[136] For his acquaintance with the *De anima* cf. Aristotle, *De anima* I. 5, 411b6–10 with Achilles, *Isagoge*, ch. 13 (p. 41, 2–5 [Maass]) = Posidonius, frag. 149 (Edelstein-Kidd) with Kidd's *Commentary*, vol. II, i, pp. 549–551 with references. For his acquaintance with the physical treatises, especially *De caelo*, *De gen. et corr.*, and *Meteorologica* cf. Simplicius, *Phys*., pp. 291, 21–292, 31 = frag. 18 (Edelstein-Kidd) with Kidd's *Commentary*, II, i, pp. 84–86 and 129–136; Simplicius, *De caelo*, pp. 699, 14–700, 8, especially p. 700, 3–8 = frag. 93a (Edelstein-Kidd) with Kidd's *Commentary*, II, i, pp. 33–35, 58–59, 375–379.

[137] Kidd seems to imply that Posidonius probably consulted Aristotle's works in Apellicon's library, for he did mention the latter's acquisition of "Aristotle's library." He may have done so, but Rhodes was one of the places where Aristotle's treatises must have been available, since Eudemus surely had copies of them. It is noteworthy that also Panaetius shows in his doctrines the influence of Aristotle.

[138] Cf. *infra*.

[139] Cf. Cicero, *De nat. deor.* II, 143 and *De Partibus Animalium* II. 15, 658b14–18.

[140] Cf. Cicero, *De div.* II, 128 with Pease's notes (vol. II, p. 555).

We come now to Andronicus of Rhodes, whom Strabo in his list of famous Rhodians,[141] characterizes as ὁ ἐκ τῶν περιπάτων, that is "Andronicus the Peripatetic." We know from Plutarch's *Life of Sulla*, chapter 26 and from Porphyry's *Vita Plotini*, chapter 24, lines 1–16 (Henry–Schwyzer) that Andronicus published an edition of Aristotle's works and a catalogue related to it. It is not necessary to think with some scholars that this was a critical edition of the texts of Aristotle's technical treatises; Andronicus may very well have employed existing MSS and arranged them in the order he thought right: we know that his main interest was his arrangement of the individual books of the larger treatises and also that of the treatises themselves in a certain order. For example, Andronicus thought the study of Aristotle ought to begin with logic.[142] What place he gave to the *Poetics* is not known, but it is likely that Ptolemy's order *Poetics* first and *Rhetoric* second goes back to him. As for the approximate date of his edition and catalogue, Düring and others have rightly conjectured 40–20 BCE, in any case in the second half of the first century BCE. Moraux and others prefer a date in the first half of the first century BCE which is unlikely for two reasons: first, because it is based on statements by Ammonius and Elias that are not trustworthy;[143] second, because Cicero (died in 43) never mentions Andronicus or any particular edition or catalogue of Aristotle's writings. Beginning in the second half of the first century BCE there was a revival of interest in Aristotle's scholarly works, but we have no evidence of any particular interest in the *Poetics* by these philosophers.[144]

141 *Geography*, XIV, 2, 13.

142 Philoponus, in the introduction to his commentary on Aristotle's *Categories* (p. 5, 15–33), reports three different opinions about the question of how to begin the study of Aristotle: the opinion of Boethus of Sidon that we must first study physics, since physical objects are most familiar and knowable; that of his teacher Andronicus, that we must start from logic, which is about proof; and the (Neoplatonic) opinion that we must begin with ethics. The passage about Andronicus, p. 5, 18–20, is worth quoting: ὁ δὲ τούτου διδάσκαλος Ἀνδρόνικος ὁ Ῥόδιος ἀκριβέστερον ἐξετάζων ἔλεγε χρῆναι πρότερον ἀπὸ τῆς λογικῆς ἄρχεσθαι, ἥτις περὶ τὴν ἀπόδειξιν καταγίνεται. Cf. also Elias, *Cat.* p. 117, 22–24.

143 The evidence of Ammonius (*De Interpr.*, p. 5, 28–29) and of Elias (*Categ.*, pp. 113, 18–19 and 117, 22–23) that Andronicus was the eleventh head of the Peripatos is inconsistent and unreliable: 1) Elias depends on Ammonius; 2) Ammonius, *In Anal. Pr.*, p. 31, 12–13 says that Boethus was the eleventh head of the Peripatos. Nothing was really known about the heads of the Peripatos after Lycon and Ariston, cf. Brink (1940), cols. 908–911. On the whole question cf. my remarks against Littig and Moraux in *Gnomon* 53 (1981), pp. 731–733 = (2000), pp. 493–496.

144 On these philosophers cf. Moraux (1973), Moraux (1984), and Moraux (2001).

3. *From the Second Century* CE *to the* Poetics' *Archetype*

Since we cannot be certain of the exact date of the archetype of the *Poetics*, we shall consider that this period extends to the end of the sixth century or perhaps the first half of the seventh. Also here we wish we were better informed about the transmission; from the point of view of the establishment of the text, there are really no significant verbatim quotations; even mere references are few and mostly unhelpful. To judge from the indices and from my own recollection, there are, for example, no references at all to the *Poetics* in any of the genuine works of Alexander of Aphrodisias included in the *CAG* and in its *Suppl.*[145] There are a few in the late Neoplatonic school of Ammonius and his followers; yet the very fact that they placed the *Poetics* and the *Rhetoric* together with the logical works[146] suggests that their interest in the *Poetics* was limited to what we may call the "linguistic" parts, i.e. chapters 20–22, and other related passages; in any case, their references are not helpful for the establishment of the text. Also on the part of literary critics there was interest in chapter 25 and in some related passages, but such critics, judging from the extant evidence, were not interested in Aristotle's theory of epic and drama, which occupies the bulk of the work.

It is well known that Aristotle published a work, probably a dialogue, in three books called "On Poets" (Περὶ ποιητῶν),[147] to which in all probability he himself refers in 6, 1454b18 as ἐν τοῖς ἐκδεδομένοις.[148] Some ancient authors mention it several times[149] but on occasion confuse it with the *Poetics*,[150] perhaps one more indication that there was little interest in, and knowledge of, the latter.

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145 It is noteworthy that Alexander, in his *De Fato* (*CAG*, *Suppl.* 2. 2, pp. 164–212), attacks the Stoic doctrine of Fate. He does not refer to the *Poetics*, or even to Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* for Apollo's prophecy to Laius. Rather, following some of his predecessors in his polemics, especially against Chrysippus, he quotes Apollo's prophecy to Laius (cf. *De Fato*, pp. 202, 5–203, 10) from Euripides, *Phoenissae* 19–20. On the question of Alexander's polemic and the theory of tragedy cf. Pack (1937).

146 Walzer (1934), pp. 5–14 = Walzer (1962), pp. 129–136.

147 So it appears in the three ancient lists of his writings: Diogenes Laertius, V, 22 (Nr. 2 Περὶ ποιητῶν α′ β′ γ′); Hesychius (Nr. 2, Περὶ ποιητῶν γ′), and Ptolemy (Nr. 7, his book "On the Poets," three books).

148 Cf. p. 21 *supra*.

149 Cf. the testimonia in Rose (p. 76) and in Ross (p. 67). Also frags. 70–77 (Rose) and frags. 1–8 (Ross). Cf. also Gigon (1987), pp. 263–267.

150 Cf. Diog. Laert. II, 46 = frag. 75 (Rose) = frag. 7 (Ross): καθά φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τρίτῳ περὶ ποιητικῆς; [Plutarch], *Vit. Hom.* 3 = frag. 76 (Rose) = frag. 8 (Ross): Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ περὶ ποιητικῆς.

Towards the end of the second century CE a new book form, the codex (essentially similar to the books of our own time) began to be used for the transmission of literary, historical, rhetorical, philosophical, and other texts.[151] The change from roll to codex did not happen all at once but was slow and progressive; even in the third century the roll was still the prevalent book form. By the end of the fourth, most texts of ancient authors then current were copied into codices, and this process was practically completed by the end of the sixth or, at the latest, by the middle of the seventh century. This change in the book form had the unintended consequence of causing the loss of many texts, since those works which happened not to be of interest at the time ceased to be copied. In the case of the *Poetics* it may have led to the loss of the second book.

A word of caution must be given in evaluating the relationship between the extant ancient materials and the availability of Aristotle's works during this period. The fact is that with very few and unrelated exceptions, practically all the surviving evidence about the circulation of ancient Greek authors' works comes from the papyrological remains found in Egypt, in places like Oxyrhynchus, Hawara, etc. For example, let us look at Table 11. 2 of p. 269 in Johnson (2009). It is based on the data provided by *LDAB*,[152] and includes "Fragments of more than 3,000 book rolls, 1,000 papyrus codices, and another 1,000 parchment codices."[153] In it we find a list of twenty two Greek authors—but the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are given separate entrances, as the former is more widely attested than the latter. The authors are listed in descending order on the basis of their being extant in a diminishing number of copies. Aristotle, the least attested Greek author of those attested at all, appears with nine (plus one doubtful) papyrus book rolls and one papyrus codex. Yet it would be a mistake to infer from this table that at the time Aristotle was very little read. It is true that he was not a popular author and that few people—unless they were professional philosophers—could follow the intricate arguments of his scholarly works; but these papyri do not come from Alexandria, let alone from the Alexandrian libraries. Secondly, and even more significant: the most important places where

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[151] On the book roll of papyrus and its gradual replacement by the codex cf. Johnson (2009), pp. 256–281.

[152] *LDAB* = *Leuven Database of Ancient Books*, ed. W. Clarysse. http:// ldab. kuleuven. be/.

[153] Johnson (2009), p. 268.

Aristotle's technical treatises were copied, studied, and commented upon in the second, third, and following CE centuries, were Athens, Rhodes, Alexandria, and even Rome after Plotinus settled there. However, most of the copies of Aristotle's technical writings produced during these centuries have perished; none of the extant MSS on which our modern texts of Aristotle and of his commentators are based is earlier than the ninth or tenth century CE. Of course they go back to earlier MSS and ultimately to Aristotle and to his commentators; my point is simply that we should not, in the absence of evidence, infer from the scarcity, or non existence, of ancient remains that Aristotle's works were little known during the centuries we are considering in this section.

The most important part of the revival of Aristotelian studies began in the second and third centuries[154] and continued until the first years of the seventh;[155] it was helped also by Marcus Aurelius' creation of four state supported chairs of philosophy at Athens in 176, among them a chair of Aristotelian philosophy.[156] Alexander of Aphrodisias, the greatest ancient Aristotelian commentator, was appointed to his chair between 198 and 209 by the emperors Septimius Severus and Caracalla.[157] However, to judge from the extant evidence, with the exception of the "linguistic" parts of the *Poetics*, neither the orthodox Aristotelians nor the Neoplatonic commentators exhibit any interest in the core of the *Poetics*, Aristotle's theory of Tragedy and Epic. Even the fragmentary evidence

[154] On the Aristotelian philosophers of these centuries cf. Moraux (1984) and Moraux (2001).

[155] Stephanus of Alexandria (on whom cf. Westerink (1962), pp. XXIV–XXV; (1990), pp. XXXIX–XLII) was nominated by the Emperor Heraclius, soon after 610 CE, to be οἰκουμενικὸς διδάσκαλος of the newly founded Imperial academy. Of him, on the philosophical side, we still have a commentary on the third book of the *De Anima*, wrongly published as the third book of Philoponus' commentary, cf. Westerink (1962), p. XXIV and n. 87; (1990), p. XXXIX and n. 111. Stephanus' work is found in *CAG* XV, pp. 446–607 and his commentary on the *De Interpretatione* in *CAG*, XVIII, 3.

[156] Cf. J.H. Oliver (1970), pp. 80–84 and (1981), pp. 216–217 and 221–225 = *idem* (1983), pp. 87–88 and 91–94, 95–96. To this discussion one should add the publication of a new inscription about Alexander, cf. the following note. (Oliver's second publication contains a thorough refutation of Dillon's manipulation of the evidence.)

[157] That Alexander was appointed by Septimius Severus and Caracalla he himself states in his *De Fato* (cf. note 145 *supra*), p. 164, 3–5 and 13–15. Cf. Zeller, III, i, pp. 708 with nn. 1–2 and 709 with nn. 1–2; Lynch (1972), pp. 169 ff. Thanks to a new inscription from Aphrodisias we now know that Alexander held the chair at Athens, that he was from Aphrodisias in Caria, that also his homonymous father was a philosopher, and that both father and son were Roman citizens. On the inscription cf. Chaniotis (2004) and Sharples (2005).

provided by literary and rhetorical authors shows no real interest in Aristotle's views but is limited to using the *Poetics* as a source for references to poets and to their procedures. No commentary on the *Poetics* is known to have been written in ancient times.

There certainly was an archetype behind the four extant primary witnesses to the text of the *Poetics*; evidence for this and for other assertions made here about the archetype is furnished in Chapter Three of this Introduction.[158] The existence of an archetype[159] is proved by a number of *significant* mistakes[160] in all our primary witnesses; these mistakes moreover show that the archetype of the *Poetics* was a MS written in majuscule letters and in *scriptio continua*, that is without word separation, accents, breathings, and practically with no punctuation. Irigoin[161] has dated this archetype to the sixth century; yet his argument, based as it is on the shape of certain letters, is not valid, because the type of writing where such letter shapes appear is attested several centuries earlier than the sixth.[162] In fact, we cannot even ascertain whether the archetype of the *Poetics* was a book roll or a codex. This is due not only to the uncertainty about the date of the archetype, which could with good probability be as early as the fourth century, but also about the likelihood that some papyrus rolls survived for several centuries. Be that as it may, our archetype of the *Poetics* had probably already become detached from the transmission of the rest of the Aristotelian corpus of the technical treatises, except possibly the *Rhetoric* (though even this cannot be ascertained). The reason is that in our earliest MSS of the works of Aristotle the tradition of the *Poetics* is independent from that of his main philosophical works such as *Physics*, *Metaphysics*, etc.

4. *From the Ninth to the Fourteenth Century*

The discovery that only four primary witnesses to the text of the *Poetics* are extant has been the outcome of a slow process; its results had been partially established but, with the exception of MS **B** (cf. *infra*), not really proved for each of the four witnesses. Several scholars who worked

[158] On the archetype of the *Poetics* cf. Chapter Three (*g*).
[159] For the strict notion of archetype cf. note 25 *supra*.
[160] On what constitutes a significant mistake cf. p. 7 and note 27 *supra*.
[161] Cf. Irigoin (1986–1987; 1997), pp. 171–178.
[162] Cf. Cavallo (1967), *passim*.

during the latter part of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries pointed out the existence of these four witnesses. However, it is also important both for the text and for its interpretation to discuss the transmission from the fifteenth century onwards. This is the purpose of the next three sections and of the third chapter of this Introduction, in so far as the Graeco-Latin tradition is concerned. To the vicissitudes of the Syro-Arabic translation Gutas has devoted the second chapter; my own comments will therefore be limited to its contribution to the constitution of the *Poetics*' text.

Before going into the next sections it is important for the reader to be aware of the following facts. At present, this is what we know:

The four primary witnesses to the text of the *Poetics* are:

1) **A**, *Parisinus Graecus* 1741, written about the middle or second half of the tenth century.[163]
2) **B**, *Riccardianus* 46, probably of about the middle of the twelfth century.[164]
3) Lat.: the Latin translation by William of Moerbeke, finished on March 1, 1278.[165]
4) Ar.: the Arabic translation of the *Poetics* by Abu-Bishr Matta ibn-Yunus (d. 940), extant in *Parisinus Arabus* 2346. This translation is not from the Greek but from an earlier Syriac translation.[166]

The two Greek MSS are known to have been in Italy by the fifteenth century.[167] Moerbeke's translation, however, remained unknown until 1931[168] and was not published until 1953. In 1887 D.S. Margoliouth called attention to the importance of the Syro-Arabic translation.[169] How-

[163] Among others, Omont (1891), p. VIII; Bywater (1909), p. xxxvii; and Kassel, pp. v and xvi date **A** to the tenth or eleventh century; Lobel (1933), p. 6, to the end of the tenth. However, Harlfinger and Reinsch have shown, by comparison with other MSS, that **A** should be dated to about the middle or second half of the tenth century. Kassel (1971), p. 11 follows the last two mentioned authors. Further on this MS cf. Chapter Three (*a*).

[164] On **B** cf. the next three sections and Chapter Three (*d*).

[165] The translation, in its two extant MSS, is anonymous, but Minio-Paluello has rightly ascribed it to Moerbeke by comparison with some of his other translations and by explaining that the date is 1278: cf. Minio-Paluello (1947), 1–17 = *idem* (1972), pp. 40–56. Cf. also section 7) *infra* and Chapter Three (*b*).

[166] For detailed information about the Syro-Arabic translation cf. Gutas in Chapter Two.

[167] Cf. Chapter Three, sections (*a*), (*d*), and (*h*).

[168] Cf. Chapter Three (*b*).

[169] Cf. section 6).

ever, the recognition that these four are the only primary witnesses to the text of the *Poetics* happened only in the first half of the twentieth century.[170]

Both in the Graeco-Latin and in the Syro-Arabic traditions there are additional materials and readings to be considered which we need not enumerate here[171] but which in no way affect the fact that the four sources mentioned above are the only primary witnesses to the text. Moreover, because of a number of significant mistakes they share, they ultimately go back to a common archetype, Ω.[172]

Some additional results have already been established: First, apart from **B**, all the remaining Greek MSS of the *Poetics* descend directly or indirectly from **A**.[173] Second, **A** and Lat. share a number of significant errors that show them to derive ultimately from a no longer extant Greek MS, Π.[174] (The Greek exemplar from which Moerbeke made his translation is designated Φ.[175]) Third, again by a number of significant errors they share, Π and **B** ultimately derive from a common ancestor Ξ,[176] which is the sub-archetype of the Graeco-Latin tradition. Finally, the Syro-Arabic translation goes back to a no longer extant Greek MS, Σ.[177] These conclusions will be further refined in Chapter Three for the Graeco-Latin tradition and in Chapter Two for the Syro-Arabic tradition. In Byzantium the *Poetics* does not appear to have been much read, though this impression may be due to the lack of scholarly attention to the issue by Byzantinists.[178] What little knowledge of the *Poetics* the Western world had during the late Middle Ages derived from Hermannus Alemannus' Latin translation of Averroes' Middle Commentary, made in Toledo in 1256: there is a modern edition in Minio-Paluello (1968). It is

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170 Cf. section 7).

171 They are mentioned in the rest of this chapter and in the two following.

172 With the exception of the archetype, I have adopted for the MSS that must be reconstructed from the extant witnesses the sigla suggested by Minio-Paluello (cf. Moerbeke (1953)), and adopted by Kassel. But I can see no reason to call the archetype Λ, and I have, with most recent editions of Greek philosophical texts, used Ω. On Ω cf. Chapter Three (*g*).

173 Lobel (1933) has demonstrated this. See also the supplements and corrections by Harlfinger-Reinsch (1970).

174 On Π cf. Chapter Three (*c*).

175 On Φ cf. Chapter Three (*b*).

176 On Ξ cf. Chapter Three (*e*).

177 On Σ cf. Gutas' Chapter Two, and my Chapter Three (*f*).

178 On Tzetzes cf. note on 1447a28–b29 *infra*.

time now to turn our attention to the vicissitudes of the text of the *Poetics* during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which resulted in the Aldine edition as a kind of *textus receptus*. This had adverse consequences for the text and also for the interpretation of the *Poetics*, as we shall see.

5. *From the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century*

For several reasons this period is completely different from all those which preceded it. On the one hand, we shall presently be dealing with MSS, translations, editions and commentaries of the *Poetics*. On the other hand, the philological approach is intertwined with a strong literary interest. Although our main concern here is with the philological and textual aspects, we must also say something about its reception from the literary perspective, which had an important influence on the text and on its interpretation during these four centuries. The two aspects are always intimately connected: even the narrowest textual critic must take into account Aristotle's conception of poetry, especially of Epic and Drama, its historical background, the tendency of his treatise, and also his more general philosophical conceptions and terminology. Yet the interpretation of the *Poetics* from a literary point of view during these centuries was largely unhistorical. Most scholars and critics were interested in it for the light it might throw on the vernacular literatures of Western Europe; they took it as dealing with the same kind of problems as those with which the poets and prose writers of the vernacular literatures were concerned.[179] We have to wait for the last half of the nineteenth century for the scholarly and historical interpretation of the *Poetics* to appear and make progress.[180]

We must, however, differentiate the work done during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries from that of the seventeenth and eighteenth.

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[179] The great influence of the *Poetics* on the literatures and education of Western Europe through the second half of the eighteenth century has been well described by Dilthey (1887), p. 305 (= *Ges. Schr.* VI, p. 103): "Die von Aristoteles geschaffene Poetik war in allen Zeitaltern bewußten kunstmäßigen Dichtens bis in die zweite Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts das Werkzeug der Poeten bei ihrer Arbeit und das gefürchtete Richtmaß der Kritiker bis auf Boileau, Gottsched und Lessing. Sie war das wirksamste Hilfsmittel der Philologie für Auslegung, Kritik und Wertbestimmung griechischer Dichtung. Sie war zugleich neben Grammatik, Rhetorik und Logik ein Bestandteil des höheren Bildungswesens." This essay has been translated into English in Dilthey, *Selected Works*, V (Princeton, 1985), p. 29 ff.

[180] Cf. section 6).

During the former period, scholars were concerned with copying MSS of the *Poetics*, which eventually resulted in the first printed edition, the *editio princeps* of 1508, and with the production of commentaries and translations, almost all of which took the *editio princeps* as the basic source of information for the *Poetics*' Greek. The seventeenth and eighteenth century editors and commentators continued to base their texts on that of the *editio princeps*. (In fact, this situation lasted until the publication of Aristotle's technical treatises by Bekker in 1831.[181]) However, their interest in the text was affected by the appearance of printed editions of, and commentaries on, many other classical Greek texts. Thus they were able to relate the *Poetics* more closely to the Greek background that Aristotle took for granted.

One must also distinguish the work done during the fifteenth century, which resulted in the production of the Greek text by Aldus in 1508, from that of the sixteenth. In these two centuries we are referring to work performed mostly in Italy, but whereas in the earlier period we deal, with one exception (cf. *infra*), with the contributions of Greek scholars, during the latter we are mostly concerned with those of Italian scholars and humanists. This renewed interest in the *Poetics* begins with the arrival in Italy in the fifteenth century of the only two extant Greek MSS which are primary witnesses to the text: *Parisinus Graecus* 1741 (= **A**) and *Riccardianus* 46 (= **B**). The scribal activity which produced at least thirty two additional Greek copies of the *Poetics* during the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries happened mostly in Italy and was largely the work of Greek scholars and scribes (there is no real distinction between the two). A related factor that must be emphasized is that, due to the weakness of the Byzantine Empire, the attempt to bridge the separation between the Greek Orthodox and the Catholic churches in the Council of Ferrara-Florence-Rome (1438–1445), and the fall of Constantinople in 1453, a great number of Greek scholars arrived in Italy. There they lectured, taught, and also explained Aristotle among other authors. Some Italian critics already knew Greek, and many more quickly learned the language and literature and became accomplished scholars. Up to the second quarter of the fifteenth century, and somewhat later as well, knowledge of the *Poetics* in the West was derived from Hermannus Alemannus' Latin translation of Averroes' Middle Commentary; this was, for example, the source of Roger Bacon's acquaintance with the *Poetics*, and he certainly

[181] Cf. section 6).

did not find it satisfactory.[182] Even during the rest of the fifteenth and the early part of the sixteenth century Averroes' work still exercised some influence on Italian scholars' interpretations.[183] It was first printed in 1481.

When the Greek text of the *Poetics* arrives in Italy, it comes to a country with a very rich literary tradition, not only in the Italian language but also in classical Latin and in Medieval literatures. Moreover, there is during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a lively interest in literary criticism and theory.[184] In Italy also Horace's *Ars Poetica* had already been influential: not only its text was available but so was, through scholia, the work of the late ancient commentators Acron and Porphyrion.[185] That the *Ars Poetica* was interpreted then in the light of problems and assumptions quite different from those Horace himself addressed[186] did not bode well for the historical interpretation of the *Poetics*. This assertion does not of course ignore the great importance of these two ancient works and of their influence on the Italian Renaissance conception of literature; but unfortunately the *Poetics* was then viewed in the same light as that of the *Ars Poetica* and as a welcome supplement and complement to the latter.[187] There was little awareness of the essential differences between the two works, and none at all of the historical context of each and of the different purposes of the two authors. Hence, it has appropriately been said that, "As a result, Horace ceased to be Horace and Aristotle never became Aristotle; each grew, instead, into a vast monument containing all the multiform remains of the literary past."[188] We are fortunate to have an outstanding work of scholarship for the

[182] Cf. Bacon's *Moralis philosophia*, edited by E. Massa (Zürich, 1953), p. 267 and also this editor's "Ruggero Bacone e la *Poetica* di Aristotele," *Giornale critico della filosofia Italiana* 32 (1953), pp. 457–473.

[183] For a short characterization of what the Renaissance reader could derive from Averroes' paraphrase of the *Poetics* cf. Weinberg (1961) I, pp. 352–361.

[184] Cf. Weinberg (1961) I, pp. 1–70.

[185] On the MSS cf. R.J. Tarrant, in Reynolds, ed. (1983), pp. 182–186. On the work of the ancient and later commentators, cf. Weinberg (1961) I, pp. 71–110.

[186] The reader should not infer that I am unaware of the difficulties the *Ars Poetica* presents. It is however unquestionable that the Renaissance theorists and commentators were interested in the light that it would throw on their own critical and literary concerns, and not in Horace's thought and purposes. In short, the historical approach to literary and critical questions seems to have been largely unknown to them.

[187] For this fusion or confusion of the *Poetics* and the *Ars Poetica* cf. especially Weinberg (1961) I, pp. 111–155 and 156–200; and also Herrick (1946).

[188] So Weinberg (1961) I, p. 47.

literary conceptions and polemics of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Italy: Bernard Weinberg's *A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance* (1961), where the reader will find a thorough study of the subject, including the interpretation of the *Poetics* during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[189] We should add that the *Poetics*, then and also during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was the most influential work of literary criticism in Western Europe until the emergence of Romanticism; yet its influence was largely through misinterpretation of Aristotle's statements, assumptions, and intentions. Suffice it here to mention the ascription to Aristotle of the doctrine of the three unities (of plot, of time, and of place);[190] they became compulsory for many dramatists and identified with "classicism," but are not Aristotelian.

We must now turn our attention to the vicissitudes of the text of the *Poetics* during these four centuries. From the point of view of the constitution of the text and also of its literary and historical interpretation as a work of literary criticism, we have to wait until the last half of the nineteenth century to begin to perceive a real change. As pointed out above, the most important contribution to the text during the fifteenth century was, together with the production of the *editio princeps* by Aldus in 1508, the work of Greek scholars. These scribes and scholars were quite competent philologists, and it is not surprising that they were able to produce some good emendations which, in the absence of any critical text and also in ignorance of the principles of textual criticism, were often the result of what has been called *divinatio*.[191] All in all, however, these

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[189] Cf. Weinberg (1961) I, pp. 349–634. I am heavily indebted to this work in my remarks about the fortune of the *Poetics* during the Renaissance. Tigerstedt (1968), in a paper on the reception of the *Poetics* in the Latin West, deals mainly with the influence of Averroes and with some Italian scholars who lectured on the *Poetics*; he refrains from discussing the sixteenth century; he fails, however, to mention the important role of Greek scribes and scholars during the fifteenth. For a more informative essay on the influence of Averroes' middle commentary on the *Poetics*, in the Latin West and especially in the fourteenth century cf. Kelly (1979). For the influence of Aristotle's *Poetics* on Renaissance theorists cf. the thorough study of Kappl (2006), which is not especially concerned with the text.

[190] Aristotle emphasizes the unity of plot only.

[191] The probability of most emendations increases with the possibility of explaining the transmitted text by paleographical means, for example, by confusion of letters—either majuscules or minuscules—, by haplography or dittography, etc. Yet to implement this criterion it is necessary to possess a truly critical edition of the text in question, i.e. a text based only on the primary witnesses and in a full report of them. Such a text of the *Poetics* could not really be produced until the critical edition of Moerbeke's translation was published in 1953 (cf. p. 4 and note 1 *supra*); moreover, it is doubtful whether the

scholars produced more unnecessary and mistaken emendations than probable ones; yet some of their more reasonable proposals a modern editor must often incorporate into his text or, at the very least, seriously consider.

There is a drastic change of situation in the last half of the nineteenth century. Scholars like Spengel, but more especially Vahlen and Bywater, realized the fundamental importance of **A** as a primary witness; but unfortunately it became the dogma that of all Greek extant MSS only **A** was a primary witness. Vahlen (with the help of the orientalist E. Sachau) and Bywater, especially because of the publication of Margoliouth (1887), also paid some attention to the Syro-Arabic translation. Yet even in his 1909 edition of the *Poetics* Bywater cited and adopted some readings of **B** as conjectures.[192] Had he collated this MS *in toto*,[193] he would have realized the value of **B**, but this he did not do, persuaded as he and Vahlen were that the only primary witness to the text of the *Poetics* was **A**. And yet, though we may criticize nineteenth century editors for not thoroughly investigating **B**, it would be unfair to do so in the case of fifteenth and sixteenth century scholars: the principles of textual criticism in regard to classical Greek and Latin authors, the so called "method of Lachmann", had a slow development and only came to fruition during the latter half of the nineteenth century;[194] and of the two parts of

work of Tkatsch on the Syro-Arabic tradition is completely satisfactory for the reports from that source. There are of course cases in which paleography cannot explain mistakes, for example, the omission of the word ἀνώνυμος in the Graeco-Latin tradition 1, 1447b9. In such a case, from his knowledge of Aristotle, Bernays was able to conjecture that ἀνώνυμος had been omitted; but the Syro-Arabic tradition has preserved the word, cf. notes on 1, 1447a28–b29 and on 1447b9.

[192] It was only with the work of Lobel (1933) and of Harlfinger-Reinsch (1970) that a complete classification of all the extant Greek MSS of the *Poetics* written during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was established. Lobel's conclusion was that the only extant two primary Greek MSS were **A** and **B**, and that all other Greek MSS were directly or indirectly derived from **A**. Lobel and Harlfinger-Reinsch have not taken into consideration MSS copied during the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. These MSS have no independent value: they either depend on printed editions or on inferior MSS.

[193] Bywater probably relied only on the very incomplete collation by Landi (1895).

[194] On the so-called method of Lachmann and its antecedents and consequences cf. S. Timpanaro's important book *La genesi del metodo del Lachmann* in its second edition of 1985 with corrections and additions (cf. Bibliography). There is now an excellent English translation by Glenn Most (Chicago, 2005) who has added the English translation of an unpublished paper by Timpanaro (cf. pp. 207–215), some supplements of his own (pp. 216–233), and a "Recent Bibliography," (pp. 234–239).

Lachmann's method, recension and emendation,[195] only the latter was practiced until the middle of the nineteenth century. In the case of the *Poetics*, it was really impossible to do it well until the four primary witnesses to its text had been identified. In fact, the determination that in addition to **A** and **B**, the Latin translation of William of Moerbeke and the Arabic one, from the Syriac, by Abu-Bishr Matta are to be taken into account in the *stemma codicum* was not made until well into the twentieth century, as we shall see in section seven of this chapter.

The Greek and Italian scholars of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, apart from not knowing the principles of textual criticism, had of course their own conceptions and assumptions. They generally attached little or no value to the dates of MSS and to their pedigrees; did not inquire as to whether a given MS may have been copied from an earlier one; and were unaware of the fact that a persuasive paleographic emendation must be based on a text previously established on a rigorous *stemma codicum*. Rather, their aim was to obtain a "smooth" readable text, and they did not hesitate to emend. They had a very good knowledge of Greek and Latin authors—their erudition is on the whole not in question. In fact, some of their emendations and suggestions occasionally coincide with readings of primary MSS or, in any case, have a right to figure in the critical apparatus of modern editions; yet most of their successful emendations are palmary. Moreover, these scholars very often consulted additional MSS and introduced readings and corrections from them, albeit without revealing their source or sources.[196] Yet it is important to emphasize that they did not systematically collate other MSS but they consulted them sporadically when their basic text presented real or imaginary difficulties. We shall see later that such is the case of Andronicos Callistos, the scribe who wrote *Parisinus Graecus* 2038: he did introduce some characteristic readings of **B** into his own MS, but certainly neither he nor his source (if he had one) collated **B** *in toto*; he clearly utilized it (or its intermediate source) when he felt that his text was corrupt, had a lacuna, or was very difficult. Nevertheless, because of the possibility that some of the readings, which do not come from **B**, may occasionally be either his or others' conjectures or come from another

[195] On these two steps cf. Timpanaro (1985), pp. 1–2 = *idem* (2005), pp. 43–44. For the *Poetics*, cf. pp. 4–7 *supra*. The procedure "emendation" is better described as "constitution of the text" since often emendation is not required.

[196] Cf. the first chapter of Timpanaro's book: "L'*emendatio ope codicum* dagli umanisti al Bentley."

lost MS or MSS, *Parisinus Graecus* 2038, though not a primary witness, must at times be taken into consideration in establishing the critical text of the *Poetics*.[197] As we shall presently see, this MS played a decisive role in the production of the *editio princeps* of the *Poetics*, which unfortunately was, from the date of its publication—1508—taken as a kind of *textus receptus* until the third decade of the nineteenth century; it was the basic text that future editors, translators, and critics accepted or modified, with one exception, and even that exception was not influential and not, in any case, satisfactory either.

In Chapter Three of this Introduction we will see that the codex *Parisinus Graecus* 1741 = **A** was copied at least three times, thereby originating three families of MSS.[198] However, for our present purpose we need to discuss, and only in part, one branch, the second, of the three families. So far as the extant evidence goes, three MSS must first be taken into account for this sub-branch, all copied by the same scribe, Gerardos of Patras,[199] and related to **A** in the following way: First, he copied from **A** the codex *Vaticanus Graecus* 1904, which in ff. 250–255^{v} contains *Poetics* 1452a13–1461b24. (The rest is no longer extant.) Lobel did not know this MS; its existence and its place in the stemma were pointed out by Harlfinger-Reinsch.[200] Secondly, taking this Vatican MS as his model, Gerardos copied *Vaticanus Graecus* 1388. And, again, taking this last MS as his model, he copied the codex *Estensis Graecus* α. T. 8. 3 (*olim* 100), which we must now consider in its two moments: before it was corrected and after correction.

According to Lobel, an anonymous scribe copied this last mentioned MS before correction into a no longer extant MS which Lobel designates as ε, and he introduced some corrections from **B**. So corrected, two MSS were copied from ε: one is extant, *Laurentianus* 31. 14, written by Ioannes Rhosus, ca. 1455–1472. The other Lobel conjectured to be a no longer extant MS ζ, which was further corrected from **B**. From ζ Andronicos Callistos copied *Parisinus Graecus* 2038, probably around

[197] On *Parisinus Graecus* 2038 cf. Chapter Three (*h*).

[198] Cf. Lobel (1933), pp. 45–47. We are here concerned only with a secondary split of the second family (Lobel, p. 46). However, Lobel's notion that the scribe of *Parisinus Graecus* 2038 was George the Cretan is mistaken, as pointed out by Aubrey Diller (1967), pp. 406–408 = *idem* (1983), pp. 418–422.

[199] Only in an addendum to p. 39 in p. 50 have Harlfinger-Reinsch identified the scribe as Gerardos of Patras on the evidence of *Laurentianus* 69. 1.

[200] Cf. Harlfinger-Reinsch, pp. 37 and 39–40, where they still speak of an "unbekannten Kopist." For the identification of this scribe as Gerardos of Patras cf. the previous note.

1470 when he was teaching in Florence. Lobel calls attention to the fact that some readings from **B** appear in *Parisinus* 2038 as part of the text, and not as corrections or marginal readings. This would show that, apart from ε, there was an additional intermediate MS or stage between *Parisinus* 2038 and *Estensis Graecus* α. T. 8. 3; whether this intermediate stage was a no longer extant MS or perhaps Andronicos' notes is not now ascertainable and does not seriously affect Lobel's theory.[201] Be that as it may, both *Laurentianus* 31. 14 (copied by Johannes Rhosus) and *Parisinus Graecus* 2038 testify to the fact that at least by the second part of the fifteenth century **B** was already in Italy. Finally, *Parisinus Graecus* 2038 was further corrected by Janus Lascaris (who owned this MS before he sold it to cardinal Ridolfi and who also added some conjectures of his own). As we said before, this MS also exhibits, in the hand of Andronicos Callistos, several additional readings and corrections. Some of these readings coincide with those found in the Syro-Arabic tradition and, because of this coincidence, there has been some discussion about their value in *Parisinus Graecus* 2038: are they conjectures or are they evidence of the existence of an additional MS or MSS? This question is discussed in Chapter Three (*h*) and (*i*).

Before dealing with the important and influential role *Parisinus Graecus* 2038 plays upon the Aldine edition of the *Poetics* it is necessary to return to *Estensis Graecus* α. T. 8. 3. This MS was eventually corrected by at least two different hands, identified as those of J. Plusiadenus and of Giorgio Valla, between 1485 and 1498, according to Lobel.[202] Some of these corrections come from the codex *Dresdensis Graecus* D 4, itself indirectly derived from a different branch of **A**, at least two antecedents of which are no longer extant.[203] We should mention here that this MS, *Estensis*, was eventually owned by Giorgio Valla and used, with its corrections, for his Latin translation of the *Poetics*, published in Venice in 1498.[204] This translation, though far from perfect and done from a very secondary MS, was important because it made the *Poetics* accessible to scholars who knew little or no Greek, and even to a wider circle of literati: certainly Valla's translation gave to Renaissance readers a far superior view of the *Poetics* than the Latin translation of Averroes.[205]

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[201] Cf. also Chapter Three (*d*).
[202] Cf. Lobel (1933), pp. 24–26 and 46.
[203] Cf. Lobel (1933), p. 47. *Dresdensis* D 4 was written by Theodore Gaza.
[204] Cf. Lobel (1933), pp. 3; 5 with n. 1; 8–9; 11 with n. 4; 11–13; 24–26; 33–34; 46.
[205] On Valla's translation cf. Weinberg (1961), I, pp. 361–366. For other references cf. Weinberg's *Index*.

The last event of this period takes place early in the sixteenth century but results in part from the activity of Greek scholars who worked mostly during the fifteenth. Between 1495 and 1498 Aldus Manutius brought out his sumptuous edition of Aristotle's scholarly treatises in five volumes *in folio*; but this *editio princeps* included neither the *Poetics* nor the *Rhetoric* nor the pseudo-Aristotelian *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*.[206] It was only in 1508 that Aldus published the *editio princeps* of these and other texts in his *Rhetores Graeci*.[207]

Keeping in mind what we said above about the nature of *Parisinus Graecus* 2038, we must now determine the relationship between this MS and the text of the *editio princeps*. As Lobel pointed out, the Aldine edition "in many respects so closely resembles the final form of *Parisinus* 2038 that there can be no doubt that it stands in some near relationship to it, and when it is observed that there are readings in Ald. which depend on misunderstanding of the actual writing of Par., the relationship is revealed as that of descendant to ancestor."[208] He further supports this by pointing out two examples which show misunderstandings of the actual writing;[209] he himself believes that *Parisinus* 2038 was not the printer's copy behind the Aldine text and that the *editio princeps* exhibits some characteristic alterations that differentiate it from *Parisinus* 2038; he also indicates that the source of these alterations is the codex *Ambrosianus Graecus* B 78sup.[210] For that reason Lobel postulates a no longer extant MS η, which was used as a printer's copy, where *Parisinus Graecus* 2038 and *Ambrosianus Graecus* B 78sup. were combined. (Perhaps a few other MSS may have been used as well.[211]) However, as we shall point out in section seven of this chapter, Sicherl is probably right in asserting that

[206] On this *editio princeps* and its manuscript basis cf. Sicherl (1976). For a convenient description of each volume of Aldus' edition cf. S.F.W. Hoffmann (1838), I, pp. 271–273. For further bibliography cf. Sicherl (1976), p. 9, n. 1.

[207] In the first volume of Aldus' *Rhetores Graeci* the *Poetics* appears in pp. 269–287. The editor seems to have been Demetrius Ducas, or he and others. Cf. Bywater, p. xxv and especially Sicherl (1992), pp. 113–116. Janus Lascaris played an important role in this edition, as Sicherl has shown. He was the owner of *Parisinus Graecus* 2038 and some notes are by him.

[208] Cf. Lobel (1933), p. 31.

[209] They are: 1449a30 where εἰρημένα has given rise to the Aldine εἰρημέναι because the scribe (Andronicos Callistos) writes α with a turned down tail not unlike ι. Also in 1462b6 the Aldina has βραχέα instead of βραχέος because in *Parisinus Graecus* 2038 the compendium for ος looks like an α.

[210] Cf. Lobel (1933), pp. 31–33.

[211] Cf. Lobel (1933), p. 31 with n. 1; pp. 46 and pp. 57–59.

the Aldine editors based their text directly on *Parisinus Graecus* 2038, while incorporating also some readings from *Ambrosianus Graecus* B 78sup. Such was the nature of the Aldine *editio princeps* of the *Poetics*. The editor of the Aldine edition of the *Rhetores Graeci*, which contains the *Poetics*, was Demetrios Dukas, but there can be little question that Lascaris played an important role, as Sicherl has shown.[212] (During the years 1503–1509 Lascaris was in Venice as envoy of king Louis XII of France.) Later editors often modified it with their own or other scholars' conjectures, and sometimes also consulted MSS, but there was no awareness of the secondary and derivative nature of the Aldine text or of the existence of the two primary Greek witnesses to the text of the *Poetics*, **A** and **B**.

Before discussing some of the important sixteenth century editions, translations, and commentaries, it seems well to say something about the exception to the Aldine text Bywater mentions. After a brief statement about the Aldine's shortcomings, Bywater writes: "In 1555 an effort was made to dislodge it (sc. the Aldine text as a *textus receptus*) from this position by Gu. Morel, whose recension was based on the MS now known as *Parisinus* 2040, a fairly faithful apograph of **A**. Morel's edition, however, notwithstanding his great name among his contemporaries, left little or no mark on the general criticism of the book; its readings are all but ignored in the *Variae Lectiones* in Sylburg's edition (1584)."[213] Bywater's statement calls for several observations. Morel himself says that his edition relies on an old MS; that it was *Parisinus Graecus* 2040 is a notion Bywater probably based on the appendix to Tyrwhitt. In any case, *Parisinus* 2040 dates in all probability from the second part of the fifteenth or even the early part of the sixteenth century;[214] it is certainly not an apograph of **A** but probably of *Ambrosianus Graecus* O 52;[215] and between it and **A** stand several other MSS, some extant and others not but that Lobel rightly conjectures to have existed.[216] I do not know whether Morel would have considered *Parisinus* 2040 "an old MS;" but if he did, he could not have been the great editor Bywater takes him to be. Apart from this, even if Morel's edition was based on an old MS, or in any case on one that did not have the numerous faults of the Aldine, it was not

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212 Cf. the last paragraph of section 7).
213 Cf. Bywater, p. xxv.
214 Cf. Lobel (1933), esp. pp. 14 and 47.
215 Cf. Lobel (1933), pp. 14, 40–44, and 47.
216 Cf. Lobel (1933), pp. 40–45 and 47.

likely to influence scholars who wanted to have a smooth and readable text and who were unaware of the fundamental rules of textual criticism and of the descent of MSS.

In what follows I shall mention only a few, the most important, of the sixteenth century editions, translations, and commentaries of the *Poetics*. First in time is the Greek text accompanying the new Latin translation by Alessandro de' Pazzi (= Paccius), published by the Aldine Press in Venice in 1536,[217] posthumously, as is clear from the dedication dated in 1527.[218] It is the first modern book containing both the Greek text and the Latin translation of the *Poetics* alone, independently of any other work. The Greek text comes after the Latin translation, and Weinberg and others mistakenly think that Alessandro de' Pazzi was responsible for it. While it is the case that he had prepared his Greek text utilizing some Greek MSS in addition to the Aldine edition of 1508,[219] the Greek text included in the 1536 publication was produced not by Alessandro but by his son Guglielmo, the editor of the volume. The latter, in the preliminary letter addressed to Francesco Campano, dated in Padua on February 25, 1536, states that the Greek text is his own, because due to the civil disturbances of the time he does not possess the one his father had prepared.[220] It is not surprising, then, that Pazzi's translation sometimes does not agree with the accompanying Greek text. In any case, Pazzi's important contribution is his Latin translation (apparently completed by his son Guglielmo). Moreover, Alessandro sometimes either improved the text with his emendations, at other times he may have used *Riccardianus* 46 (= **B**). For example at 6, 1449b25–26 he translates as if his Greek exemplar had χωρὶς ἑκάστῳ, whereas our four primary sources mistakenly have χωρὶς ἑκάστου; at 1449b28 he has *perturbationes*, which means that he was acquainted with παθημάτων, the reading of **B**; at 17, 1455a34 his translation presupposes ἐκστατικοί, again the reading of **B**. In short,

[217] Cf. the bibliography under Paccius (1536).

[218] Though the dedication was written in 1527, the volume was prepared in Rome in 1524. On Pazzi's work on the *Poetics* cf. Weinberg (1961), I, pp. 371–373. Weinberg's evaluation of Pazzi's Latin translation is correct, but not so what he says about the accompanying Greek text, as I explain above.

[219] According to Weinberg (*op. cit.* in the previous note), one of these MSS was *Vaticanus Graecus* 1400. For the rather unimportant place of this MS in Lobel's second family of MSS ultimately derived from **A**, cf. Lobel (1933), p. 46, but see the next note.

[220] For an Italian translation of this letter cf. Bisanti (1991), pp. 67–69, esp. p. 68. Guglielmo explicitly says that he decided to publish the work only under his father's name, regardless of the fact that he had himself contributed to it.

Pazzi's Latin translation is on the whole a great improvement over Valla's and became significantly influential during the rest of the sixteenth century, as we shall presently see.

Though Robortello's book comes first in time, it is important to state that Maggi's commentary originated in lectures that took place before the publication of the former's work. Alessandro Sardi's notes provide some record of these lectures, which Bartolomeo Lombardi started at Padua in December 1541, and which continued after his death soon afterwards[221] under Maggi (= Madius), first in Padua and then at Ferrara in 1543, where he had been appointed professor of philosophy. Sardi's notes were not published and are extant in a MS now in Modena.[222] In 1550 Maggi published his *Explanationes* for himself and Lombardi.[223] (The latter's "Preface" in the *Explanationes* has very little to do with the *Poetics*; he is still under the influence of Averroes, and this leads him to a definition of poetry which is not Aristotelian.[224]) Maggi's own general approach is to consider the *Poetics* in close relation to the *Ars Poetica*, and in doing so, according to Weinberg, "he is establishing the tradition of the confronting of Aristotle and Horace which will last to the end of the century and beyond." To Maggi the difference between the two works is that "the philosopher [Aristotle] treats of the thing in itself and Horace of precepts and almost nothing at all of the thing."[225] These and other general interpretations, as well as his polemic against Robortello's work,[226] are more relevant for the student of Renaissance literary criticism than for the Hellenist interested in Aristotle's text and in his conception of poetry. Yet Maggi's work on the text and the interpretation of the *Poetics* is important, as we shall see when we examine his *Explanationes* from those points of view.[227]

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221 At his death, according to Weinberg (1961), I, p. 373 Lombardi left among his papers the following items: 1) A text and translation of the *Poetics*; 2) a "Praefatio" to the work; and 3) extensive notes, later incorporated by Maggi into the *Explanationes* of 1550. On the date of Lombardi's lectures, cf. Weinberg, *op. cit.*, p. 373, n. 36.

222 Biblioteca Estense a. Q. 6. 14. They are dated "15 Cal. Februarj MDXLVI." The MS, which is incomplete, provides a commentary on *Poetics* 1447a8–1453b11, the first extant commentary on the *Poetics*. Cf. Weinberg (1961), I, pp. 374 and 376.

223 *Vincentii Madii et Barthol. Lombardi in Aristotelis librum de poetica communes explanationes* (Venetiis 1550).

224 Cf. Weinberg (1961), I, pp. 374–375.

225 Cf. Weinberg (1961), I, p. 378.

226 On this cf. Weinberg (1961), I, p. 374.

227 For a fuller account of Lombardi's and especially Maggi's general interpretation of the *Poetics*, cf. Weinberg (1961), I, pp. 373–383.

The first published commentary on the *Poetics*, the work of Francesco Robortello (= Robortellus), published in Florence in 1548, will be referred to as *Explicationes*.[228] This book contains an edition of the Greek text of the *Poetics*, Pazzi's Latin translation, and a commentary. In addition, Robortello included a paraphrase of Horace's *Ars Poetica* and five essays: on satire, on the epigram, on comedy, on humor, and on the elegy. All these additional materials are important contributions in relation to Renaissance conceptions of literature, poetry, and criticism, as are also his views on the *Poetics* in that respect. His general approach, however, is unfortunately too heavily influenced by the *Ars Poetica* and by his reading of Greek and Latin rhetoricians.[229] Here we must confine ourselves to evaluating his work on the text and the interpretation of the *Poetics*. The text is based on that of the Aldine edition but with several changes. In his address to the reader, Robortello says that he has corrected many corrupt passages, basing himself on the readings of MSS, and also taking into account the opinion of his predecessors. He has made use of four books, three of which are MSS. Two belonged to the Medici library: one was much older than the other, but apparently—to judge by the context—this MS was not written in parchment.[230] The third MS he describes as a very old book written in parchment[231] "concerning which (as concerning many other matters) Paulus Lacinius of Verona, a very knowledgeable man in Greek and Latin and also Hebrew letters, assisted me most willingly."[232] We cannot ascertain whether or not

[228] Cf. *Francisci Robortelli Utinensis in librum Aristotelis de Arte Poetica explicationes* (Florence, 1548).

[229] On Robortello's general approach to the *Poetics* cf. Weinberg (1952), summarized in Weinberg (1961), I, pp. 66–68. In the latter publication see also the full discussion of Robortello's work on the *Poetics* on pp. 388–399. On Robortello's additional treatises cf. *ibid.*, pp. 399–404.

[230] My probable inference is based on Robortello's wording: "*quattuor enim ego usus sum libris; tribus manuscriptis. quorum duo sint in Medicaea Bibliotheca; alter quidem Politiani manu descriptus; alter vero multo vetustior; plurimum autem ... praeter hos duos magnum mihi adiumentum praebuit perantiquus liber in membranis descriptus, de quo mihi libentissime, sicuti de aliis multis, accomodavit Paulus Lacinius Veronensis, vir graecarum, latinarumque literarum, etiam Hebraearum peritissimus. Accessit his quartus; impressus ille quidem; sed ex vetustorum librorum fide multis in locis emendatus. in eo appositae sunt lectionis varietates ab accurato, doctoque homine et his notis V.C.F.L. quibus vetustum codicem, et Florentinam lectionem significari puto; multa enim cum Medicaeis quae conveniunt, habet.*" Hence no parchment codex at that time can have been in the Medici library, unless we accuse Robortello of incompetence, which seems rather unwarranted.

[231] On this MS cf. Chapter Three (*i*).

[232] For the Latin text which this translates cf. note 230 *supra*.

Robortello's parchment codex of the *Poetics* was *Parisinus Graecus* 1741. (On a parchment Greek MS containing the *Poetics* probably owned by Janus Lascaris around 1490, cf. Chapter Three (*a*).) He also mentions a fourth book, a printed one,[233] although emended in many places on the authority of ancient books, where, he says, are added variant readings made by a learned man. These variants are identified only with the letters V.C.F.L, which according to Robortello indicate an ancient codex and a Florentine reading, because in many cases they agree with the Medicean readings. Modern editors have supposed—or left open the possibility—that some of Robortello's emendations of the Aldine text may have behind them the authority of the three MSS he mentions. Some of his readings generally accepted by later editors are: 1448a34 Χιωνίδου, 1457a5 σημαντικῶν, 1458a29 πυρὶ χαλκόν, 1460a23 ἄλλο δέ.[234] Robortello in many places introduced changes to Pazzi's translation. The most relevant part of Robortello's work is his commentary; like all important Italian commentators of the sixteenth century he divides the Greek text into small sections[235] and comments on each of them separately. His interpretations often suffer because his conception of poetry is not that of Aristotle: he is under the influence of the *Ars Poetica* and of rhetorical theory; even that of Averroes is sometimes detectable,[236] all of which leads him to numerous misconceptions. One example suffices here: for Aristotle the plot is the essence of poetry and consists in imitation of action and life, but according to Robortello's interpretation it is the manner of imitation.[237] Yet Robortello has several good interpretations in cases where his successors went wrong.[238]

In 1549 Bernardo Segni published the first translation of the *Poetics* into a modern language in his *Rettorica et poetica d'Aristotele*,[239] where he acknowledges his indebtedness to Pazzi and to Robortello; in fact, his Italian translation is based "on Robortello's Latin translation rather than

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233 Evidently a printed copy of the *Poetics*: either the Aldine edition or another one derived from it. For other texts of the *Poetics* printed between 1508 and 1546 cf. Schrier (1998), pp. 19–21.

234 Cf. the critical apparatus under these entries.

235 Of course each commentator divides the text in his own way.

236 Cf. Weinberg (1961), I, p. 395 with n. 79.

237 Cf. Weinberg (1961), I, p. 394 with the Latin text of Robortello printed in n. 78.

238 Cf. the entries in the critical apparatus mentioned in the text above.

239 My acquaintance with this work is with the edition or printing published two years later: *Rettorica et poetica d'Aristotele*. tr. di greco in lingua vulgare fiorentina da Bernardo Segni (Vineggia, 1551).

on the Greek text."[240] Segni did not try to improve the text or to change readings. The importance of his translation resides rather in making Aristotle's *Poetics* available to a wider public, for which purpose he added an introduction and commentaries on individual passages. In this area too he is mostly dependent on Robortello, but there are exceptions, as for example his correct interpretation of τοῖς λόγοις ψιλοῖς in 1, 1447a29: Segni takes this as signifying "prose" whereas most Renaissance commentators, including Robortello, refused to admit this meaning.[241]

We come now to the publication in 1550 of Lombardi's and Maggi's *Explanationes*:[242] though a work of long collaboration, most of it must be ascribed to Maggi, as Weinberg says.[243] The text of the *Poetics* is divided into 157 small sections, and the arrangement is as follows: First, the Greek text and the Latin translation of each section; there follows a paragraph called "*Explanatio*" and then the "*Annotatio*." The text and the translation are those of Pazzi; but when the authors wish to emend a passage they precede it with an asterisk, and when they propose a change in the translation they place a dagger; the same symbols appear in the annotations where they explain the changes proposed. The *Explanationes* are ascribed to both Lombardi and Maggi. They contain first a paraphrase of the preceding text, followed by a textual and a literary commentary which continues in the *Annotationes*, prepared by Maggi, frequently in a much expanded form. In both kinds of sections questions of language and translation are most important, and in many instances no other type of commentary is provided. Lombardi and Maggi seem to have consulted some MSS.[244] The latter made several important conjectures, two of which were later confirmed by readings unknown until relatively recent times: I refer the reader to the critical apparatus at 1456a28, 1457b33, 1461b8, 1462a17–18, and 1462b1. He is also mentioned at 1449b36 for proposing πᾶσιν, a *lectio facilior* for πᾶσαν. In this book we find once again that Maggi's own theory of poetry, quite different from Aristotle's, leads him to misunderstanding: he is heavily influenced by Horace's *Ars Poetica* and by the rhetorical tradition as to the purposes of poetry; among other things, his conceptions of catharsis and of pleasure are not those of Aristotle in the *Poetics*. There is also in Maggi a tendency,

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240 Cf. Weinberg (1961), I, p. 404, and pp. 404–406 on Segni's translation.
241 Cf. Weinberg (1961), I, p. 405.
242 For full reference to this work cf. note 223 *supra*.
243 Cf. Weinberg (1961), I, p. 406.
244 On this cf. Chapter Three (*i*).

not uncommon at that time, to supplement Aristotle's views by means of other works, with the obvious negative consequences; though there are also some correct interpretations: for example, he sees—as Robortello did not—that in Aristotle's view the plot is the object of imitation.[245] Maggi's obsession with refuting Robortello's views is regrettable: while in a few instances he may be right, in many others he is quite wrong, as for example in his conception of catharsis; and his attempt to refute Robortello's contention that the *Poetics*, unlike the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, has no preface is really fallacious.[246] In his *Explanationes* Maggi included also an essay on the *Ars Poetica* and another on comedy.

The work of Pietro Vettori (= Victorius)[247] on the *Poetics* was doubtless the single most important commentary on this Aristotelian work produced by an Italian scholar during the sixteenth century. His *Commentarii in primum librum Aristotelis de arte poetarum* was published in Florence in 1560. By that time Victorius had already brought forth, in addition to editions of several Greek and Latin texts, his commentary on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (1548); after his book on the *Poetics* came his commentary on the *Politics* (1576) and that on the *Eth. Nic.* (1584). He is rightly considered the best Italian Hellenist of the sixteenth century, and he is also the best Aristotelian scholar of that period. His approach to the *Poetics* is predominantly textual and philological: he does not try to impose his own conception of poetry on Aristotle, even though at times he fails to clarify certain passages because he is under the influence of his own rhetorical convictions.[248] Victorius' work consists of his own edition of the Greek text and his own Latin translation. His edition is better than those of his predecessors, as is evident in the high quality of his emendations.[249] He divides the Greek text into 212 small units, and he translates and comments on each one separately; in most cases the content of his comments is purely linguistic. Among his mistaken

[245] For a comparison of the views of Robortello, Maggi, and Victorius, concerning the six parts of Tragedy (6, 1450a7–12), cf. Weinberg, I, p. 462.

[246] The work of Miesen (1967) on Truth, the Good, and the Beautiful in the controversy between Robortello and Maggi in relation to Aristotle's *Poetics* does not contribute to the understanding of Aristotle's work. This is not strange, given the author's lack of acquaintance with the ancient tradition: he writes on p. 10 that the *Poetics* "im Altertum unseres Wissens nur ein einziges Mahl ausführlich kommentiert worden ist, und zwar von dem Aristoteles-Kommentator Alexander von Aphrodisias." So far as I know, there is no reference to such a commentary by Alexander or by any other ancient commentator.

[247] On Victorius cf. Sandys II, pp. 135–140.

[248] On Victorius' interpretation of the *Poetics* cf. Weinberg, I, pp. 461–466.

[249] See the references given in the text below.

interpretations, one telling example is his failure to follow Segni's view that in 1, 1447a29 τοῖς ψιλοῖς λόγοις means "prose," a mistake not entirely due, *pace* Weinberg, to Victorius' unwittingly imposing on Aristotle his own conviction that poetry necessarily requires verse.[250] Be that as it may, he has misunderstood the meaning of several other passages in the *Poetics*. Another contributory factor to similar mistakes is that, for Victorius, poetry is one form of rhetoric. For those of his most important emendations, several of which, like other editors, I have adopted, the reader is referred to the critical apparatus under 1447b29, 1448a16, 1453b33, 1455b14, 1457b32–33, 1457b35, 1458a5, 1460a11, 1460a13, 1461a25, 1461b1, 1461b21, 1462a3. Vahlen and Bywater suggested[251] that Victorius had been able to consult MS **A** in the library of cardinal Ridolfi. In his address to the reader Victorius says "*Videramque ipse olim, ac diligenter tractaram volumen quoddam antiquissimum, in quo cum una cum aliis non nullis bonis auctoribus, fideliter scriptis, hic etiam liber esset, nihilo melior illic ille multis locis, quam peruulgatus quilibet, typisque excusus erat. quare desperaui aliquid boni inde posse expectari. Totum igitur me contuli ad lectionem communem diligenter spectandam, quam tamen arbitror me multis locis emendasse, ac studio meo meliorem reddidisse*." Later, in discussing 1461b1 he mentions another very old codex (*vetustissimum*) where ὃ ἔνιοι (*sic*) is written.[252] Hence, this latter MS cannot have been **A**. Yet we know that what is now *Parisinus Graecus* 1741 was at the time in Ridolfi's library.[253] In addition, in one of his letters Victorius says that he saw in Ridolfi's library several important MSS.[254] Even Victorius' remark in his address to the reader shows that he failed to appreciate the high value of *Parisinus Graecus* 1741 and its superiority over the other codices of the *Poetics* with which he was acquainted. This failure on the part of such an excellent scholar shows the fundamental importance of recension as the necessary preliminary work on which the edition of a text should be based.

Ludovico Castelvetro's *Poetica d'Aristotele vulgarizzata e sposta* was first published in Vienna in 1570, a revised posthumous[255] edition appearing in Basel in 1576. I have used the 1576 edition and a convenient

[250] Cf. Victorius (1560), p. 12; Weinberg (1961), I, p. 463 and n. 83.
[251] Cf. Vahlen, p. viii; Bywater, p. xxvi.
[252] Cf. Victorius (1560), p. 289.
[253] Cf. Chapter Three (*a*).
[254] Cf. Victorius (1586), pp. 26–27.
[255] Castelvetro died in 1571.

new printing of it, published in two volumes, Bari, 1978–1979.[256] It contains, after the text of the 1576 edition, a “Nota critica-filologica” by Werther Romani,[257] who argues in favor of the genuine character of the revised passages. This is also the opinion of Weinberg,[258] who has used the original 1576 edition.[259]

Castelvetro’s work contains the first major commentary on the *Poetics* in Italian and also a new translation into the vernacular. Its arrangement is as follows: he divides the whole text into six major parts. Each “Parte Principale” is subdivided into small sections, “Particelle,” 56 in all. Each “Particella” contains the Greek text, followed by a brief statement of its contents (“Contenenza”); the Italian translation of the passage, called “Vulgarizzamento,” and then a commentary or “Sposizione,” where he deals first, when appropriate, with more general questions and then goes on to comment on individual passages. Castelvetro was a very learned man. In his dedication to emperor Maximilian II he mentions his main predecessors: Averroes, Giorgio Valla, de’ Pazzi, Robortello, Maggi, and Vettori, as well as the Italian translation by Segni. He speaks in praise of these men but thinks, and we shall presently see his reasons, that what they accomplished does not suffice. Castelvetro’s views had a great impact in France, particularly on Ronsard; he even influenced or anticipated a few late nineteenth and twentieth century interpretations of some passages of the *Poetics*; yet his work on the whole is less satisfactory than those of his predecessors such as de’ Pazzi, Robortello, Maggi, and Vettori. I believe Weinberg is right in his general characterization: “It would perhaps not be too bold to say that, in general, Castelvetro transposes the whole of the analysis from the world of art to the world of reality. Let us say, by way of explanation, that Aristotle in the *Poetics* considers the special quality of poems as works of art (rather than as natural objects), that he analyzes those characteristics of objects which affect their usability in works of art (rather than their natural qualities), that he takes into consideration only those capacities of men which affect the intelligence, the appreciation, and the evaluation of works (rather than all their characteristics as men). That is, works and objects and men are viewed always with respect to the special conditions of the art

256 In the series *Scrittori d’Italia*, Nrs. 264–265. My references are to this edition.
257 Cf. vol. II, pp. 375 ff.
258 Cf. Weinberg (1961), p. 503, n. 56.
259 Weinberg discusses Castelvetro’s work on I, pp. 69–70 and 502–511.

of poetry. In Castelvetro, any idea of "special conditions" tends to be lost; works are treated as if they were natural objects, objects themselves remain unchanged as they pass into the work, and men are men."[260] The basis of Castelvetro's conception of poetry and his modifications and expansions of Aristotle's views are supported by his notion that the *Poetics* is merely a first, incomplete draft or series of notes on the subject, so that it is necessary to complement it, something that his predecessors did not see. He believes that Aristotle did indeed write a more complete and definitive treatise which has not come down to us.[261] It is therefore not surprising to see that Castelvetro opposes some of the key ideas of the *Poetics*; he does not ascribe them to Aristotle but often openly states that Aristotle is mistaken. Thus it is clear that while Aristotle posits only the unity of the plot, not that of time and that of space, Castelvetro, however, maintains that there are three unities, of time,[262] of place, and of plot, and that in fact the latter is a consequence of the former two.[263] Also, he is clearly dissatisfied with Aristotle's view of history and especially with how the philosopher contrasts poetry and history. He believes—contrary to Aristotle—that poetry is illuminated by history, and he infers that just as history can in a simple narrative deal with several actions of men, so also it is possible for poetry to do that in the plot,[264] which is incompatible

260 Weinberg (1961), I, pp. 503–504.

261 Cf., in vol. I, pp. 2–3 of the dedication. I quote here only part of the relevant passage: "... io, senza tralasciare punto la dichiarazione delle parole, e spezialmente di quelle che non mi sono parute essere state convenevolmente dagli altri dichiarate, e senza risparmiare l'autorità degli altri scrittori per fare intendere l'istorie e le favole e l'altre cose oscure scritte da Aristotele, quanto ho giudicato far bisogno ho tentato, e forse con più ardore d'animo che con felicità d'effetto, di far manifesta l'arte poetica, non solamente mostrando e aprendo quello che è stato lasciato scritto in queste poche carte da quel sommo filosofo, ma quello ancora che doveva o poteva essere scritto, per utilità piena di coloro che volessero sapere come si debba fare a comporre bene poemi e a giudicare dirittamente se i composti abbiano quello che deono avere o no: conciosia cosa che io mi sia aveduto che questo libretto sia una prima forma rozza, imperfetta e non polita dell'arte poetica, la quale è verisimile che l'autore conservasse perché servisse in luogo di raccolta d'insegnamenti e di brievi memorie, per poterle avere preste quando volesse ordinare e compilare l'arte intera, sì come fece poi, e, come è da credere, compiuta e limata e degna del miracoloso suo inteletto; la quale arte intera, per ingiuria fattaci dal tempo, non è pervenuta a nostra notizia. Di che gli altri spositori, senza entrare in altro riguardamento, non aveggendosi, e credendo questa operetta essere quella che non è, si sono contentati di spiegare quello che solamente v'hanno trovato scritto."

262 The unity of time had already been mentioned by Giraldi Cintio in his *Discorso sulle Commedie e sulle Tragedie* of 1543.

263 Cf. e.g. Castelvetro, I, pp. 148–149 and II, pp. 149–151; Weinberg (1961), I, p. 505 with n. 63.

264 Cf. Castelvetro, I, pp. 5 and 178; Weinberg (1961), I, pp. 508–510.

with the unity of plot in the *Poetics*. Nevertheless, Castelvetro was a competent Hellenist; his discussion of many passages is useful, and the emendations he suggested are sensible, even though I have accepted only one.[265] Some additional interpretations of his are mentioned and discussed in the *Notes to the Text*.

Students of the *Poetics* owe a very special debt of gratitude to Weinberg's fundamental work, in particular for drawing scholars' attention to the unpublished work of Nicasius Ellebodius (Nicaise Van Ellebode), *In Aristotelis de Poetica paraphrasis*.[266] Kassel,[267] following Weinberg's bibliographic indications,[268] read in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana one of the MSS containing Ellebodius' book. Kassel's work supplements Weinberg's and is especially significant for the text of the *Poetics* in that he lists and discusses the important emendations of Ellebodius as well as those the latter ascribes to Sophianus of Chios.[269] Several MSS in the Ambrosiana contain totally or partially copies of Ellebodius' work: Weinberg's statements are based on *Ambrosianus* R. 123sup., fols. 68–110, whereas Kassel consulted *Ambrosianus* D. 510 inf.; the latter MS, but not the former, contains also a preface; otherwise both are complete.[270] Ellebodius sent his work to an unknown person in Padua, accompanied by a letter in Italian asking the addressee to show it to (Paulo) Manuzio, to (Antonio) Riccobono, and to others. This letter is dated in Pressburg, February 22, 1572; hence the *Paraphrasis* was written early in 1572 or a little before that. In *Ambrosianus* R. 123sup., the *Paraphrasis* appears in fols. 68–110. First comes the translation (or paraphrasis) on fols. 68–91^{v}, and then on fols. 92–110 the text of the notes, ninety-one, according to Kassel, and especially valuable for their excellent scholarly qualities. Several of Ellebodius' and Sophianus' emendations must be incorporated into the text or, at the very least, are mentioned in the critical apparatus and in the *Notes to the Text*. In some cases these two scholars have anticipated later emendations, or their conjectures were subsequently discovered to be

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265 That of 1459b2.

266 Cf. Weinberg's general characterization of this work in Weinberg (1961), I, pp. 519–523.

267 Cf. Kassel (1962), pp. 111–121 = *idem* (1991), pp. 324–333.

268 For a full description of all the MSS in question cf. Weinberg (1961), II, pp. 1125–1126.

269 On the lives of Ellebodius and of Sophianus and on their connection with Padua, where they both studied, cf. especially Weinberg (1961), I, pp. 519–520 and Kassel (1962), 111–113 = *idem* (1991), pp. 324–326 with references.

270 In this case my knowledge of Ellebodius' work comes from Weinberg's and Kassel's contributions. I have not consulted any MSS.

the readings of one or more primary witnesses. The reader is referred to 4, 1448b18; 4, 1448b27; 4, 1449a18; 7, 1451a6; 9, 1452a3; 23, 1459a21–22; 24, 1460a24. Ellebodius does not identify the printed edition of the Greek text which he took as his point of departure, but he does mention the Aldine edition of 1508, that of Morel, the edition and commentary by Pietro Vettori, and Paccius' translation. Kassel conjectures that Ellebodius took Paccius' Greek text of the *Poetics* as his point of departure and that he also consulted a MS, then belonging to Giovanni Vincenzo Minelli, and now *Ambrosianus* P 34, copied from *Dresdensis Graecus* D 4 and therefore with no independent value.[271] According to Weinberg, Ellebodius' main interest is in the clarification of Aristotle's meaning and "he refers much less frequently than do his predecessors to the rival critical school of the Horatians."[272] He claims that nevertheless Ellebodius differs from Aristotle on two major points: first, in that for him poetry is impossible without verse. (To this we shall presently return.) Second, in his insistence that purgation (i.e. catharsis) produces moral instruction. This topic falls outside the present study—I hope to deal with it in the book mentioned at the beginning of this chapter.[273] Finally, one must agree with Weinberg when he says, "This work by a Belgian, probably written in Pressburg, may thus properly be considered to belong to the Italian tradition of the Cinquecento, through its origins, its intellectual ties, and its ultimate destination."[274]

I conclude here my discussion of the sixteenth century contributions to the *Poetics*. From the point of view of the theory of literary criticism during the Italian Renaissance, some important works were published later than 1572, for example, the Italian commentary by Alessandro Piccolomini in 1575, preceded by the publication of his translation of the *Poetics* in 1572. Yet Piccolomini had his own theory of poetry and was not much interested in the text and in its philological interpretation,[275] one exception being his translation of 1458a28, which led Twining to insert ⟨ἄλλων⟩.

Before we leave the sixteenth century, one topic requires clarification. We have seen that, with the exception of Segni's translation, the century's most important commentators, Robortello, Maggi, and Victorius, failed

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[271] Cf. Lobel, pp. 11–13, 41–42, 47.
[272] Weinberg (1961), I, p. 520.
[273] Cf. p. 3 *supra*.
[274] Weinberg (1961), I, p. 519.
[275] On Piccolomini's translation, cf. Weinberg (1961), I, pp. 517–519; on his commentary, pp. 543–553; on Sassetti's attack on Piccolomini, cf. Weinberg (1961), I, pp. 553–559.

to understand that in 1, 1447a29 τοῖς ψιλοῖς λόγοις means prose.[276] Weinberg has rightly pointed out that in this they were mistaken, but he is not right in criticising them in their notion that poetry necessarily requires verse, and that in this they were at variance with the *Poetics*. (We should not here anachronistically complicate the discussion with questions such as free verse or "prose poems.") What is pertinent is simply to establish the relation between the view of these commentators and Aristotle's own conception of poetry. In the first place we must take into account the essential difference between the texts of *Poetics* 1, 1447a28–b9 available during the Renaissance and later, until the second part of the nineteenth century, and that available since then: the former had ἐποποιία in line a28 and lacked ἀνώνυμος in b9. With such a text scholars were bound to interpret ἡ δὲ ἐποποιία as Epic or, even worse, in a different, unattested sense.[277] Hence, either they had to oppose Aristotle (Epic poetry cannot be written in prose) or they had to give a special and incorrect interpretation of τοῖς ψιλοῖς λόγοις. Yet the text of 1447a28–b9 is now firmly established not only by Bernays' conjecture of ἀνώνυμος in b9 and Überweg's excision of ἐποποιία in a28 but also by the Syro-Arabic translation:[278] we can now see that Aristotle's classification and his wording clearly imply he himself considers that poetry, ποίησις or ποίημα, necessarily requires verse.[279] What he is classifying is the imitative arts which require λόγος, i.e. language. His conception of these arts is revealed to be the following: the essence of poetry is to tell a story or plot, not—as Greek poets and contemporary critics thought—verse, for, he implicitly argues, a plot necessarily requires language but not verse, since it could be told in prose. Thus, if one put the mimes of Sophron (and of Xenarchus) and the Socratic conversations into verse, e.g. into elegiac couplets, the essence of the mimes (imitations of daily life) would still be different from that of the Socratic conversations (imitations of Socrates' methods of discussion). The essential difference between the two genres, despite the fact that the same meter is employed, depends on what kind of artistic imitation is involved. Aristotle calls the ἡ (sc. τέχνη) which comprises both prose and poetry, anonymous, i.e. "without a name:" neither the Greeks nor the Romans had a special word for "literature." Yet Aristotle

[276] Cf. note on 1447a28–b29.
[277] Cf. section 6) on Vahlen.
[278] Cf. notes on 1447a28–b29 and on 1447b9.
[279] For what follows in the rest of this paragraph, cf. the references in the previous note.

is clearly not proposing to enlarge the meaning of ποίησις or ποίημα: that is why he calls ἡ τέχνη ἀνώνυμος the art which comprises artistic imitations in prose and in verse. In short, in thinking that poetry necessarily requires verse, Renaissance commentators of the *Poetics* are not at variance with Aristotle, though not for the right reasons. The state of their text of the *Poetics* prevented a correct understanding of Aristotle's conception of poetry and of literature, even though they were also passing judgement based on their own artistic conceptions.

There is no important change during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: the basic text for MS evidence is still the Aldine edition of 1508, sometimes with the modifications introduced by one or another of the Italian scholars mentioned above. Nor is there any significant progress in the general interpretation of the *Poetics*; what we do have is a number of passages improved by some scholars' emendations. I have said "some" and could have said "a few," for most of these scholars also proposed a great number of unnecessary and even wrong changes, which is not surprising since they did not know any of the primary witnesses to the text,[280] let alone a critical edition. Perhaps it is best to cite from a letter by Thomas Twining, writing about the *Poetics* to a friend: "The extreme depravation of the text, its obscurities and ambiguities, are such that I have been forced to give up a greater portion of my comment to philological disquisitions than I could have wished; and a great part of my pains have been employed in proving passages to be unintelligible. But what then? When people fancy they understand what they do not, it is doing some good to show them that they do not. It is some use to pull down what is wrong, if one can't build up what is right."[281] Among the emendators mentioned in the critical apparatus or in some of the *Notes to the Text* I should list the following sixteenth and seventeenth century editors: Daniel Heinsius,[282] Theodor Goulston,[283] Th. Winstan-

[280] Even Tyrwhitt (1794) or the anonymous editor of Tyrwhitt's revised edition (who seems to have had access to what is now *Parisinus Graecus* 1741, i.e. A) evidently failed to see the fundamental importance of this MS.

[281] I owe this quotation to Sandys, II (1908), p. 421, who cites it from *Recreations and Studies of a Country Clergyman of the Eighteenth Century*, being selections from the correspondence of Thomas Twining, edited by his grand-nephew, Richard (1882–1883), p. 140. The quotation comes from a letter to Charles Burney of 1786.

[282] Cf. Heinsius (1611) and Heinsius (1643).

[283] Cf. Goulston (1623).

ley,[284] Friedrich Wolfgang Reiz,[285] Thomas Twining,[286] Thomas Tyrwhitt (1794),[287] and the conjectures of Bonaventura Vulcanius or De Smet,[288] and of John Jortin.[289] The last two authors' conjectures appear in Thomas Burgess' *Notae*.[290]

6. *The Nineteenth Century*

Given the ever increasing number of publications on the *Poetics* during this period and the one covered in the next section, I must limit my comments to the few essential items related to the history of the text and of its philological interpretation. Two criteria have guided this general limitation: a) to indicate the progress achieved in the discovery and utilization of the four primary witnesses to the text (Greek MSS **A** and **B**, the Latin translation by William of Moerbeke, and the Syro-Arabic tradition), and b) to mention a few of the most significant editions and commentaries previous to the appearance of Kassel's edition. The latter, as well as Gallavotti's, will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three.

Early in the nineteenth century, one of the great German classical scholars, Gottfried Hermann, published a text, Latin translation, and commentary of the *Poetics*;[291] given the state of the text at that time, it is not surprising that his lasting contribution was a certain number of conjectures, some of which later editors adopted. Next must be considered I. Bekker's 1831 edition of Aristotle's scholarly writings for the Berlin Academy.[292] The merit of his text of the *Poetics* is that it was based on three MSS, of which *Parisinus Graecus* 1741 = **A**[293] was one; the other two were (*Vaticanus*) *Urbinas Graecus* 47 and *Marcianus Graecus* 215,

[284] Cf. Winstanley (1780).
[285] Cf. Reiz (1786).
[286] Cf. Twining (1789).
[287] Cf. Tyrwhitt (1794). This edition is posthumous, for Tyrwhitt died in 1786.
[288] His dates are 1538–1614. He was Professor of Greek at Leiden 1588–1612.
[289] He lived from 1698 to 1770.
[290] Cf. Burgess (1792).
[291] Cf. Hermann (1802).
[292] Cf. Bekker (1831).
[293] Bekker ascribes to it the *siglum* A[c] because in his complete edition of Aristotle's works **A** was reserved for (*Vaticanus*) *Urbinas Graecus* 35. This *siglum* was adopted by later editors, including Bywater (1909 and 1911). Since Margoliouth's 1911 edition, editors have with good reason adopted the *siglum* **A** for *Parisinus Graecus* 1741.

both of the fifteenth century, neither of which is a primary witness to the text; they are in fact unimportant derivative MSS.[294] Unfortunately, Bekker still considered the Aldine an important edition and adopted some of its readings. Eight years later we find the edition of F. Ritter[295] whose great merit is that he straightforwardly and unambiguously dismisses the authority of the Aldine text of the *Poetics*.[296] He recognizes the importance of *Parisinus* 1741 (= **A**), which he did not himself collate, and he bases his text on it but also on several other inferior MSS.

Real, though slow, progress towards the establishment of a critical text begins only during the second half of the nineteenth century; and with such progress comes also gradually a better understanding of what Aristotle meant to convey in this work about the nature of poetry and especially about Greek Epic and Tragedy. Perhaps it is best at first to follow the chronological order of publications, with some exceptions, for, speaking strictly, the first to be mentioned are the publications of Spengel in 1865[297] and of Vahlen in 1867,[298] both outstanding Aristotelian scholars.

Leonhard Spengel (1803–1880) devoted to the *Poetics* several studies published between 1837 and 1875.[299] Johannes Vahlen (1830–1911) is undoubtedly the scholar who authored a greater number than any other of important publications on the *Poetics*, most of which are still essential for the student of this difficult work: the first appeared in 1862, the last in 1910, the year before his death.[300] It was the great merit of both Spengel and Vahlen that they recognized the authority of *Parisinus Graecus* 1741 (= **A**). This was an important positive step, unfortunately accompanied by the mistaken notion that of all extant Greek MSS of the *Poetics*, **A** was

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[294] Cf. Lobel (1933), pp. 46 and 47.

[295] Cf. Ritter (1839).

[296] Cf. Ritter (1839), pp. XXIII–XXVI.

[297] Cf. Spengel (1865). This was actually published in 1867, though submitted for publication the previous year. Cf. the Bibliography.

[298] Cf. Vahlen (1867), (1874^2), (1885^3). My references are all to the third edition of 1885, which incorporates the second, with minor changes; it contains Vahlen's preface to the second edition and a new preface to the third. I have had no occasion to refer to the first edition.

[299] Cf. especially Spengel (1837), (1841), (1867), (1875).

[300] Apart from his editions of the *Poetics* (cf. note 298 *supra*) all the numerous publications by Vahlen are included in his *Opuscula Academica* I (Leipzig, 1907), *ibidem* II (Leipzig, 1908), *Gesammelte philologische Schriften* I (Leipzig-Berlin, 1911), *ibidem* II (Leipzig-Berlin, 1923), and especially in his *Beiträge zu Aristoteles' Poetik*. Neudruck besorgt von Hermann Schöne (Leipzig-Berlin, 1914).

the only primary witness to the text; other Greek MSS were dismissed as being *deteriores*, useful only for some conjectures. It was probably due to the great authority of Vahlen's opinion that for many years, in fact until 1911, editors and students of the *Poetics* neglected an unprejudiced examination of other possible sources for its text.

Perhaps it is best to offer an example of the consequence of Vahlen's excessive faith in **A** as the only primary source of readings. There is one passage in the first chapter, 1447a28–b9, of fundamental importance for understanding Aristotle's thought and in fact his originality. It is precisely this passage that Vahlen misinterpreted, and he still defended his mistaken view in his last paper on the *Poetics*, published in 1910. It is useful to place the passage in front of the reader: ἡ δὲ [ἐποποιία] μόνον τοῖς λόγοις ψιλοῖς ἢ τοῖς μέτροις καὶ τούτοις εἴτε μιγνῦσα μετ' ἀλλήλων εἴθ' ἑνί τινι γένει χρωμένη τῶν μέτρων ἀνώνυμος τυγχάνει οὖσα μέχρι τοῦ νῦν.[301] In 1857 Jacob Bernays had published his important paper "Grundzüge der verlorenen Abhandlung des Aristoteles über Wirkung der Tragödie,"[302] where he advanced his influential theory about the meaning of Aristotle's catharsis. In the course of his argument Bernays examined the text of 1447a28–b9 and suggested that the word ἀνώνυμος should be inserted in the Greek text after μέτρων, having been omitted by **A** and by all other Greek MSS.[303] (MS **B** does not contain this part of the text, as noted in Chapter Three.) His conjecture that the missing word was ἀνώνυμος he justified by citing some Aristotelian parallel passages.[304] Bernays, however, left the word ἐποποιία in its place and suggested that in this case it means "Wortdichtung." Vahlen rightly objected, pointing out that ἐποποιία can only mean Epic poetry; consequently, while admitting that something is missing after μέτρων, he objected to ἀνώνυμος on the ground that Epic is mentioned in 1447a28. In 1869, however, F. Überweg published a German translation of the *Poetics*, accompanied by an "Anhang," where he argued that the missing Greek word should be ἀνώνυμος and that ἐποποιία in 1447a28 must be excised as a mistaken gloss.[305] The following year Überweg published his edition of the *Poetics*[306] based on *Parisinus Graecus* 1741 (= **A**), and in it he excised ἐποποιία and printed ἀνώνυμος in

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[301] Cf. the critical apparatus to this passage and also the note on 1447a28–b29.
[302] Cf. Bernays (1857) and (1880).
[303] Cf. Bernays (1857), p. 186 = (1880), pp. 81–82.
[304] Cf. further note on 1447a28–b29.
[305] Cf. Überweg (1869), p. 99.
[306] Cf. Überweg (1870).

b9. These readings, the absence of ἐποποιία and the presence of ἀνώνυμος, were confirmed by the Arabic translation of the *Poetics*, but Vahlen to the end persisted in his interpretation:[307] such strong faith did he have in **A**'s reading ἡ δὲ ἐποποιία.

It was therefore meritorious that when in 1874 F. Susemihl published the second edition of his text of the *Poetics* with German translation and notes,[308] he did excise ἐποποιία[309] and did insert ἀνώνυμος after τῶν μέτρων. In a paper published in 1878 he for the first time after the Renaissance called attention to the fact that *Riccardianus* 46 contains the *Poetics*.[310] This scholar's numerous publications on the *Poetics* from 1862 to 1897 are listed by Schrier in his bibliography;[311] many of his papers consist in reviews of publications on the *Poetics* during those years, yet most of his comments have been rendered obsolete by the progress effected from that time in the discovery and utilization of the four primary witnesses to the text. (I have myself accepted a few of Susemihl's textual conjectures.)

In regard to the primary witnesses to the text, the next important publication is D. Margoliouth's *Analecta Orientalia ad Poeticam Aristoteleam* of 1887. For the Orientalist, this publication was very important in that it contains printed editions of the following texts: 1) The quotation of the (anonymous) Syriac translation of the definition of Tragedy (6, 1449b24–1450a9) in Severus Bar Shakko's *The Book of Dialogues*. 2) Abu-Bishr Matta's Arabic translation of the *Poetics* from the Syriac, extant in *Parisinus Arabus* 2346. 3) Avicenna's interpretative paraphrase of the *Poetics*. 4) Bar Hebraeus' Syriac paraphrase of the *Poetics*. (The contributions of these sources are evaluated by Gutas in Chapter Two and in his critical apparatus and comments, as well as in my *Notes to the Text*.) For the Hellenist's interest in the *Poetics* Margoliouth has included: 1) A general introduction on the Syro-Arabic tradition (pp. 1–45). 2) A chapter entitled "*Symbolae Orientales ad emendationem Poetices*" (pp. 46–72), consisting in comments on selected readings from the Syro-Arabic

[307] See Vahlen's 1910 paper, "Über eine Stelle in Aristoteles' Poetik," now in Vahlen, II (1923), pp. 841–850.

[308] Cf. Susemihl (1874). The first edition was published in 1865.

[309] In p. 71, n. 11 Susemihl ascribes the excision of ἐποποιία to Susemihl², "nach eigner Vermutung."

[310] Cf. Susemihl (1878), p. 629 with n. 1.

[311] Cf. Schrier (1998a), under the following years: 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, 1867, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1889, 1892, 1894, 1895, 1897.

tradition, compared to readings from *Parisinus Graecus* 1741 (= **A**),[312] and which includes on pp. 54–56 a Latin translation of the Syriac fragment quoted by Severus Bar Shakko. 3) A *Specimen Versionis Latinae Poetices Avicennae* (pp. 73–90). After this publication, Hellenists could no longer ignore the evidence of the Syro-Arabic translation of the *Poetics*, which does not imply that one must follow Margoliouth in his choice of readings. In so far as the Greek text of 1, 1447a28–b9 is concerned, the Arabic translation fully supported the conjectures of Überweg and of Bernays (though Margoliouth, as we shall see, rejected them): ἐποποιία is only an intrusive gloss, and ἀνώνυμος, being the reading presupposed by the Syro-Arabic translation, must have been what the Syriac translator found in Σ.

Two significant publications of the year 1895 must be included in this brief survey. First, M.R. James' *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Eton College* (Cambridge, 1895). Here, on pp. 59–60 the codex *Etonensis* 129, written in Italy around 1300, is described,[313] one of the two extant MSS which contain Moerbeke's Latin translation of the *Poetics*; unfortunately, the translation itself is anonymous, and so its importance was not recognized until the third and fourth decades of the twentieth century, as we shall see in the following section. The second publication of the year 1895 is Landi's partial collation of the *Poetics* in *Riccardianus* 46 (= **B**);[314] yet precisely because it was a partial collation which did not include the extra lines in 16, 1455a14–14^2, it was misleading rather than helpful.[315]

An important and useful aid to the knowledge of the *Poetics* was the publication in 1891 of the photo-litographic reprint of its text in *Parisinus Graecus* 1741 (= **A**), with a preface by Henri Omont.[316] (Discussion of Butcher's 1895 edition is postponed to the next section.)

In 1897 Bywater brought forth his first edition of the *Poetics*, and he had also published several important papers on it since 1874. However,

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312 In his 1887 publication Margoliouth had not yet discovered that *Riccardianus* 46 is a primary witness.

313 This publication is not mentioned in Schrier (1998a).

314 Cf. Landi (1895).

315 I would conjecture that it was in part Landi's partial collation of **B** that caused Bywater's failure to investigate whether or not this MS was a primary witness to the text. Similarly, also Susemihl failed to understand the importance of **B** when he reviewed Landi's paper, cf. Susemihl (1896), pp. 33–34.

316 Cf. under Omont (1891).

as he continued to publish on this work in the twentieth century and as his most substantial contribution came out in 1909, he will be discussed in the following section.

I would not like to leave the nineteenth century without mentioning the important and pioneering work of several scholars, most especially the publications of H. Bonitz, Th. Gomperz, H. Diels, and E. Zeller, even though none of them produced a real edition of the Greek text of the *Poetics*.[317]

7. *From the Twentieth Century to the Present*

We must begin with the 1909 publication of Bywater's *Aristotle, On the Art of Poetry. A Revised Text, with Critical Introduction, Translation and Commentary*. This contains a text of the *Poetics* based exclusively on *Parisinus Graecus* 1741 (**A**), which Bywater has supplemented with readings found in some *recentiores*,[318] modern conjectures by himself and others, and some attention paid to readings from the Syro-Arabic tradition as reported by Margoliouth (1887). The translation is, as pointed out above, really a paraphrase, a fact that Bywater explicitly recognizes and tries to justify.[319] The Introduction contains a very detailed analysis of the kind of mistakes which occur in **A**, though some of these errors are shown by their occurrence in Moerbeke's Greek exemplar, i.e. Φ, to have originated in Π; it has some other useful information, but in large part it has been rendered obsolete by our improved knowledge of the primary witnesses to the text. Apart from his 1897 edition in the "Oxford Classical Texts," Bywater had already published several articles on the *Poetics*: in 1874, 1881, and 1885, three devoted to textual questions; in 1883, 1901, and 1902, three papers on poetic topics, the last of which, "On Certain Technical Terms in Aristotle's *Poetics*," is still important and usefully supplements his Introduction.[320] Yet Bywater's greatest achievement is his Commentary, the best so far. The reason is not difficult to find: he possessed a superb knowledge of Aristotle and used it intelligently and consistently to explain that author's Greek. It should have had

[317] On these scholars see my bibliographical listings and Schrier (1998a), in his *Index of Names*.
[318] It is noteworthy that Bywater cites and even adopts some readings of *Riccardianus* 46 (= **B**), which he considers to be a *recentior*.
[319] Cf. Bywater, pp. v–vi.
[320] Cf. the references to Bywater under these years in the Bibliography.

a much greater influence than it did. When in 1911 Bywater published again his Oxford Classical Text edition, he incorporated the changes he had made in his 1909 edition.

H.S. Butcher's *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Arts, with a Critical Text and a Translation of the Poetics* was first published in 1895; a second revised edition came out in 1898, and a third, also revised, in 1902. The fourth edition of 1907 is, with one exception, a reprint of the third, published posthumously, in 1911, by the author's brother J.G. Butcher, who introduced some changes in the textual notes and the translation, based on indications found among the author's papers as far as p. 110 of the reprinted text. It is this 1911 printing that has been available in the English speaking world, where it became influential, especially among literary critics. In addition to the prefaces, largely on textual matters, the Greek text with critical apparatus, and the English translation, the book contains eleven chapters, each discussing a different general aspect of the *Poetics*. My comments are limited to Butcher's edition of the Greek text,[321] which he tried to keep up to date taking into account especially Bywater's edition, while he also consulted with, and incorporated Arabic readings obtained from Margoliouth himself. For all that, Butcher was not primarily a textual critic, and his text, based as it is on the unique readings of *Parisinus Graecus* 1741 (= **A**), does not constitute a substantial contribution. This affects also his general interpretation of the *Poetics*, but with such a topic we are not concerned here.

The year 1911, however, saw the publication of a truly significant work: D.S. Margoliouth's *The Poetics of Aristotle*. Translated from Greek into English and from Arabic into Latin, with a Revised Text, Introduction, Commentary, Glossary and Onomasticon.[322] The most important part of Margoliouth's book is his brief but sufficient proof that *Riccardianus* 46 (= **B**) is a primary witness to the text.[323] It is ironic that this task was performed by an Orientalist with good Classical training at the same University (Oxford) where Bywater was established and almost at the same time as he was bringing forth his own edition and commentary. Unfortunately, Margoliouth's edition of the Greek text is not satisfactory,

[321] The Greek text and the English translation together with the prefaces were also published four times separately in the same year as the main book, i.e. 1895, 1898, 1902, and 1907.

[322] I have given a complete transcription of the title. Cf. Margoliouth (1911).

[323] Cf. Margoliouth (1911), pp. vii–viii and viii, n. 1. Cf. also, with some reservations, pp. 83–89.

as he has in many places (e.g. 1, 1447a28–b9) printed the readings of **A**;[324] nor was he fully convinced that apart from **A** and **B**, all other extant Greek MSS are directly or indirectly derived from **A**. In spite of these limitations, Margoliouth's discussion of some passages is interesting; he has included a Latin version of the Arabic translation of the *Poetics* from the lost Syriac version, and he also proposed a good emendation of a Greek verse.[325]

In 1927 A. Rostagni published an edition of the *Poetics* with introduction and commentary; a second revised edition came out in 1945.[326] The commentary contains a fair discussion of many of the problems the work presents to the modern interpreter; the text, however, in either edition is far from satisfactory. Rostagni's reports of the readings of **B** are not complete; he bases them on other scholars' collations and the information provided by G. Pasquali at his request. He refers to the Latin translation, but he did not have available the critical edition of 1953, nor did he check systematically the two MSS that preserve it. For example, in the case of 1, 1447a12 λέγωμεν, he cites for the subjunctive two inferior MSS, (*Vaticanus*) *Urbinas Graecus* 47 and *Ambrosianus Graecus* B 78sup.; yet the Latin translation of Moerbeke has *dicamus*, which translates the Greek subjunctive of Φ.[327]

In 1928 the Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien published the first volume of Jaroslaus Tkatsch's *Die arabische Übersetzung der Poetik des Aristoteles*. The second volume was published in 1932[328] (the author had died on November 4, 1927; he had submitted his work in October of 1919, and the Vienna Academy had accepted it for publication on its meeting of July 6, 1920). The work contains, *inter alia*, the text of the Arabic translation (from the Syriac) by Abu-Bishr Matta with a Latin translation and notes, plus a Latin translation of the anonymous Syriac translation of the Aristotelian passage containing the definition of Tragedy. The first and second volumes were very negatively reviewed by M. Plessner,[329] and the first volume by G. Bergsträsser (1932),[330] who

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324 His attempt to refute Bernays' ἀνώνυμος and Überweg's excision of ἐποποιία (cf. Margoliouth, pp. 66–72) is unsuccessful.

325 Cf. 1457b14 ταναήκεϊ with my critical apparatus and note *ad loc.*

326 Cf. Rostagni (1945). I have made use of the revised edition of 1945 only.

327 Cf. the critical apparatus on 1, 1447a12 and the note on 1447a8–13.

328 The second volume is said to be "Aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von A. Gudeman und Th. Seif."

329 Cf. Plessner (1931) and (1936).

330 Cf. Bergsträsser (1932).

blames Tkatsch for not paying sufficient attention to the likely Greek text behind the Syro-Arabic translation and at the end of his review says there is not much hope that the second volume will improve things. (It is interesting that Bergsträsser explicitly warned against the positive evaluation of Tkatsch's first volume by A. Gudeman,[331] a scholar with no expertise in the field of Syro-Arabic studies.[332])

We must next mention the short but important contribution of Lacombe[333] in 1930, published in 1931, where he called attention to the medieval Latin translation of the *Poetics*, extant in two MSS (*Etonensis* and *Toletanus*), even though he was mistaken about its author and its date.[334] That same year E. Lobel published an article on this translation based on the Eton College MS only but he was unaware of Moerbeke's authorship,[335] and about three years later E. Franceschini published "La '*Poetica*' di Aristotele nel secolo XIII."[336] These two articles still have some validity, but in so far as the contribution of Moerbeke's Latin translation to the text of the Greek *Poetics* is concerned, they have been superseded by the two critical editions of L. Minio-Paluello.[337] Minio had first prepared the way by showing that the date of the translation in the inferior margin of the last page of *Toletanus* is "*Tra. 1278 1° die marcii*," which "*simili modo ac aetas translationis in aliis Guillelmi versionibus invenitur declarata*." What had prevented Lacombe, Franceschini, and others from ascribing the translation to Moerbeke was their failure to recognize the number 7 in the symbol used for it, which they confused with the number 4. Minio's demonstration that the author of the medieval Latin translation of the *Poetics* is William of Moerbeke appears in his article "Guglielmo di Moerbeke traduttore della Poetica di Aristotele, 1278,"[338] of fundamental importance to understand the significant contribution of Moerbeke's Latin translation to the Greek critical text of the *Poetics*. For one thing, since Moerbeke is the translator of many of Aristotle's works

331 Cf. Gudeman (1929).

332 On Gudeman's other publications on the *Poetics* cf. the Bibliography.

333 Cf. Lacombe (1931), pp. 309–310, n. 28.

334 Cf. Minio-Paluello (1968), p. XI: "*Anno tandem 1931 Georgius Lacombe notitiam huius primae translationis vere publicam fecit, quamquam errans de eius auctore et aetate*."

335 Cf. Lobel (1931).

336 Cf. Franceschini (1934–1935), reprinted with an additional note in Franceschini (1976).

337 Cf. Moerbeke (1953) and (1968).

338 Cf. Minio-Paluello (1947) = *idem*, *Opuscula* (1972), pp. 40–56.

(as well as of other Greek authors), we have plenty of evidence about his competence and reliability as an interpreter of Aristotle's Greek and of his thought.[339]

The next important contribution is E. Lobel's 1933 monograph *The Greek Manuscripts of Aristotle's Poetics*,[340] where he showed that with the exception of *Riccardianus* 46 (= **B**), all the other extant fifteenth and sixteenth century MSS of the *Poetics* are directly or indirectly descended from *Parisinus Graecus* 1741 (= **A**). Moreover, Lobel also demonstrated (taking into account the MSS now extant) that **A** was copied three times, and then he assigned a place in the genealogical tree to practically each extant MS. Later additions and a few corrections to Lobel's work do not essentially detract from the great value of his fundamental study.[341]

And yet Gudeman rejected Lobel's work as essentially misconceived in a long review published in 1934,[342] and a year later in an article entitled "Die Textüberlieferung des aristotelischen *Poetik*."[343] From 1920 to 1935 Gudeman had made the *Poetics* the object of several studies, which culminated in his massive edition, with introduction and commentary. There is in this work a great amount of erudition; unfortunately, the text of the *Poetics* it presents to the reader is wrong and misleading, while the introduction and commentary are based on serious misconceptions.[344] Having no expertise in Syro-Arabic studies, Gudeman was completely misled by the work of Tkatsch,[345] while he also rejected, as was pointed out above, Lobel's demonstration that, apart from **B**, all other extant fifteenth and sixteenth century MSS derive directly or indirectly from **A**. He failed to understand that the Greek and Italian scholars active during these centuries were quite capable of producing good emendations, and that the fact that some of these palmary emendations are also the readings of the Syro-Arabic tradition in no way implies that Lobel's reconstruction of the genealogy of all the MSS derived form **A** is wrong. Gudeman's contribution to the understanding of the thought of the *Poetics* is no better than his extravagant critical text. He thinks that Aristotle's *Poetics* was not at all influenced by Plato because that would diminish

339 On Moerbeke's contributions to the *Poetics* cf. also Chapter Three (*b*).
340 Cf. Lobel (1933).
341 On Lobel (1933), cf. also Chapter Three (*a*).
342 Cf. Gudeman, *Phil. Woch.* 54 (1934), cols. 1249–1265.
343 Cf. Gudeman, *Philol.* 90 (1935), 25–56, 156–175, and 441–460.
344 There is a fair review by Rostagni in *Gnomon* 11 (1935), pp. 225–232.
345 Cf. *supra* note 331 with the corresponding remarks in the text.

Aristotle's originality; and so he fails to see that, here as elsewhere, Aristotle's originality is developed in his polemic against others, but especially under the influence of, and in reaction against, Plato. Another shortcoming of Gudeman's book is that he believes the *Poetics* belongs to the literature of "Introductions"—surely a Hellenistic conception—and so ascribes to it the later distinction between ποίημα and ποίησις.

One characteristic of Gudeman's book relates it to some later publications: his occasional tendency to excise words or even sentences on the ground that they are either unnecessary or repetitious; sometimes, but not always, he does it because of the absence of such words or sentences in the Arabic translation. This attitude influenced perhaps the later tendency to analyze the *Poetics* as a kind of draft where Aristotle, from time to time, added marginal notes, sometimes not realizing that he was thereby modifying his original conception. For scholars who believe this, the basic task of the interpreter is to distinguish the original text from the later additions. Their studies have undoubtedly been influenced by Jaeger's book on Aristotle, though it must be said that Jaeger did not apply this method in the arbitrary fashion of some interpreters of the *Poetics*.[346]

This same tendency, though not yet with the drastic consequences that were to follow, we find in the doctoral dissertation of M.K. Lienhard, *Zur Entstehung und Geschichte von Aristoteles' Poetik*, published in 1950.[347] But it was D. de Montmollin's *La Poétique d'Aristote*. Texte primitif et additions ultérieures, published in 1951, where this "method" was systematically applied to the whole of the *Poetics*.[348] The bulk of the book is occupied by a detailed analysis of the entire treatise in which the author tries to establish and to separate what Aristotle originally wrote from the later marginal additions; at the end[349] de Montmollin provides a text where the "additional glosses" are indicated with stars, with lower margin references to the related passages and to the pages where each alleged addition is discussed. A critical apparatus follows, based on previous editors' reports, particularly on those of Sykutris and Gudeman. The book ends with a "Note complémentaire"[350] where the author attacks

346 Though he did think that his "method" should also be applied to the *Poetics*. Cf. his review of Rostagni's first edition of the *Poetics*: *Boll. Filol. Class.* 34 (1928), pp. 161–166 = *idem*, *Scripta Minora* I (Roma, 1960), pp. 395–400.
347 Cf. Lienhard (1950).
348 Cf. De Montmollin (1951).
349 Cf. De Montmollin (1951), pp. 213–266.
350 Cf. De Montmollin (1951), pp. 371–374.

Lienhard's thesis, which came to his attention only after he had himself finished his monograph. The problem with de Montmollin's book and, we may add, with this type of approach, is that it fails to understand the very essence of Aristotle's style in his scholarly or technical treatises, and that it is more often than not based on misinterpretation of the text, as was pointed out in a short but incisive review by W.J. Verdenius.[351] Let me select just one example on which Verdenius comments: according to de Montmollin the phrase ἕτεροι δὲ διὰ τῆς φωνῆς in 1, 1447a20 is a new idea, incompatible within the context where it occurs, but acceptable as a marginal note, because Aristotle is talking only of artistic imitations. Yet he has failed to observe that in the preceding words -οἱ μὲν διὰ τέχνης <u>οἱ δὲ διὰ συνηθείας</u>—Aristotle has already referred to non-artistic imitations.[352]

It is therefore not surprising that in his bibliographic survey of 1955 Else objected to de Montmollin's approach,[353] although by that time he must have practically finished his massive study *Aristotle's Poetics: The Argument*,[354] where he presented a text in comparison with which even de Montmollin's seems conservative. Else's work proves him to have been extremely learned, endowed with an extraordinary knowledge of the *Poetics* and of practically all the relevant publications, but the soundness of his judgement is often questionable. He adopted (though in a rather mechanical and arbitrary fashion) Jaeger's method of printing within double brackets passages that he considers "later" additions.[355] This "method" reaches an apex of absurdity when in the definition of Tragedy in chapter six, Else prints within double brackets 1449b27–28 δι' ἐλέου καὶ φόβου περαίνουσα τὴν τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν, and a little later explains that "when we suggest that a note has been added by Aristotle, there is no necessary implication that this happened a long time later or betrays a decisive change in point of view. *The addition might have been made the next morning after the first draft of the manuscript was finished.*"[356] (Italics are mine.) Yet this is relatively unimportant

351 Cf. Verdenius (1956), pp. 66–67.

352 I have reproduced Verdenius' objection as a sufficient refutation of de Montmollin's proposal, but there is more to ἕτεροι δὲ διὰ τῆς φωνῆς. For another example of de Montmollin's "method" cf. note on 2, 1448a1–6.

353 Cf. Else (1955), pp. 74–76.

354 Cf. Else (1957).

355 By way of example, here are some of such bracketed passages from the first six chapters: 1, 1447a26–28 (αὐτῷ … πράξεις); 3, 1448a24–b2; 4, 1448b6–8; 1448b12–19; 1449a10–13; 5, 1449a32–37; 6, 1449b27–28; 1450a29–35.

356 Cf. Else (1957), p. 262, n. 143.

when compared with his very numerous excisions, transpositions, and additions to the transmitted text.[357] With great learning he tries to justify his textual decisions; he is unsuccessful, yet this does not mean that the student of the *Poetics* can simply disregard Else's book. It is useful because he has discussed most difficulties in an erudite manner, even if his solutions are not convincing and at times he sees difficulties where there are none. Finally, Else's expertise as an Aristotelian scholar[358] is sometimes questionable: when at the beginning of the *Poetics* Aristotle refers to a well-known principle of investigation, he fails to explain it; and he misunderstands Aristotle's classification of the literary arts in chapter 1, in part because of his mistaken prejudice that any Aristotelian classification must be dichotomic.

While the books of Gudeman, de Montmollin, and Else have not advanced our knowledge of the transmission of the *Poetics*, they are instances of a common twentieth century approach to Aristotle's works, which has led me to include as an example a rather lengthy note on 2, 1448a1–6.[359] This passage is sound and well transmitted by our primary witnesses; it is thus most instructive to show how misunderstanding of the text led these three scholars, one after the other and in increasing degrees, to several misconceptions.

As already pointed out, the publication of the critical edition of Moerbeke's Latin translation of the *Poetics* in 1953 made possible Kassel's edition of 1965. It was probably the general high quality of his text, when compared to all preceding editions, that led to the widespread belief that no further edition of the Greek text based on our four primary witnesses was necessary. I obviously do not agree with such an assessment, but the detailed discussion of Kassel's edition belongs in Chapter Three of this Introduction, after I have explained the principles which have guided me in producing a new edition, critical and *maior*.

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[357] For example in chapter 2 he excises many passages because he either has misunderstood the text (cf. note on 1448a1–6) or because he wishes to eliminate all the trichotomies. Thus he excises ἢ καὶ τοιούτους in 1448a5, Διονύσιος δὲ ὁμοίους in 1448a6, Κλεοφῶν δὲ ὁμοίους in 1448a12, because he mistakenly thinks that all classifications in Aristotle are dichotomic. In chapter 3 he adds ⟨ὁτὲ δ' ἦθός τι εἰσάγοντα⟩ after ἐπαγγέλλοντα and excises ἢ ἕτερον τι γιγνόμενον, because otherwise Aristotle would be looking at Epic in a way similar to Plato's, which Else considers impossible.

[358] In this sense he has impressed at least one classicist. R.G.C. Levens, in his review of Else's book admires him for his knowledge of Aristotle while at the same time noticing that "there are places where command of Greek syntax or idiom seems to fail him," cf. Levens (1961), esp. cols. 190 (b)-191 (a) with references to several passages.

[359] Cf. note *ad loc.*

It is unneccessary here to deal with the many commentaries, texts, translations, and general interpretative articles and reviews published after Kassel's edition. Many of them are mentioned and discussed in the *Notes to the Text*, but there is even there no systematic evaluation and criticism of this kind of valuable literature. Nevertheless, a few additional contributions to the establishment of the *Poetics*' text must be mentioned.

To begin with, the important paper by Dieter Harlfinger and Diether Reinsch, "Die Aristotelica des Parisinus Gr. 1741. Zur Überlieferung von Poetik, Rhetorik, Physiognomonik, De signis, De ventorum situ."[360] It contains a section on the *Poetics*,[361] where the authors provide important supplements and corrections to Lobel's 1933 monograph *The Greek Manuscripts of Aristotle's Poetics* and express agreement with Lobel's fundamental classification of MSS. In addition, they have undertaken a thorough codicological and paleographic examination of *Parisinus Graecus* 1741, which corrects and provides important supplements to Omont's discussion of 1891.[362] Some of the novelties presented in this article have already been mentioned;[363] others are pointed out in Chapter Three.

During the academic year 1986–1987 the late Jean Irigoin studied the text of the *Poetics* as part of his examination of "Deux traditions dissymétriques: Platon et Aristote (suite)," given at the Collège de France, chaire de Tradition et critique des textes grecs. The results of this course were originally published in the *Annuaire du Collège de France* and later reprinted together with other textual studies by the same author in his 1997 book *Tradition et critique des textes grecs*.[364] (It is to this book that I refer when I discuss several of Irigoin's interpretations both in Chapter Three of this Introduction and in some of the *Notes to the Text*.) This article contains for the most part more or less obvious explanations of mistakes which originated in majuscule Greek writing or in the passage from majuscule to minuscule. In addition, Irigoin's theory about how Moerbeke made his translation is not acceptable.[365]

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[360] Cf. *Philologus* 114 (1970), pp. 28–50.

[361] Cf. Harlfinger-Reinsch (1970), pp. 37–42 with the "Korrekturzusatz" at the bottom of p. 50.

[362] Cf. Omont (1891).

[363] Cf. section 4).

[364] Cf. Irigoin (1997), pp. 171–178.

[365] On this cf. Chapter Three (*b*).

1986 was also the year when Monica Centanni published her article "Il Testo della *Poetica* Aristotelica nel Par. Gr. 2038."[366] Its main purpose is to claim that *Parisinus Graecus* 2038, written by Andronicos Callistos, not only contains a number of good conjectures that improve our text of the *Poetics*, but also several other good readings. This leads Centanni to conjecture the existence of a MS X, which was probably "testimone di uno studio della tradizione **B** antecedente al *Ricc.* 46 e perciò latore—in numero maggiore rispetto al Riccardiano—di lezioni concordanti con *Ar* a/o con *lt*, piuttosto che a suffragio dell' ipotesi di innovazione congetturale che sarebbe stata ispirata, oltre che dal talento filologico del Callisto, anche da un' improbabile serie di illuminazioni *per divinationem*."[367] She believes that her paper helps restore the value of the Aldine edition (!). This fantastic thesis is formulated without any awareness of the relationship between the text of the *Poetics* in *Parisinus Graecus* 1741 (= **A**) and the Latin translation of William of Moerbeke, without examining the absence in *Parisinus Graecus* 2038 of the extra lines in ch. 16, 1455a14–14^2 and of several other good readings in **B**, and it implies Centanni's assumption that from Tkatsch's work she can confidently infer the Greek readings behind the Syro-Arabic translation. (See also her paper on the Syriac version of catharsis,[368] and Gutas' opinion on it in Chapter Two.) The Greek and Italian scholars active in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were quite capable of suggesting improvements to the Greek text; and among the readings in *Parisinus Graecus* 2038 that Centanni likes there are many which are *lectiones faciliores* or which eliminate words that only Aristotle could have written.

This survey ends with the mention of an important scholarly publication: M. Sicherl's article "Die Aldina der Rhetores Graeci (1508–1509) und ihre handschriftlichen Vorlagen,"[369] a thorough study of the manuscript sources behind Aldus' edition of the *Rhetores Graeci* in two volumes. I have already mentioned[370] Sicherl's important correction: Lobel had conjectured a lost Greek MS η that contained the readings of *Parisinus Graecus* 2038 incorporated into the Aldine *Poetics*, plus the selected readings coming from *Ambrosianus* B 78sup.; Sicherl, however,

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366 Cf. Centanni (1986).
367 Cf. Centanni (1986), p. 45.
368 Cf. Centanni (1995).
369 Cf. Sicherl (1992), pp. 109–134. Important for the *Poetics* are pp. 113–116, 120–121. Cf. also pp. 109–110.
370 Cf. section 4 *supra*.

from an examination of printer's symbols in *Parisinus Graecus* 2038, concluded that it was itself the MS Aldus used, and that additional readings were incorporated from *Ambrosianus* B 78sup.[371] He also rightly emphasizes the importance of Janus Lascaris in providing MSS to Aldus for the latter's edition of the *Rhetores Graeci*, among them *Parisinus Graecus* 2038.[372] Some important publications related to the Syro-Arabic tradition are mentioned by Gutas in Chapter Two.

[371] Cf. especially Sicherl (1992), pp. 115–116.
[372] Cf. Sicherl (1992), pp. 113–114 with note 22.

CHAPTER TWO

THE *POETICS* IN SYRIAC AND ARABIC TRANSMISSION

Dimitri Gutas

Introduction

The Syriac and Arabic transmission of the *Poetics* is extremely complicated and we do not possess all the requisite information for a fully accurate account of its history. Several such accounts have been offered by scholarship up to now,[1] but as new information is uncovered or identified and as new and more sophisticated studies are made and approaches adopted, it is necessary to revisit the subject.

The study of the Syriac and Arabic transmission of the *Poetics* has two objectives. One is to edit as critically as possible the extant Arabic translation and, on its basis and that of other related texts, the commentaries by Avicenna and Averroes. The second is to analyze and evaluate the Arabic translation with a view to extracting from it all positive information for the establishment of the Greek text. The two are interconnected insofar as a truly critical edition of the Arabic translation would also include a Greek critical apparatus to be used by the editor of the Greek text—that is, an apparatus in which the readings of the Greek manuscript that was used for the Syriac translation, on the basis of which the Arabic translation was made, would be presented as part of, and incorporated into, the manuscript evidence for the Greek text, and which will be accompanied by a detailed philological commentary analyzing and presenting the case for those readings.[2] Though neither of these objectives has been satisfactorily achieved so far, it is also clear that they cannot be both pursued

[1] See in particular the editions by Margoliouth (1887) 1–45, and Tkatsch I,120–138, and the studies by Heinrichs (1969), Schoeler (1975), and Schrier (1997); the most recent comprehensive report appeared in the *Dictionnaire des Philosophes Antiques* by Hugonnard-Roche (2003).

[2] I have recently presented such an apparatus and commentary for the edition of

in the present study. I have attempted only the second, in the Graeco-Arabic apparatus and philological commentary offered below after the Greek text. I accordingly discuss in what immediately follows the Syriac and Arabic transmission only to the extent that it provides information, about the readings of the Greek exemplar used for the Syriac translation, which can be used for the study of the transmission of the Greek text and its establishment.

The evidence that we do possess about the *Poetics* in Syriac and Arabic falls into two categories: Documentary evidence in the form of the actually extant translations and their incorporation and use in subsequent and extant works, and bibliographic and other testimonies and references to these translations in the extant literature. The main problem is that the former is incomplete, insofar as of all the Syriac and Arabic translations and their revisions that had been made very few survive, and that the latter is sporadic, ambiguous, and often based on hearsay; most damagingly, it is not clear how the two sorts of evidence correspond with each other and how they are to be reconciled, if at all. In what follows I will first present in English translation, followed by discussion, all the literary evidence about the translations in the form of testimonies (**Test.**), and then discuss the transmission of the translations as it can be reconstructed by an analysis of those that are extant and their derivative texts (**Doc.**).

1. *Literary Evidence*

There are several reports in Syriac and Arabic literature that provide information about the transmission, circulation, and translation of the *Poetics* in those languages. The actual documents that are mentioned in these reports have largely not survived and their reliability cannot therefore be ascertained. In chronological order, these are the following.

Themistius / "The Fārābī Source"

Test. 1 (= **Test. 17** [**e**]). Ibn-an-Nadīm, *Index* (*al-Fihrist*), section on Aristotle's Organon: "It is said that Themistius has a work (*kalām*) on it [the *Poetics*], but it has been said that it is pseudepigraphous."

Theophrastus's *On First Principles* in Gutas (2010), which also provides guidelines for Graeco-Arabic editions in general.

Test. 2 (= **Test. 15** [c]). Al-Fārābī, *Canons of the Art of the Poets* (*Qawānīn ṣināʿat aš-šuʿarāʾ*):[3] "These are the varieties of the poems of the Greeks and their themes, according to what has reached us from those who are familiar with their poems, and according to what we have found in the statements attributed to Aristotle on the art of the poets,[4] and to Themistius and [to] other than these two among the ancient [philosophers] and commentators on their books."

As Heinrichs (1969) 137 remarked after a detailed listing of the contents of al-Fārābī's brief essay, it consists of a disorderly assortment of ideas about Greek poetry culled most likely from the Greek commentatorial tradition; its ultimate Greek origin is ascertained by the listing of the Greek names, in transliteration, of the different kinds of poetry. Al-Fārābī gives an equally vague reference to the sources of his account, something which he copies, it seems, directly from his immediate source, a compilation in Syriac available to him in an Arabic translation, which I call "the Fārābī source." Its Syriac origin is attested by the transliteration of the Greek names, and in particular by the appellation of the title of the *Poetics* as "the art of the poets," as in the Syriac tradition, for which see next under Timothy (Test. 3 & 4).

The reference to Themistius is problematic. Though we know of no work or paraphrase by Themistius on the *Poetics*, it is not unlikely that the Syriac source of al-Fārābī had access to some piece on Greek poetry and poetics, however fragmentary and schematic. We do not know whether it was attributed to Themistius[5] or not, but it is certain, as the research of John Watt has documented, that some material on Greek poetics and versification deriving from Greek sources was available *in Syriac* by the time of al-Fārābī. This material provided the basis for the part on poetry in the *Rhetoric* of Antony of Tagrit—who is now definitely

3 Text in Arberry (1938), p. 270; my translation.

4 Here Arberry prints *aš-šiʿr*, poetry, though as he stated in his introduction (p. 266), the MS has *aš-šuʿarāʾ*, poets, which is the correct reading. The Princeton MS of the same work (Yehuda 308, f. 90^v), not used by Arberry, also has *aš-šuʿarāʾ*, poets, corroborating the reading. This reflects the Syriac usage, as will be discussed next under Timothy.

5 Cf. Heinrichs (1969) 135n4. In this connection it must be borne in mind that Themistius was well known to Syriac scholars as an orator, some of whose pieces were translated into Syriac. If grammar and rhetoric were closely associated in Syriac secondary education (see Watt (1993), Watt (2010), no. XI, 31), then it is not far-fetched to assume that the engagement of Themistius with rhetoric may have been taken to apply equally well to poetics.

to be dated to the ninth century[6]—a part which was later epitomized by Bar-Šakkō in his *Book of Dialogues*.[7] It is not known whether and how Antony's source is related to that of the essay by al-Fārābī, but a detailed investigation of their respective contents and their relation to Greek sources on poetry may reveal more information about their nature and provenance. The reference by Ibn-an-Nadīm, finally, to a pseudepigraphous work by Themistius on the *Poetics* remains just as problematic. It would not be unreasonable to suppose that he is referring to the very "Fārābī source."

Timothy I. (d. 823, Nestorian Patriarch in Baghdad, 780–823)

Test. 3. From Letter (no. 43) by Timothy I, to Pethion, head of the School of Mar Abraham at Bashosh, written between 780–783:[8] "Let your Eminence sagely ask and enquire whether there is some commentary or scholia by anyone, whether in Syriac or not, to this book, the *Topika* (*Ṭwpykē*), or to the *Refutation of the Sophists* (*Maksānā d-swfisṭē*), or to *The Rhetors* (*Rheṭorē*), or to *The Poets* (*pw'yṭē*); and if there is, find out by whom and for whom (it was made), and where it is. Enquiries on this should be directed to the Monastery of Mar Mattai—but the enquiries should not be made too eagerly, lest the information, (the purpose of the enquiry) being perceived, be kept hidden, rather than disclosed. … Let your Chastity doubly enquire about scholia or a commentary on these books."

Test. 4. From Letter (no. 19) by Timothy I, to Sergius, Nestorian priest and doctor (later metropolitan of Elam), dated to before 792:[9] "That there be sent to us, if possible, a catalogue of the books of [the library at]

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[6] As recently documented by Sebastian Brock; see the reference in Watt (2010), pp. ix–x and note 1.

[7] Watt (1993) 55.

[8] Timothy writes as Patriarch, the office he assumed in 780, while Pethion died some time around 782–783; see Brock (1999) 240. Text and Latin translation in Braun (1902) 6–7, and text and French translation in Pognon, pp. XVII–XVIII, which Brock (1999) controlled against MSS British Library Or. 9361 and Birmingham, Mingana syr. 587. The English translation is by Brock (1999) 236, which I modify only to reflect precisely the Syriac readings of the titles of the Aristotelian books.

[9] Sergius, a fellow student of Timothy at the School of Mar Abraham (NE of Mosul), to whom the majority of Timothy's letters are addressed, was consecrated metropolitan of Elam between 792 and 799: Brock (1999) 245. This letter (no. 19) addresses him as "priest and doctor" and not as "Metropolitan of Elam", as in some others, which means

St. Zīnā [St. Zenon monastery], for it may be that among them there is one that we have not yet found. Examine these books yourself and go through all subjects and all genres,[10] perhaps you may find among them the two books on the poets (*trēn me'mrē d-ʿal p'wyṭē*), for we have one of them; or perhaps you may find among them the commentary by Olympiodorus on the treatises (*ktābē*) of logic …"

These Syriac texts of Timothy, essential for our understanding of the earliest appearance of the *Poetics* in Semitic languages in the Near East, raise a number of serious problems that need to be discussed separately. The first concerns the very Greek titles of Aristotle's books, in particular those on poetry, which are crucial for a proper assessment of what is being referred to by Timothy. He refers twice to these particular books unambiguously as the book of, or on, *The Poets* (*pw'yṭē*, *p'wyṭē*),[11] in the plural (i.e., not *The Art of Poetry* or *Poetics*). This immediately raises the question whether Timothy is referring to the *Poetics* or to the other lost book by Aristotle, *On Poets* (Περὶ ποιητῶν α′ β′ γ′), cited in the lists of his works.[12] But it appears certain that the reference is to the *Poetics* itself. In the first place, in Test. 3 from Timothy's Letter 43, the Patriarch lists the last four books from Aristotle's corpus of logical writings, the Organon, as they were classified in late antiquity, a classification that passed on

that it was written before his consecration. Berti (2007) 310 dates it to "ca. 783–785," without reference to his source. Text and French translation in Pognon, p. XXIX, text and Latin translation in Braun (1915) 86 and 129, Italian translation in Berti (2007) 310.

[10] Timothy uses the Greek word σχήματα here (*eskimīn*), which clearly refers to "forms" of composition, i.e., genres of writing.

[11] I transliterate only the skeleton of the Greek words in the titles, for the precise vocalization is fluctuating and uncertain, as follows: apostrophe (') for *ālaf*, w for *waw*, and y for *yōd*. The reason for the uncertainty in this regard is that the Greek word ποιητής (*poiētḗs* in the Erasmian transcription), with the triple vowel sequence, must have been transliterated in Syriac in different ways, and that even if there originally had been an accepted transcription, with vowel signs, it has fared poorly in the manuscript transmission over time. We see one major difficulty even in the skeleton of the word 'poets' in the two passages from Timothy—in the one the spelling is *pw'yṭē*, in the other *p'wyṭē*—let alone in the vowel signs that presumably accompanied these skeletons. Our dictionaries accordingly reflect these vacillations: The *Thesaurus* of R. Payne Smith, coll. 3018, 3047, provides the greatest variety of alternate readings, followed by J. Payne Smith's *Dictionary* 432a, 435b, while Brockelmann / Sokoloff's *Lexicon* 1158b registers only some variants of the first skeleton.

[12] Diogenes Laertius V 22, and Ptolemy al-Gharīb, no. 7, in Hein (1985) 415 ff. For the work see the entry by R. Goulet in *Dictionnaire des Philosophes Antiques*, I, Paris: CNRS, 1989, 450, and Janko (2011).

intact into Syriac and Arabic literature. In this classification, the work that was referred to as the one on poetry or the poets was always the *Poetics*; there has never been any indication that another work was ever intended. Second, and more significantly, Timothy cites also the *Rhetoric*, not with a transliteration of the Greek word itself (i.e., *rhetorikē*, as he does with the *Topics*), but by calling it *The Rhetors*, exactly as he cites the *Poetics* as *The Poets*; and just as there is no indication that he is referring by the former to anything other than the *Rhetoric* itself, so also there should be no suspicion that he is referring by the latter to anything other than the *Poetics*.

The question, though, is, why the inaccurate translation, literally speaking, of the two titles? The words in the Greek titles being Ῥητορική and Ποιητική, i.e., τέχνη or ἐπιστήμη, respectively, it appears that Timothy and his Nestorian scholars made an inaccurate analysis of the derivation of these two adjectives; they considered them as denominative adjectives derived from the nouns ῥήτωρ and ποιητής, rather than as adjectives derived from verbal stems, the first from ῥητορεύω and the second from the verbal stem in -τός, ποιητός. Thus they understood Ῥητορική and Ποιητική as the art of the orators and poets, respectively, or, for short, the books on *The Rhetors* and *The Poets*.

This understanding of the title (i.e., *On the Poets*, not *On Poetry* or *Poetics*) persisted in Syriac and, eventually, in Arabic, where we see it in the earliest references to the book and, most importantly, in the very title of the treatise in the Paris manuscript of Abū-Bišr's Arabic translation from the Syriac (Test. 10). That this reading, "the poets," is not a scribal error, as most editors are quick to assume, but the original wording by Abū-Bišr reflecting the understanding of the Syriac translation, as just explained, is also indicated by the fact that the opening words of Aristotle, Περὶ ποιητικῆς αὐτῆς τε … λέγομεν, are also translated in Arabic, following the Syriac, as "We are now going to discuss the art of the *poets*" (emphasis added; *innā mutakallimūna l-āna fī ṣināʿati š-šuʿarāʾi*). In the works of al-Kindī (below, Test. 5, 7) and even Ibn-an-Nadīm (below, Test. 17) the very fact that some of their manuscripts read not *The Book of Poetry* (*Kitāb aš-šiʿr*) but *The Book of the Poets* (*Kitāb aš-šuaʿrāʾ*),[13]

[13] *Kitāb aš-šuʿarāʾ* is the more "difficult" (*lectio difficilior*) and, now we can see, original reading, unfortunately mostly "corrected" to *Kitāb aš-šiʿr* by the various editors who pervert this valuable evidence. Margoliouth (1887) first suggested the change to *aš-šiʿr* in his edition (Arabic p. 1, note a), but translated correctly the manuscript reading in his 1911 Latin version (p. 231), *De poetis*. Tkatsch I,220, note, took Margoliouth to task (as usual)

indicates that the title continued to be *Kitāb aš-šuʿarāʾ*, *The Book of the Poets*, in Arabic for some time, and that only gradually, by the tenth century establishment of the Aristotelian school in Baghdad, was the title universally acknowledged as *Kitāb aš-šiʿr*, *The Book of Poetry/Poetics*. However, it must be emphasized that despite this anomaly in the initial translation of the title in both Syriac and Arabic, there is no question that the work being referred to was in all cases the Aristotelian treatise we know as the *Poetics*.

The second question raised by Timothy's testimony in his letters is the identity of the two books on the poets to which he refers. On the basis of the preceding discussion, one of them must have been the *Poetics* itself; the question is what the other one was. We cannot know, but there are, I believe, three possibilities. The second book on the poets was either (a) the lost Aristotelian treatise *On Poets*, or (b) another, unknown, book on Greek poets and poetry, or (c) the second book of Aristotle's *Poetics*. There is not much evidence to go on, but certain considerations show where the probabilities lie. In the first place, one could discount the first alternative; Aristotle's dialogue *On Poets* must have been lost by the fourth century the latest, and there are no indications that it was known in Greek in late antiquity (Janko (2011) 392), much less that it should re-appear in a library in a Syriac milieu. The second alternative is much more likely. As discussed above under Test. 2, it is certain that a work on Greek poetry was available in Arabic to al-Fārābī, and that it was based on a Syriac version. The third alternative, finally, is not as improbable as it might seem at first sight because of the phantasmic second book of the *Poetics*. It may well be, as Berti (2007) 314–315 suggested, that what Timothy may be referring to by his mention of the second book on the poets is in fact *Poetics B*. Berti left the question open because, as he rightly observed, the lists of Aristotle's books where Timothy could have found this reference, those by Diogenes Laertius and "Hesychius", were not available in Syriac; but Berti did not then entertain the possibility that Timothy could very well have found the same reference in Ptolemy al-Gharīb's list of Aristotle's books, a work

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for the actually correct Latin translation, and himself confused the evidence even further in a lengthy note. ʿAyyād in his edition, pp. 25 and 29, printed *aš-šiʿr* in his text but gave the manuscript reading in a note, 28n. Only Badawī 1973, 85, printed correctly *aš-šuʿarāʾ* in his text. In a brief discussion, Heinrichs (1969) 124 simply registered the existence of both readings "bei den Syrern und Arabern gut belegt."

that survives only in an Arabic translation of a lost Syriac intermediary.[14] In a subsequent publication, Berti (2009) 328–329 corrected himself adding the possibility that Timothy may have found the reference in Ptolemy's list, or even that he may have deduced the existence of a second book from the very words by Aristotle in the *Poetics* itself (1449b20–21). Furthermore, it is to be noted that Timothy refers to the 'two books on the poets' as *me'mrā*, a word which is contrasted, in the same sentence by Timothy, with *ktābā* ('the treatises on logic'). The first word has a wide variety of uses, but it normally indicates the sections, or chapters, or 'books' of a larger composition,[15] as opposed to the latter term which unambiguously refers to a separate treatise. Thus the two 'books' of Aristotle's *Poetics* would indeed be referred to as *me'mrā*, as is also indicated by the corresponding Arabic usage, also in Ptolemy al-Gharīb's lists of Aristotle's works: the individual 'books' that make up the separate treatises are always referred to as *maqāla* in Arabic, an exact rendition of Syriac *me'mrā*, both words being derived from the corresponding verbs in the two languages meaning 'to say' (and presumably ultimately reflecting, or being a calque on, Greek λόγος). It is true that *me'mrā* in Syriac could also refer to an individual treatise, depending on the context, but the fact that Timothy in the same sentence refers to 'the treatises on logic'—i.e., the treatises in the Aristotelian Organon—with the word for independent 'book' proper, *ktābā*, increases the likelihood that what he is referring to here is not another treatise among those in the Organon, but a second book or chapter of Aristotle's *Poetics*. We do not know when Ptolemy al-Gharīb's biobibliography of Aristotle was translated into Syriac, but this is irrelevant; Timothy, first, could read Greek, and second, being intensely interested in bibliographical information, he was an avid reader of book lists and catalogues, as his references in his letters indicate (and see further below in this section).

To conclude, then, of the three alternative ways in which Timothy's reference to the 'two books on the poets' can be understood, the likelihood is greater that he meant either the *Poetics* and another treatise on Greek poetry, or the two books of the *Poetics* itself. If the former is true, the one that he claims to possess could have been either the *Poetics* or

[14] Hein (1985), numbers 23 and 38.

[15] A well known usage indicated in the dictionaries and expressly identified by A. Baumstark: "das syrische *me'mrā*, das als Aequivalent von griechischem λόγος zur Bezeichnung grösserer Teile eines umfassenden Werkes gang und gebe ist;" in "Zur Vorgeschichte der arabischen 'Theologie des Aristoteles'," *Oriens Christianus* 2 (1902) 188.

another work, possibly the Syriac original of the "Fārābī source" (above, Test. 2); if the latter, then clearly the one he possessed was the first book of the *Poetics* we now have. It should be stressed, however, that this "conclusion" merely represents probabilities; there can be no certainty in the matter.

The third question that is—and has been—raised by Timothy's reference to the books on Greek poetry concerns the language in which these books were, Greek or Syriac. Timothy does not say. It is true that in the letter to Pethion (Test. 3) he asks for commentaries on the last four books of the traditional Organon in any language, "whether in Syriac or not." This tells us that in his references to Greek books, unless he specifies the language in which they were, the question is to remain open, and that evidence other than his letters will need to be considered in order to arrive, if at all possible, at a resolution. Among scholars of Syriac who studied Timothy's letters, Pognon was the most categorical in stating that all the Greek books to which Timothy refers were in Syriac translation.[16] It is true that Timothy does refer in one of his letters to Syriac translations of a number of Greek church fathers (Pognon, p. XXVIII), and there is certainly external evidence to that effect, but it is untenable, and not only from Timothy's own statement in Test. 3 just cited, that such a claim can be generalized to include all Greek Christian authors, let alone pagans. With regard to the *Poetics* itself, even assuming that that was indeed the book which Timothy says he possesses in Test. 4, which is far from given, as just discussed, the burden of proof is on those who would claim that Timothy's copy was in Syriac. Margoliouth (1911) 78, and Tkatsch I,96b–97a, stated that a Syriac translation existed already in the sixth century on no other basis than Timothy's request for commentaries (!) in Test. 3. Most recently Berti (2007) also claimed just that, but without any evidence other than the dubious argument, stated indirectly in a footnote, that had the text of the *Poetics* in Timothy's possession been in Greek, Timothy would have said so.[17] In his later book on Timothy,

[16] Pognon, p. XXIX, note 2 of the preceding page: "Timothée n'a connu le texte même d'aucun auteur grec et que, toutes les fois qu'il mentionne un ouvrage grec, il veut parler en réalité de la traduction de cet ouvrage en syriaque."

[17] Berti (2007) 312n20: "Che Timoteo possedesse probabilmente una versione siriaca e non il testo greco è suggerito dal fatto che egli non distingue testi greci da traduzioni. Un simile dettaglio difficilmente sarabbe [*sic!*] stato taciuto." Watt (2008) 761, following Berti (2007), repeats that "it [is] likely … that a Syriac translation of Book One of the *Poetics* existed … prior to the translation of Isḥāq."

though, Berti (2009) 328, toned down his claim and admitted that it is equally possible that the book was in Greek. Other scholars, however, most notably Brock (1999) 242, and Hugonnard-Roche (2003) 208–209, refrained from taking a position, given our insufficient evidence. It is thus true that on the basis of the available evidence in Timothy's letters we cannot resolve the issue, though it is again possible to point out where the probabilities lie.

A major argument in favor of denying the existence of a Syriac translation before the ʿAbbāsid era (ninth century) has been Ḥunayn's ignorance of it. In a lexicographical passage preserved by posterity (below, Test. 8, and its discussion), Ḥunayn ibn-Isḥāq defined tragedy and comedy in a way that makes it evident that he had no knowledge of their definitions in the *Poetics*, as Schrier (1997) 265, rightly observed. This is difficult to envisage in *his* case if a Syriac translation of the *Poetics* did, in fact, exist at his time; both by profession and personal interest Ḥunayn had intimate knowledge of all Syriac translations of Greek texts. This appreciation of the situation is further corroborated by our general knowledge of the neglect, in Syriac letters before the ʿAbbāsids, of the last four books of the Organon (the *Topics, Sophistics, Rhetoric*, and *Poetics*). As Timothy's express request for their commentaries implies (Test. 3), and as independent evaluation of the situation in secondary literature indicates, these books, and the *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* in particular, were certainly not part of the logical curriculum in schools, and we can only guess that they were very little, if at all, independently studied[18]—and hence Ḥunayn's

[18] See, most recently, the statement of the case by Vagelpohl (2008) 57–59, and cf. Gutas (1999). Watt (2008) attempts to present a picture of the existence of a tradition of study of the complete Organon (eight or nine books) in Syriac before the ʿAbbāsids (750 AD), to parallel the Syriac tradition of study of the abridged Organon (i.e., up to *Analytica priora* I,7), but the evidence is simply not there for the latter four books of the Organon. The mere *mention* in the sources of the existence of Syriac translations of only the *Topics* and the *Sophistics* by Athanasius of Balad (d. 686)—the only attestation to any engagement in Syriac prior to the ʿAbbāsids with any of the four last books of the Organon—and in the absence of any other evidence for commentaries, glosses, or even use of their contents, is not sufficient to prove a tradition of study in Syriac of the complete Organon. There is no question that the *curriculum* of the full Organon was well known, just as that some individual Syriac scholars who knew Greek would have studied the last four treatises *privately* (as al-Fārābī's account indicates: see Gutas (1999) 180) if the spirit so moved them and if they could locate the Greek manuscripts, but we have no evidence whatsoever of a school tradition of their study *in Greek* in late antiquity (cf. the relevant entries in *DPhA* vol. I and Supplement), much less in Syriac. The evidence, as presented by Watt himself, is overwhelmingly in favor of the formal study in Syriac of the *abridged* Organon, of only sporadic and, apparently, private engagement with the

ignorance of the definition of tragedy, and not only in Syriac but also in Greek. In this context it would be difficult to imagine an occasion upon which the *Poetics* would have been translated into Syriac.

The situation changed with the advent of the ʿAbbāsids and the foundation of Baghdad (762), and the demand for translations by the Muslim ruling elites. This coincided roughly with the accession to the Nestorian see by Timothy, and the earnest search for Greek secular texts that is in evidence in his letters reflects the corresponding interest of these Muslim elites. Timothy, well placed through his position to benefit his flock and enhance its standing, offered his services to the caliphs and their officials. The search for Greek manuscripts intensified not only because of Muslim demand, but also, as it appears again from Timothy's letters (Test. 3), on account of the inter-Christian rivalry in vying for Muslim attention.[19] Timothy warns his addressee to take care not to seem too eager in looking for these works in Monophysite monastery libraries (Mar Mattai; cf. Brock (1999) 242) lest the Monophysites perceive that these texts are wanted by the Nestorians in order to ingratiate themselves with the Muslims and thus deny them access to these valuable books.

There is, finally, a further argument, though small, from philology. In his letter 48 to Sergius, Timothy engages in a lengthy discussion about the meaning of the Greek word *aulētrides* (αὐλητρίδες) in Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics*, 78b31, and of the word *aulētridion* (αὐλητρίδιον), which he claims is in the *Topics*. Now this latter word does not occur in the *Topics*, which Timothy is supposed to have (or to have had) translated, but only the word *aulētikē* (αὐλητική), at 104a18–19, a mistake which Brock (1999) 245, plausibly attributes to some lapse in Timothy's memory. The important thing in this discussion, though, is that Timothy claims that the former word, and by extension the latter, one can guess, which is a derivative from the same root, "is a strange one (*xenos*) and unusual, even in Greek, as I believe" (Brock (1999) 239). This is surprising, for the words denoting flute-players and flute-playing in Greek are quite

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subsequent treatises, and absolutely non-existent for the *Poetics*, in any language, before the references we first come across in Timothy's letters dating from the end of the eighth century.

[19] This rivalry is perhaps also perceptible in Timothy's veiled comments about the translations of the *Topics* by others—obviously by other Christians, since only Christians would have been in a position to prepare such translations: "there were some others who were translating this [the *Topics*] from Greek into Arabic … nevertheless the king [the caliph al-Mahdī] did not consider it worth even looking at the labours of those other people …;" in letter 43, Brock (1999) 236.

common in the extant literature, let alone in the works that had been actually composed or those that must have been available to Timothy. This means that Timothy had limited experience with Greek texts, and that accordingly he would have remembered other instances of the use of this and related words. The *Poetics* itself has six such uses of words derived from the flute: the verb αὐλέω at 1461b32, and the nouns αὐλός at 1461a18, αὔλησις at 1448a9, αὐλητής at 1461b31, and αὐλητική at 1447a15 and 24.[20] If Timothy had known the *Poetics* in Syriac, he might have remembered these words in these passages.

The combined weight of the above considerations indicates that there was no Syriac translation of the *Poetics* certainly before the ʿAbbāsid era (760's) and most probably not even before the middle of the ninth century.

al-Kindī (d. after 870)

Test. 5. Description of the *Poetics* in his *On the Quantity of Aristotle's Books*:[21] "The eighth of the books on logic [by Aristotle] is the one called *Bū'īṭīqā*[22] (*Poiētikē*), meaning poets.[23] … His [Aristotle's] purpose in his

[20] Strangely, difficulty with words from this root persisted in Syriac. In Abū-Bišr's Arabic translation, the word αὐλητική in both instances is transliterated, not translated (and thus obviously reflecting the underlying Syriac transliteration), and only the first is provided with a revised alternative translation as a doublet introduced at some subsequent time into the original translation.

[21] *Fī kammiyyat kutub Arisṭū*, Arabic text and Italian translation in Guidi and Walzer 392, 402, 406, 417; Arabic text also in Abū-Rīda, p. 368,3 and 382,11–13; al-Kindī's entry was copied by al-Yaʿqūbī, *Ta'rīḫ* p. 148,3–5 Houtsma (though cf. Heinrichs (1969) 125n4). The last phrase listing the kinds of meters is missing in the MS of al-Yaʿqūbī, and is to be supplemented from the text in al-Kindī, as noted by Guidi and Walzer, 402. There is an old German translation of the text of al-Yaʿqūbī by M. Klamroth, "Ueber die Auszüge aus griechischen Schriftstellern bei al-Jaʿqūbī," *ZDMG* 41 (1887) 427.

[22] This work survives in a single MS, Istanbul Aya Sofya 4832. The word here is written in the MS *būlīṭīqā*, and in the following instance as *būlīṭīqī*, a misreading of the original *alif* in the middle of the word as *lām*. Guidi and Walzer correct the spelling (which reflects the Syriac) and print as above; Abū-Rīda changes the *lām* to a *yā'*, compounding the error.

[23] The MS reads, *šʿry*, ostensibly *šiʿrī*, "poetic," and the word was so transliterated and interpreted by Heinrichs (1969) 124: "auf die Dichtung bezügliche," by analogy to the preceding *al-balāġī* translating the title for the *Rhetoric*, *Rīṭūrīqī*. But this analogy notwithstanding, *šiʿrī* can hardly be what al-Kindī wrote; this interpretation of the word is attested nowhere else in the Syriac and Arabic tradition. (I would even argue that the form *balāġī* for the *Rhetoric* in the MS may well be a corruption—or a copyist's 'correction'—of an original *bulaġā'*, written with a final *yā'*, as in this case with *šuʿarā'*, into *balāġī*.) And in the next passage, below, where al-Kindī repeats the transliterated word and its meaning, the MS has *šuʿarā'*, poets. It is thus clear that the final *yā'* in the spelling of the word here, *šʿry* is to be read as an *alif maqṣūra* (as suggested by Guidi and explained by

eighth book, called *Bū'īṭīqī* (i.e., *Poiētikē*), i.e., poets,[24] is to talk about the art of poetry among [the kinds of] speech, and [about] the meters which are used in all kinds of poetry, like panegyric, elegy, satire, and others."

This generic description of the *Poetics* al-Kindī drew not from the work itself but from his source, in all likelihood a late antique listing of Aristotle's works, translated at some point into Syriac and subsequently made available to him in Arabic, possibly upon his request. The Syriac background of al-Kindī's text is evident, in addition to a number of other features, also in the title of the *Poetics*, translated as "the poets," exactly as in the letters of Timothy (above, Test. 3 & 4).

Test. 6 (= **Test.** 17[f]). Ibn-an-Nadīm, *Index* (*al-Fihrist*), section on the *Poetics* (p. 250,5–6 Flügel): "There is an Epitome (*muḫtaṣar*) of this book (the *Poetics*) by al-Kindī."

Test. 7. Ibn-an-Nadīm, *Index* (*al-Fihrist*), section on al-Kindī's musical works (p. 257,6 Flügel): "Item. [Al-Kindī's] Treatise on the Art of the Poets."[25]

This latter title is listed in the *Fihrist* under the heading 'His [al-Kindī's] Books on Music,' together with other titles, some of which are extant, on musical subjects. Tkatsch I,125b–126a, followed by Peters (1968) 29, considered this to be identical to the preceding title, the *Epitome*, but Hugonnard-Roche (2003) 212 pointed out the untenability of such a claim. It would seem that the *Epitome*, about which we have no other information, if it was based at all on Aristotle's *Poetics*, would be a discussion of poetry as part of the Aristotelian Organon, most likely based on some Syriac treatment of Greek poetry, possibly even the work which was later known to al-Fārābī (Test. 2). The "Treatise on the Art of the Poets," on the other hand, listed as it is among al-Kindī's other books on music, would be on prosody and its relation to melody and song. However, there can be no certainty even about this argument. Judging from the understanding of tragedy and comedy as songs, before

Heinrichs (1969) 124), and thus the word should be read as in the next instance where it occurs in this work, *šuʿarā'*, poets. See the discussion above about the title of the *Poetics* in Syriac (Test. 3 & 4).

[24] See the preceding note. Guidi and Walzer print correctly the MS reading *šuʿarā'* (though mistakenly suggest that it should be read *šiʿrī*), while Abū-Rīda actually prints *šiʿrī*.

[25] All the MSS read *aš-šuʿarā'*, the poets, which Flügel mistakenly changes in his edition to *aš-šiʿr*, poetry. See the discussion above on the title of the work in Syriac.

the translation into Arabic of the actual *Poetics*, such as that we find in Ḥunayn ibn-Isḥāq, al-Kindī's exact contemporary in Baghdad (Test. 8), it would not seem unreasonable to assume that the treatise in question did deal with an understanding of poetry, if not the *Poetics* itself, as relating to music.

Ḥunayn ibn-Isḥāq (d. 873)

Test. 8. Ḥunayn ibn-Isḥāq, definition of tragedy, as cited by the lexica of Bar-ʿAlī (second half of the ninth century)[26] and Bar-Bahlūl (mid-tenth century): "Tragedy: about this one should know that there are two kinds of music among the Greeks. One is called *ṭra(')godiyā* and the other *qomodēseh*. By *ṭra(')godiyā*, they admonish and reproach those who set out to sin and err out of fervid passion [*ḥemmtā*], and by *qomodēseh* those who sin out of lust. Galen uses both of these in his medical writings. When you encounter them, understand them [i.e., in this way]."[27]

As Schrier (1995) rightly observes, the Syriac transliterations of the two words stand for Greek τραγῳδία and κωμῳδῆσαι, not κωμῳδία. Schrier thinks that Ḥunayn in all likelihood found these terms in some text of Galen that does not survive in Greek (hence the title of his article, "A New Fragment of Galen"), since in all of Galen's extant works the infinitive κωμῳδῆσαι does not occur. However, both the form and the moralistic interpretation given to these two words generate the impression that Ḥunayn rather found them in some (Christian?) Greek paraenetic text, understood them in the sense they had in the spoken Greek of his time (τραγούδιον = song,[28] κωμῳδῶ = lampoon, ridicule), and, having in mind, as Galen's translator, the occurrence of the words in the physician's works, inserted the reference to him for the benefit of other translators—which further implies that these terms were not widely

[26] The lexicographer and physician Īšōʿ bar-ʿAlī was a student of Ḥunayn and, by his own admission, used at least one of Ḥunayn's own lexica in the compilation of his work; see now A.M. Butts, "The Biography of the Lexicographer Ishoʿ bar ʿAli (ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī)," *Oriens Christianus* 93 (2009) 59–70. Bar-ʿAlī does not give his source for this definition, and it is true that, as Butts remarks, his lexicon contains accretions by later redactors (pp. 62–63); Bar-Bahlūl, however, attributes the definition directly to Ḥunayn.

[27] Syriac text by Schrier (1995) 344. A.M. Butts had the kindness to send me the English translation of this passage in a private communication, which I provide here with slight adjustments. Cf. the English translation by Schrier (1995) 344.

[28] According to the *TLG*, the first extant occurrence of τραγούδια, meaning songs, occurs in the ninth century when Ḥunayn lived, in the middle Greek translation from the Arabic of Abū-Maʿšar's *De mysteriis (lib. 3) (excerpta e cod. Angel. 29, fol. 73)*, Volume 5,1, page 162, line 6.

known in the circles of the Syriac speaking Nestorian scholars. In any case, however the Galenic reference is interpreted, the fact remains that this lexicographic text by Ḥunayn indicates that, at the time of writing (which is unkown—Ḥunayn died in 873), he was completely unaware of the definition of tragedy in the *Poetics*, in either Greek or Syriac. Had there been available a translation in Syriac, or even an epitome or summary of the work in Nestorian circles, as the letters of their patriarch Timothy hint—circles in which Ḥunayn grew up and was educated—it is hard to envisage that he would have been ignorant of them. His ignorance of the Greek text, on the other hand, is to be imputed to the lack of knowledge of and interest in the *Poetics*, as the last book of the Aristotelian Organon, on the part of the Nestorian scholars before the development of the Aristotelian philosophical tradition in Baghdad after the middle of the ninth century (as discussed above). The preponderance of the evidence would thus indicate that in, say, 850, there was no Syriac translation of the *Poetics* (and certainly no Arabic one either, as it derives from the Syriac).

Isḥāq ibn-Ḥunayn (d. 910–911)

Test. 9. Ibn-an-Nadīm, *Index* (*al-Fihrist*), in the section on Alexander of Aphrodisias:[29] "Abū-Zakariyyā [Yaḥyā ibn-ʿAdī] said that he sought [to buy a manuscript containing] the text of the *Sophistici Elenchi*, the text of the *Rhetoric*, and the text (*faṣṣ*) of the *Poets*[30] in the translation of Isḥāq [ibn-Ḥunayn] from Ibrāhīm ibn-ʿAbd-Allāh[31] for fifty dinars, but Ibrāhīm did not sell it; he burned it at the time of his death."

Apart from the valuable information about the social context of these translations in tenth century Baghdad which this reports provides, it also indirectly informs us that the translator Isḥāq ibn-Ḥunayn also translated the *Poetics*. If it is true, it most probably indicates that Isḥāq prepared a Syriac translation (or revision), as suggested by Endress.[32] Heinrichs (1969), 112–113, remarked that we cannot know whether this was a Greek-Syriac or Syriac-Arabic translation, adding Tkatsch's arguments (I,124b–125a) in favor of the former position.

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[29] *Fihrist*, p. 253.3–4 Flügel, repeated by Ibn-al-Qifṭī, p. 54.14–16 Lippert, and by Ibn-Abī-Uṣaybiʿa, p. I,70.3–4 Müller.

[30] Some MSS read *Poets, šuʿarāʾ*, though Flügel prints *šiʿr*. See the discussion above (Test. 3 & 4).

[31] Ibrāhīm ibn-ʿAbd-Allāh was a Christian translator, as Ibn-an-Nadīm himself informs us (p. 252,28 Flügel), who died before Yaḥyā ibn-ʿAdī.

[32] Endress (1977) 26 #1.23. See also Reinink (1983) 106.

The insistence of the report on the *text* (*faṣṣ*) of the treatises copied would imply that these were accompanied by comments or other kinds of scholia. See also below for the translation by Abū-Bišr, Test. 11.

Abū-Bišr Mattā ibn-Yūnus (d. 940)

Test. 10. Title of the *Poetics* translation in MS Paris BN Ar. 2346, f. 131a: "The Book by Aristotle on the Poets. Translation by Abū-Bišr Mattā ibn-Yūnus al-Qunnāʾī from Syriac into Arabic."

Test. 11. Ibn-an-Nadīm, *Index* (*al-Fihrist*), in the section on Abū-Bišr Mattā (p. 263,24–27 Flügel): "[a] He [Abū-Bišr Mattā] made translations (*tafsīr*) from Syriac into Arabic. … [b] Item. Translation of the *Book of the Poets*,[33] the text (*naql Kitāb aš-Šuʿarāʾ, al-faṣṣ*)."

The way in which Ibn-an-Nadīm records this report suggests that what was translated was the text of the *Poetics* itself (*faṣṣ*) as distinct from accompanying material that went along with it, which in turn might indicate that the text of the *Poetics* was taken from the lemmata cited in a wider context of scholia (as in the case of the translation by Isḥāq, above, Test. 9). But since we have no record of any Greek commentary on the *Poetics* itself ever having been written in antiquity, it is unlikely that the reference here would be to such a commentary. In all likelihood the text may have been accompanied by some general treatment of Greek poetry, like the one that we find in the "Fārābī source," and Abū-Bišr translated the Aristotelian text.

Test. 12. From a literary account by at-Tawḥīdī (d. ca. 1023) of a debate between Abū-Bišr and the grammarian as-Sīrāfī (d. 979) that took place in 937 AD in Baghdad;[34] as-Sīrāfī is addressing here Abū-Bišr and the adherents of Greek logic: "Furthermore, you people obviously fall short of your [books on] logic, for you do not fully study [those] books nor are they furnished with commentaries: you [pl.] profess poetry but you do not know it, and you talk about rhetoric while being at the furthest distance from it."

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[33] Flügel's text has *šiʿr*, poetry, but some MSS of the *Fihrist* read *šuʿarāʾ*, poets. The correct reading *šuʿarāʾ* is established from the title in the Paris MS of the translation, Test. 10. See above on the Syriac title of the *Poetics* (Test. 3 & 4).

[34] Text in at-Tawḥīdī, *Al-Imtāʿ wa-l-muʾānasa*, A. Amīn and A. az-Zayn, eds, Cairo 1939–1944, p. 123; German translation in Endress (1986) 260; English translation adapted from Margoliouth (1905) 124, who had access to a defective text.

From the context, it is clear that by "logic" as-Sīrāfī is referring not so much to the thinking process, though that too is part of the overall debate, but to the books of logic in the Aristotelian Organon, and particularly, judging from what next follows, to the last two in the traditional canon, the *Rhetoric* and *Poetics*. And to be truthful, the Arabic translations of these two books must have been seen as highly uncouth and grossly offensive to the refined tastes of Arab intellectuals, such as as-Sīrāfī in early tenth century Baghdad, with their sophisticated studies on style and syntax. But this remark, its sarcasm apart (as Endress (1986) 262, aptly remarks), is useful in setting a terminus ante quem for Abū-Bišr's translation of the *Poetics*. Abū-Bišr came to Baghdad during the caliphate of ar-Rāḍī, i.e., after 934 (Endress in *EI*², VI,844b), and it would be perhaps too much to assume both that he translated the *Poetics* and that there was enough time for it to gain a wide audience in the three short years before the debate in 937; thus in all probability the *Poetics* was translated before 934, but we have no way of knowing exactly when.

al-Fārābī (d. 950)

Test. 13. Al-Fārābī, *Prolegomena to the Study of Philosophy* (*Mā yanbaġī an yuqaddama qabla taʿallum al-falsafa*), section on the purposes (*skopos*) of Aristotle's books:[35] "[The books] that need to be read after the science of demonstration [i.e., the *Posterior Analytics*] are those by means of which a discrimination can be made between true and false demonstration and between purely false and partially false [demonstration]. The purely false demonstration is studied in his book *On the Art of Poetry*."

This passage, like the rest of this short work, is taken directly from the prolegomena to the study of philosophy and of Aristotle's philosophy in the works of the Neoplatonist philosophers in late antiquity, in particular Simplicius. The categorization of poetical statements as all false is part of the classification, in these prolegomena, of all declarative speech as either all true (demonstrative), more true than false (dialectical), equally true and false (rhetorical), more false than true (sophistical), and all false (poetical).[36]

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[35] *Ma yanbaġī an yuqaddama qabla taʿallum al-falsafa* (or, *falsafat Arisṭū*), in *Mabādiʾ al-falsafa al-qadīma*, Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Muʾayyad, 1328/1910, p. 10; *Manṭiqiyyāt al-Fārābī*, in M.T. Dānešpajūh, ed., Qum: Maktabat al-Marʿašī an-Nağafī, 1408Q, vol. I, pp. 1–10.

[36] For details, see Gutas (1983) *passim*, and diagrams IV and V.

Test. 14. al-Fārābī, *The Enumeration of the Sciences* (*Iḥṣāʾ al-ʿulūm*):[37] "The eighth [book of logic] contains the rules for analyzing poems and the classes of poetic statements in use and those produced in each kind of situation. It also [contains] an enumeration of all things with which the discipline of poetics is connected, how many classes of them there are, how many classes of poems and poetic statements there are, how each class is produced and from which things it is made, in connection with which things it becomes more excellent, more splendid, more brilliant and more pleasurable, and what qualities it ought to have[38] so as to become maximally effective. This book is called *Poiētikē*[39] in Greek, that is, *The Book of Poetry*."

Test. 15. al-Fārābī, *Canons of the Art of the Poets* (*Qawānīn ṣināʿat aš-šuʿarāʾ*):[40]

> [a] We will now enumerate the varieties of the poems of the Greeks as they were enumerated by the Philosopher [Aristotle] in his discourses on the art of the poets,[41] referring to each kind in turn. ...
>
> [b] Tragedy is a kind of poetry having a particular metre, affording pleasure to all who hear or recite it. In tragedy good things are mentioned, praiseworthy matters which are an example for others to emulate: governors of cities are also praised in it. Musicians used to sing tragedy before kings, and whenever a king died, they would insert in the tragedy certain additional melodies lamenting the dead king. ...
>
> [c] Comedy is a kind of poetry having a particular metre. In comedy evil things are mentioned, personal satires, blameworthy characteristics, and reprehensible habits. Sometimes additional melodies are inserted in which are mentioned blameworthy characteristics which are common to men and beasts, as well as ugly physical features likewise common to them. ...

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37 Al-Fārābī, *Iḥṣāʾ al-ʿulūm*, ed. ʿUṯmān Amīn, Cairo: Maktabat al-Anglū al-Miṣriyya, ²1968, pp. 88–89; *Catálogo de las ciencias*, ed. Ángel Gonzalez Palencia, Madrid—Granada: Instituto Miguel Asín, ²1953, p. 49. In the absence of a critical edition, I translate the text of Amīn. Cf. the Castilian and Latin translations in Gonzalez Palencia. This passage of al-Fārābī, as quoted by Ibn-Abī-Uṣaybiʿa, is also translated into modern Latin by Margoliouth (1887), p. 1, note a.

38 Literally, "what states it ought to be in."

39 The editions do not indicate the precise spelling of the transliterated word in order to compare it with the other transliterations in Syriac and al-Kindī. In general, though, it appears that the Syriac spelling is retained, in Arabic transcription, also by al-Fārābī.

40 Translation of paragraphs [b] and [c] by Arberry (1938) 275–276; the translation of paragraphs [a] and [d] is mine.

41 Here also Arberry prints *aš-šiʿr*, poetry, though both his own manuscript and the Princeton MS have *aš-šuʿarā*, poets; see note 4 above.

> [d] These are the varieties of the poems of the Greeks and their themes, according to what has reached us from those who are familiar with their poems, and according to what we have found in the statements attributed to Aristotle on the art of the poets,[42] and to Themistius and [to] other than these two among the ancient [philosophers] and commentators on their books.

This passage from the 'Fārābī source,' as discussed above (Test. 2), and the previous one from the *Enumeration of the Sciences* have their origin not directly in Aristotle's *Poetics* but in a derivative textbook discussion of Greek poetry and poetic meters. In particular the literary genres of tragedy and comedy were little understood *as performance arts* among non-Greek speakers in the Hellenized Near East (and possibly even among the majority of Greek speakers without a classical Greek education) because they had stopped being part of public life in late antique societies. Hence the description of tragedy and comedy in moral terms, coupled with singing, as in Ḥunayn's definition (Test. 8).[43] It may be that the ultimate origin of these descriptions lies in the late antique literature of the prolegomena to Aristotle, as Heinrichs (1969) 145 suggests, though at some derivative stage. But even if such a work was not composed originally in Greek, then certainly the Syriac compiler relied on information and sources provided to him by a Greek authority from late antiquity.

What is surprising in these works by al-Fārābī, and particularly in another very brief essay on poetry, where the theory of imitation (*mimesis = muḥākāt*) forms part of the discussion,[44] is that he did not seem to have used directly the *Poetics* in Abū-Bišr's translation, as both Avicenna and Averroes were to do later. If the Arabic translation was made prior

42 See the preceding note.

43 The misreading of the crucial passage in the definition of tragedy as χωρὶς ἑκάστου τῶν εἰδῶν ἐν τοῖς μορίοις δρώντων, καὶ οὐ δι' ἐπαγγελίας, and its corresponding mistranslation, in Syriac as in Arabic (see Gutas (1990) 95–96), are not accidental but representative of the lack of familiarity with tragedy as something enacted on stage and not recited, and hence with the particular understanding of the nature and significance of tragedy as analyzed by Aristotle in the *Poetics*. For a concise discussion of the history of the understanding of tragedy in non-Aristotelian terms, along with its decline as a performed art and its revival in the Renaissance, see the article on "Tragedy and the Tragic" by R. Bushnell in *The Classical Tradition*, ed. by A. Grafton, G.W. Most, and S. Settis, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010, 942–947, with further bibliography.

44 Al-Fārābī, *Book of Poetry* (*Kitāb aš-Šiʿr*), transl. by M. Hammond in van Gelder and Hammond 14–18, who also lists the editions and other translations. See in particular the discussion in Heinrichs (1969) 143 ff. This work was also translated from Arabic into Hebrew by Todros ben Todrosi; see Tamani and Zonta 37, no. 9.3 (1) and Zonta 828.

to 934, as discussed above (Test. 12), and al-Fārābī left Baghdad in 942, there was certainly ample enough time for him to become acquainted with the work. Thus although it has to be assumed that he did, in fact, know it, it is also equally clear that his view of poetry as part of the Organon, his interest in mimesis in association with φαντασία and image-evocation (*taḫyīl*),[45] and the alienating discussion of Greek poetic forms in the *Poetics* that he apparently did not know what to do with,[46] led this consummate Aristotelian away from this work.

Yaḥyā ibn-ʿAdī (d. 974)

Test. 16 (= **Test. 17[d]**). Ibn-an-Nadīm, *Index* (*al-Fihrist*), in the section on Aristotle (p. 250,4–5 Flügel; p. 309, 310 Reẓā Tağaddod): "Yaḥyā ibn-ʿAdī translated it (*naqalahū*) [the *Poetics*]."

Ibn-an-Nadīm further reports that Yaḥyā ibn-ʿAdī also translated the *Poetics*, presumably into Arabic. This report must be considered reliable and it can be taken to indicate that ibn-ʿAdī must have had at least something to do with the *Poetics*; Ibn-an-Nadīm was in touch with him, receiving from him much of the information in the *Fihrist* relating to Greek philosophical and especially Aristotelian translations. If it is difficult to envisage a new translation from Syriac into Arabic, in all likelihood the report might refer to a revision or correction of the previous Arabic translation by Abū-Bišr.[47] Avicenna's paraphrase is clearly based on a revised version of Abū-Bišr's translation, which may very well be the one by ibn-ʿAdī.

Ibn-an-Nadīm (The Index, Compiled in 987 AD)

Test. 17. Ibn-an-Nadīm, *Index* (*al-Fihrist*), section on Aristotle's Organon (p. 248,19, 250,4–6 Flügel; p. 309, 310 Reẓā Tağaddod): "[a] Report on his [Aristotle's] logical works: … *Abūṭīqā*, also called *Būṭīqā* (i.e., *Poiētikē*), whose meaning is, 'The Poets.'[48] … [b] Report on *Abūṭīqā*

[45] Also completely based on the concept of *taḫyīl*, and thus removed from the Aristotelian work, is al-Fārābī's brief description of the *Poetics* in his *Philosophy of Aristotle* (*Falsafat Arisṭūṭālīs*), ed. M. Mahdi, Beirut: Dār Mağallat Šiʿr, 1961, 85.4–7, English translation by M. Mahdi, *Alfarabi's Philosophy of Plato and Aristotle*, Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1962, 92–93.

[46] See the extensive discussion by Heinrichs (1969) 138, 146–154.

[47] The view of the revision of Abū-Bišr's Arabic translation by Yaḥyā ibn-ʿAdī is widely shared; see Gabrieli (1929); Peters (1968) 28–29; Dahiyat 4.

[48] Arabic *aš-šuʿarāʾ*, which is the reading in Tağaddod's edition in the second of the

(*Poiētikē*). Its meaning is, 'The poets.' [c] Abū-Bišr Mattā translated it (*naqalahū*) from Syriac into Arabic. [d] Yaḥyā ibn-ʿAdī translated it (*naqalahū*). [e] It is said that Themistius has a work (*kalām*) on it, but it has been said that it is pseudepigraphous. [f] There is an Epitome (*muḫtaṣar*) of this book by al-Kindī."

Ibn-an-Nadīm brings here together all the information he has on the translations, the individual parts of which have been discussed under the corresponding names.

Ǧābir ibn-Ḥayyān (Tenth Century?)

Test. 18. Ǧābir (the alchemist), *K. at-taǧmīʿ* (p. 355,12–15 Kraus, *Textes*):[49] "Our book in which we commented on Aristotle's book on poetic and prose (*kalāmiyya*) rhetoric and oratory. This is the eighth treatise of logic, though some people raised doubts about this and said that it is the seventh; both ways [of counting], however, are the same."[50]

The reference here is clearly to the traditional enumeration of the treatises in the late antique classification of Aristotle's Organon that was adopted in the Islamic tradition, as Kraus noted. The two ways of counting the treatises mentioned here depend on whether Porphyry's *Eisagoge* is included or not. With the *Eisagoge* as the first treatise, the *Rhetoric* is eighth in line; without it, it is seventh. From this point of view it appears that the Ǧābirian author is referring to a work on the *Rhetoric*, not the *Poetics*. Furthermore, the strange way of referring to the contents of Aristotle's work, "poetic and prose rhetoric and oratory" (*al-balāġa wa-l-ḫiṭāba aš-šiʿriyya wa-l-kalāmiyya*), on the one hand indicates that whatever this "book" was, it must have been a derivative work based on some summary of Aristotelian—if that—ideas on these subjects, and on the other suggests that what was treated in it was, in essence, ways of public speaking; the hendiadys *al-balāġa wa-l-ḫiṭāba* points in this direction. The further qualification of this oratory as "poetic and prose" may reflect some reference to the *Poetics*, but this may have been nothing

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two passages, presumably reflecting a MS reading. Flügel's edition reads *aš-šiʿr*, 'poetry', in both passages. For my choice of term see the discussion above for the Syriac and Arabic title (Test.3 & 4).

[49] P. Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān. Essai sur l'histoire des idées scientifiques dans l'Islam.* Vol. I. *Textes choisis*, Paris: G.P. Maisonneuve / Cairo: Librairie El-Khandgi, 1935.

[50] See also the translation and brief discussion by P. Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān. Contribution à l'histoire des idées scientifiques dans l'Islam*, Vol. I, *Le corpus des écrits Jābiriens* [Mémoires présentés à l'Institut d'Égypte, 44], Cairo: Imprimérie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1943, p. 164, no. 2586.

substantive but only at the bibliographical level, due to an awareness that the *Poetics* came after the *Rhetoric* in the classification of the treatises in the Organon. In any case, this would seem to be far removed from the Arabic translation of either one of the Aristotelian treatises.[51]

Other References

In the bibliographical literature there are references to Arabic works on the *Poetics*, like that by the brilliant scientist and philosopher Ibn-al-Hayṯam (d. 1038),[52] or, more commonly, to Arabic summaries and paraphrases of the entire corpus of the eight books of the Organon, like that of ʿAbd-ar-Raḥmān ibn-Ismāʿīl ibn-Badr al-Iqlīdī.[53] None of them survives, and we are not in a position to gauge the extent to which they used the Arabic translation of the *Poetics*.

2. *Documentary Evidence—The Extant Translations*

The extant evidence for the translations, in chronological order, is the following:

Doc. 1. A fragment of the Syriac translation made from the Greek, consisting of the passage on the definition of tragedy, 1459b24–1450a9 (ἔστιν οὖν τραγῳδία ... ἐστὶν ἡ τραγῳδία), is quoted in *The Book of Dialogues* by Severus bar-Šakkō (d. 1241). It was edited by Margoliouth (1887), Arabic pp. 77–79, following his edition of the Arabic translation.[54]

The Syriac translation can be studied on the basis of this extant fragment and whatever information about it can be extracted from the Arabic translation. Neither is much: the Syriac fragment is too short

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[51] Kraus, *ibid*., tends to think that the work referred to was possibly a commentary on both the *Rhetoric* and the *Poetics* in a single volume (repeated by Peters (1968) 29), though he admits that the title is equivocal.

[52] Ibn-Abī-Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ* II,94.-7 Müller: Ibn-al-Hayṯam, *Treatise combining Greek and Arabic on the Art of Poetry* (*Risāla fī ṣināʿat aš-šiʿr mumtaziǧa min al-yūnānī wa-l-ʿarabī*); cf. Heinrichs (1969) 163.

[53] Mentioned by Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt al-umam* 68 Cheikho.

[54] Margoliouth's edition was based on two British manuscripts, Bodleian Marsh. 528 and British Museum (now Library) Add. 21454. The section on poetics from Bar-Šakkō's work, which contains the Aristotelian text (Question Twenty), was also published in facsimile from the Harvard Semitic Museum manuscript 4059 by Sprengling 305–306, ff. 132a5–133a6.

and too unhomogeneous to allow incontrovertible generalizations, while the Arabic translation from the Syriac is uneven—literal in places and free in others—and contains numerous additions and revisions based, apparently, on evidence that was not available to the original Syriac translator and the later reviser(s). Nor does Barhebraeus's paraphrase (Doc. 5) help with the specifics of the text of the fragment beyond some generalities, as already discussed by Schrier (1997) 273–274. In addition, there is also some possibility that this fragment, embedded as it is in the work of Severus bar-Šakkō, may not be an absolutely verbatim quotation of the translation as it existed in the manuscript in front of Severus, but contains some editorial intrusions by Severus himself. At 1450a8, for example, right after the word ἕξ = *šēṯ*, the extant fragment adds, "those that we have mentioned above" (*hālēn d-emarnan men l-ʿēl*), whereby Severus is manifestly referring, in the middle of his quotation of the Aristotelian passage, to his preceding discussion.[55]

In this situation, a comparison of the extant Syriac with the Greek original and the Arabic translation provides some information, mostly negative, which draws an inconclusive and confusing picture.[56] First of all, on the basis of the discussion above on the literary testimonia of Patriarch Timothy, the probabilities are that, although a Greek manuscript of the *Poetics* ($\Sigma = \Sigma^q$) may well have been present in Syriac Christian monasteries (whether Nestorian or Monophysite), there certainly existed no Syriac translation of the work before the ʿAbbāsid era (i.e., before the foundation of Baghdad in 762). Secondly, an analysis of the extant Syriac fragment indicates that there were at least two stages of work on the Syriac *Poetics*, an original translation and a subsequent revision, so that if Isḥāq was at all involved in this process (as Ibn-an-Nadīm's text seems to suggest, Test. 9 above), his involvement may be seen only as that of

[55] See further, on the problems relating to the fragment in Bar-Šakkō, Tkatsch I,157a–b. The quality of this section on poetics in Book Three of Bar-Sakkō's *Book of Dialogues* is described as follows by Sprengling 293: "Throughout this second part [of Book Three on poetics] the work of Severus [Bar-Šakkō] exhibits the same slipshod and harum-scarum character as in the first; it is scarcely too much to say that for the most part he does not know what he is talking about, but insists on talking nevertheless."

[56] The Syriac fragment, in the Latin translation by Margoliouth (1887) 54–56, was printed in parallel columns with the Greek in Bywater's edition (1909), and the Syriac readings, in Margoliouth's Latin, were then analyzed (pp. xxxiii–xxxix). The Syriac readings of this fragment themselves and their relation to the Arabic translation were discussed by Tkatsch I,155a–157a. More specifically, see Bergsträsser's review of Tkatsch, pp. 58–60. But a detailed word for word comparison and direct analysis of the Greek, Syriac, and Arabic have not yet been made.

a reviser of the old translation. This conclusion is indicated by some of the contradictory aspects of the Syriac translation in the extant fragment. For example, at 49b33, the Syriac renders the word ὄψις with *parṣōpā*, a transliteration of the Greek πρόσωπον. As Bergsträsser 59 noted in his review of Tkatsch, it is very uncommon in Graeco-Syriac translations to have a Greek word translated with the transliterated form of another Greek word, and certainly not by Isḥāq (at 49b29, for example, ἁρμονία is translated as *armōniya*). Besides, the same word, ὄψις, at 50a10, is rendered properly with the Syriac word *ḥzāyā*.[57] If the hand of only one translator were at work here, one would not expect such disparity in the rendering of the same word with the same meaning in two instances so close to each other. There is a similar disparity in the rendering of the very simple word πρᾶξις. Although the verb πράττω is consistently, though strangely, rendered by the verb meaning "to repeat" (49b31, b37 *tānēn*, etc.), the noun πρᾶξις itself is translated properly by *sāʿōrūṯā/suʿrūṯā* at 49b24, but elsewhere, at 50a1, a4, by a derivative of the verb "to repeat" (*tennāyā/tenyā*). There are, furthermore, certain wrong parsings of the syntax of the Greek text that one would not normally associate with a skilled translator like Isḥāq, as at 49b27, where τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων is understood as παθημάτων … τῶν τοιούτων [scil. ἀνδρῶν or ἀνθρώπων, as understood by the Syriac translator], meaning "the sufferings of such men" = "such men as suffer, those who suffer".[58]

There is, in addition, evidence of a revision of the Syriac to be found also in Abū-Bišr's Arabic. For example, at 49b29, the word ῥυθμὸν is translated as "magnitude" (*rabbūṯā*) in the Syriac fragment, but correctly as *laḥn* in Abū-Bišr's version—so Abū-Bišr could not have been translating into Arabic *this* version. Similarly at 50a5, the word πραγμάτων in the Greek is mistranslated as "actions" (*suʿrānē*) in the Syriac fragment (perhaps because of a misreading of πραγμάτων as πράξεων?), but correctly as *umūr* in Abū-Bišr's version. See also my comments on the passage 50a6 in the Graeco-Arabic apparatus below. It is difficult to locate the origin of these corrections. Abū-Bišr's Syriac exemplar could have been the—or a—revised version of the Syriac translation, as enumerated above, and not the version from which derives Severus's quotation of the

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[57] In Bar-Šakkō's introductory statement summarizing 1450a9–10, Margoliouth (1887), Arabic p. 78.5.

[58] See the full analysis of this crucial passage in the translation, with reference to Centanni (1995), below in Section 5, pp. 122–123.

tragedy fragment (whose Greek exemplar, in this case, we call Σ^q). Or Abū-Bišr could have had access, if not to a commentary, then to some scholia, from the lemmata of which, or even from the scholia themselves, he could have derived the correct readings.

All this evidence is thus most consistent with the assumption of an original Syriac translation and a subsequent revision (or possibly even a series of revisions?) by another hand, executed, as discussed above, in early ʿAbbāsid times and most likely not before the middle of the ninth century. We do not know who the original translator and the reviser(s) were; if Isḥāq was indeed (one of) the reviser(s), then he certainly must have been working with uncharacteristic speed and carelessness, or even obtuseness. In any case, the documentary evidence (the Syriac fragment) casts again doubts on the literary evidence (i.e., Test. 9). And finally, the main question in this case is, if the original Syriac translation was made on the basis of the lost Greek exemplar Σ, what was the basis of the revision, regardless of who the reviser was? There are at least three alternatives, and none can be ruled out: marginal annotations on a Syriac copy on the basis of Σ, another Greek manuscript (Ψ), or the lemmata in related scholia or even a treatise like the "Fārābī source" (Test. 2).

Doc. 2. An Arabic translation from the Syriac made by Abū-Bišr Mattā ibn-Yūnus (d. 940), the presumed founder of the Aristotelian philosophical school in Baghdad.

The text of the Arabic translation survives in a unique copy in the Paris MS, Bibliothèque Nationale, Arab. 2346 (Ancien fonds Arabe 882 A), ff. 131a–146b. It contains all eight treatises of the traditional Aristotelian Organon, copied by different hands from among the members of the Baghdad school in the first half of the 11th century. The *Poetics* itself bears no copying date, but it appears to be temporally close to that of the *Rhetoric*, which was copied in 1016 and collated in 1027 (Tkatsch I, 141b).[59] The manuscript has deteriorated over the years, and it shows numerous tears in places, with corresponding small holes in the text, particularly towards the end;[60] most damagingly, however, it is missing

59 For a description see Tkatsch I,141–148, and, more generally, Vagelpohl (2008) 39–51, with references to recent literature.

60 A list of these is given by Tkatsch I,143n2. The manuscript can now (March 2011) be viewed in exceptionally good digital images openly available at the site of the Bibliothèque Nationale, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8422956q.r=2346+arabe.langEN.

two pages (one folio) just before the end and also the final page, with the corresponding loss of a significant amount of text: from 1460a17 ἡδύ to 1461a7 and including πρὸς, and from 1462b5 ὥστε ἐάν to the end. The former lacuna is due to a missing folio in the exemplar from which the Paris manuscript was copied; the second to a missing folio in the Paris manuscript itself (Tkatsch I,147–148).

The Arabic version as preserved in the Paris manuscript is complicated in that several layers can be detected in it. First of all, the text itself, despite the antiquity of the date of its copying, represents a relatively corrupt state of its transmission within Arabic in comparison with what must have existed in Abū-Bišr's clean copy about a century earlier. There are numerous copying errors as well as omissions of words. In addition, it is obvious that the exemplar from which it was copied must have been heavily annotated in the margins or interlinearly, so that in a number of places in the Paris manuscript version the same text appears twice. The passages containing such doublets manifestly represent an original form of the text as written by Abū-Bišr and a revised version of the same sentence or phrase originally written in the margin or interlinearly, both of which were then incorporated in the text consecutively by the scribe of the Paris manuscript; and the same applies to certain explanatory glosses that slipped into the text.[61]

A critical edition of the Arabic text should be able to eliminate most of these errors, identify the doublets, and present a text that would on the one hand offer the reader the version of Abū-Bišr and on the other clearly demarcate the corrections and revisions, so that a more exact idea can be gained of the nature of both the original Greek manuscript on which the Syriac translation was based, and of the textual basis of the revisions. But such an edition does not yet exist. Margoliouth's pioneering edition (1887) presents an edited version of the Paris MS text with numerous suggestions for corrections and for the Syriac prototype; Tkatsch I (1928) offers a largely precise copy of the Paris manuscript text—in essence, a diplomatic edition—with further suggestions for corrections (though his obsessively antagonistic attitude to Margoliouth also leads him to fallacies); Badawī's edition (1953) has many arbitrary corrections and additions, and ʿAyyād's (1952),[62] the best there is, nevertheless does not

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[61] For these double translations and glosses see Tkatsch I,214–218.

[62] The date of publication of ʿAyyād's edition is 1387/1967, but it has a preface (pp. 1–2) that is dated July 1952. In his introduction, ʿAyyād scrupulously refers to the editions and studies before his own, but he makes no mention of the edition by Badawī (1953);

go far enough in accomplishing the goals I sketched above. Be that as it may, the fact remains that the Arabic text in the Paris manuscript represents, again, two stages of the transmission: the original translation from Syriac by Abū-Bišr, and (a) revised version(s) by some unknown author(s) on the basis of unknown sources.

Doc. 3. An interpretive paraphrase of the *Poetics* by Avicenna (d. 1037), the ninth part of the section on Logic in his philosophical summa *The Cure* (*aš-Šifāʾ*). It was edited by Margoliouth (1887), Arabic pp. 80–113, and then by Badawī (1966) and (^{2}1973).

The Arabic translation used by Avicenna for his paraphrase clearly represents yet a second, and major, revision of the Arabic text. This version contains not only terminological improvements over that of Abū-Bišr's[63]—notably, the restitution of the terms tragedy and comedy, in Arabic transliteration, in lieu of Abū-Bišr's unfortunate choices of "panegyric" (*madīḥ*) and "satire" (*hiǧāʾ*), respectively—but also some interpretive translations (notably in chapter 20, 1456b20–57a30, which presuppose a knowledgeable Greek commentary), and in particular corrections to the text on the basis of readings that must go back to a Greek manuscript. The readings of this manuscript, to which I give the siglum Ψ, can be divined from the corrections in certain passages that Avicenna's text represents to the (already corrected) version of Abū-Bišr in the Paris manuscript (e.g., see the discussion in my commentary on 1451b33, 1453a19, and 1456b38–1457a10). The provenance of the hypothetical manuscript Ψ is unknown, though judging from the few readings it can be divined to have had on the basis of the text in Avicenna, it appears that it also belonged to apographs of the hyparchetype manuscript of the Syro-Arabic tradition—in our case, bold Sigma (**Σ**). We have no way of tracing with precision the transmission of the text of the *Poetics* in any language, Greek, Syriac, or Arabic, in the three centuries from which all our evidence derives, i.e., between the accession to power of the ʿAbbāsids and the beginnings of the translation movement in the middle of the eighth century on the one hand, and the copying of the Paris

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besides, on p. 13 he calls his own edition the "third," i.e., after those by Margoliouth and Tkatsch. It thus seems quite unlikely that he would have disregarded Badawī's edition had it preceded his own. It would appear that 1952 was indeed the date when ʿAyyād completed his study, but that its publication was delayed, for reasons unknown to me, until 1967, unless the 1967 edition is a second printing that is not identified as such and the 1952 edition is not recorded anywhere.

[63] For these improvements see Afnan, and Dahiyat 5–6 and 5n5.

manuscript in Baghdad before the middle of the eleventh on the other. But all the indications that we do have do not suggest the circulation of a manuscript representing a different ultimate origin than the archetype of all extant versions, **Ω**.

For his paraphrase, Avicenna used all the materials that were available to him. At the beginning of his career, when he was still in his native city of Buḫārā, he composed his first treatise on poetry as part of his first summa of all philosophy, addressed to his patron al-ʿArūḍī (*The Philosophy for al-ʿArūḍī*). In this he did not do more than copy, essentially, al-Fārābī's *Canons of the Art of the Poets* (*Qawānīn ṣināʿat aš-šuʿarāʾ*),[64] which indicates that he did not have access, in Buḫārā, to the Arabic translation of the Aristotelian text. Later, when he came to compose the *Poetics* part of *The Cure* (*aš-Šifāʾ*), he inserted the same text from the *Philosophy for al-ʿArūḍī* at the very beginning of his paraphrastic version. For the *Poetics* itself, this time he had access both to the first revision of Abū-Bišr's text (if not also to its unrevised version) and to the second revision, as we understand from his reference to two versions of the same text (1449a21–22), one "accurate" (*ṣaḥīḥa*) and the other, implicitly, not.[65] It has been thought that this reference to two versions (*tarǧama, naql*) proves that Avicenna used two distinct translations, but this does not follow. Avicenna may well have had two different manuscripts in his hands, both containing the Arabic translation of the *Poetics*, but the one was the second and best revision of the text as opposed to the other, which may have been either the original version of Abū-Bišr or its first revision. That this second revision was not a complete and independent new translation is indicated by the fact that in places Avicenna still uses the version we have in the Paris manuscript (see my commentary in various places and especially on 50b39 and note 38).

Doc. 4. A precise exposition in the form of a running commentary (a so-called "middle" commentary) on the work, made by Averroes (d. 1198). It was edited a number of times, most reliably by Sālim 1971.[66]

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[64] Ed. by Sālim in 1969. Part of the text from the ʿ*Arūḍiyya* is translated by van Gelder and Hammond, 26–28.

[65] Text in Badawī (1966) 40. Cf. the translation by Dahiyat 9.

[66] See the complete bibliography of editions and translations of this work by G. Endress, "Averrois opera," in G. Endress and J.A. Aertsen, eds, *Averroes and the Aristotelian Tradition*, Leiden / Boston / Köln: Brill, 1999, 352–354. For the medieval Hebrew translation see Tamani & Zonta 37, no. 9.4, and Zonta 829.

For his commentary, Averroes used the Arabic translation of Abū-Bišr, either the original one or its first revision. Although a detailed study has yet to be made, on the basis of certain more correct or complete sentences that Averroes reports (see, e.g., the commentary on 1447a12) it would appear that he used a revised version. For a general understanding of the *Poetics*, Averroes used extensively Avicenna's paraphrase.

Early in his career Averroes wrote a compendious presentation of all nine works in the traditional Organon (known as the *Epitomes*), in which he devoted two pages *On Poetic Statements* (*Fī l-aqāwīl aš-šiʿriyya*).[67] The inspiration would seem to have been al-Fārābī's brief essay entitled *Book of Poetry*, mentioned above (note 44), in which a reference to the *Poetics* is equally absent. In all likelihood Averroes either had not yet gained access to a manuscript of Abū-Bišr's translation or, if he had, paid scant attention to it, following a-Fārābī.

Doc. 5. A Syriac paraphrase of the work by Barhebraeus (d. 1286), as part of his philosophical summa *Cream of Wisdom* (*Ḥēwaṯ ḥekmṯā*). It was edited also by Margoliouth (1887), Arabic pp. 114–139.

The *Cream of Wisdom* is based essentially on Avicenna's *The Cure* (*aš-Šifāʾ*), though in various parts it also draws on other sources. For the section on the *Poetics*, which formed part of the division of the books on logic, Barhebraeus relied mostly if not completely on Avicenna (Doc. 3), though theoretically he may have consulted a(?) Syriac version (Doc. 1?), as suggested by Schrier (1997) 274, or even an(?) Arabic version (Doc. 2?). In addition, it is also known that for the *Cream of Wisdom* as a whole he used a Syriac translation of *On the Philosophy of Aristotle* by Nicolaus of Damascus, and if that work contained a section on the *Poetics*, Barhebraeus may have benefited from that as well.[68] However, the *Poetics* part of the *Cream of Wisdom* has not been studied in itself, and we can look forward to future research to throw light on all these questions. Nevertheless, it has been scrutinized for the purpose that concerns us here—namely to determine whether Barhebraeus actually used and

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[67] For editions and translations see Endress, *ibid*., 344; for the medieval Hebrew translations from the Arabic, see Tamani and Zonta 37, no. 9.3 (2), and Zonta 828.

[68] For Barhebraeus's *Cream of Wisdom* and his sources see H. Takahashi, "The Reception of Ibn Sīnā in Syriac. The Case of Gregory Barhebraeus," in *Before and after Avicenna. Proceedings of the First Conference of the Avienna Study Group*, ed. D.C. Reisman with the assistance of A.H. Al-Rahim, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2003, pp. 253, 261–271.

copied the Syriac translation substantially and accurately enough for the underlying Greek text to be divined from his Syriac wording, so that it can be of use in the establishment of the Greek text—and the assessments by the two scholars who studied it with the greatest care are all negative. Both Margoliouth and Tkatsch were quite categorical that it is of no use for this purpose.[69] A future comprehensive study of Barhebraeus's *Poetics* from all aspects may be in a position to revise this assessment, but at present it seems unlikely.

3. *Analysis of the Transmission and Stemmatic Affiliations*

The literary and documentary evidence for the transmission of the *Poetics* in Syriac and Arabic do not yield complementary results. The main point of convergence about the *Poetics* is that Abū-Bišr Mattā ibn-Yūnus, who died in 940, was responsible for the Arabic translation from Syriac: Ibn-an-Nadīm reports so (Test. 17[c]), and the unique manuscript that contains this translation, Paris. Arab. 2346 (Doc. 2), says so in the title. The other point of convergence is the reference to a treatise on poetry by "Themistius" by Ibn-an-Nadīm (Test. 1) which must be somehow related to the source actually used by al-Fārābī in his extant *Canons of the Art of the Poets* (*Qawānīn ṣināʿat aš-šuʿarā'*) (Test. 2). Apart from this, the little information that the literary evidence provides, which cannot be reconciled with any degree of certainty with the documentary, is the following. A Greek manuscript of the *Poetics* was in all probability available in Nestorian circles in Mesopotamia toward the end of the eighth century (Test. 4). Judging from the general neglect in Syriac scholarship of the study of the *Poetics* before the ʿAbbāsid era and also from Ḥunayn's ignorance of the meaning of tragedy, a Syriac translation of the book was not made, approximately, before the middle of the ninth century (Test. 8). Three scholars are mentioned as translators of the *Poetics* into either language, Syriac and Arabic, Isḥāq ibn-Ḥunayn (d. 910), Abū-Bišr Mattā

[69] Margoliouth considered it of very little use even for the establishment of *Abū-Bišr's* Arabic text, let alone Aristotle's Greek: "perraro enim ad emendandum Abu Basharem [i.e., Abū-Bišr] adhiberi potest eius [i.e., Barhebraei] Summa; ad corrigendum Aristotelem, quod sciam, nunquam," Margoliouth (1887) 44. And similarly Tkatsch I,138b: "Für die Kritik des Aristotelischen Textes hat sein [Barhebraeus's] syrischer Traktat keinen Wert." This negative assessment gains in credibility when it is considered that this is one of the very few instances where Tkatsch, who was obsessed with finding fault with almost every word Margoliouth wrote, actually agreed with him!

(d. 940), and Yaḥyā ibn-ʿAdī (d. 974) (Test. 9, 10–11, 16). Of these we know for certain only about Abū-Bišr's Arabic translation from the Syriac some time before 934 (Test. 12); of the other two we have no direct evidence. An additional item that the literary record presents, which has not been noticed so far, is that in the case of the translations of Isḥāq and Abū-Bišr it is mentioned that they were of the *text* (*faṣṣ*) of the *Poetics* (Test. 9 and 11), which implies that the context in which the *Poetics* was transmitted, in whatever language, included additional material of an expository nature.

The documentary evidence presents a more complicated picture. In essence it shows that the Syriac translation was revised at least once, and the Arabic translation of Abū-Bišr at least twice, the second time substantially. The scholars who performed these revisions, and especially the bases on which these revisions were made are not clear; only the second Arabic revision, as evidenced in the paraphrase of Avicenna, suggests that ultimately a Greek manuscript (Ψ) other than the one from which the original Syriac translation was made (Σ) may have been involved. It also appears that the "Fārābī source," if it included more material than is evident in al-Fārābī's extant brief treatise, provided some information, though we have no way of knowing what. For the rest, we can only guess that the additional material, to which the literary evidence refers by implication when it is stated that Isḥāq and Abū-Bišr translated the *text* of the *Poetics*, as just mentioned, consisted, in Syriac and Arabic, of comments, glosses, alternative readings, conjectures, corrections, etc. The philological apparatus with which the Baghdad Aristotelians—who were, in the end, the only ones responsible for the Syriac and Arabic *Poetics*—could support their translations and studies was both extensive and sophisticated, as the annotations and related evidence in the very Paris manuscript show in connection with the other treatises of the Organon.

Almost all scholars who studied the Syro-Arabic transmission have tried to reconcile the two kinds of evidence that I just discussed and suggested that the Syriac translation was made by Isḥāq and the (second) Arabic revision by Yaḥyā ibn-ʿAdī. It is true that the chronology fits such an assumption. If the first Syriac translation was made after the middle of the ninth century, as just discussed, and the second Arabic revision was available to Avicenna in the early eleventh century, then Isḥāq and Yaḥyā could certainly have been responsible, respectively, for the translation and revision in question. But in reality we cannot know, particularly because the translation and revision processes I just

described were so complicated. For on the basis of the evidence presented and discussed above, some scenarios could be presented which would conform to all the extant evidence. None of these could actually be proven incontrovertibly; the documentation we have simply does not allow it.

In order, however, not to end on a negative note, I will next present the scenario that I consider most likely.[70] In the late eighth century, the libraries of Nestorian Christian monasteries in northern Iraq contained a Greek manuscript of the *Poetics*. In all probability this very manuscript (Σ), or, what is more likely, a direct copy (Σ), was eventually used for the translation into Syriac. Whatever its provenance, this manuscript, Σ, was in uncials, representing a stage in the transmission parallel to the hyparchetype from which the extant Greek manuscripts and the exemplar of the Latin translation derive.[71] This manuscript was identified, or brought to the attention of the Nestorian scholars, primarily because of the interest in the Aristotelian Organon evinced by the Arab ʿAbbāsid elite and their demand for translations in the beginning of the Graeco-Arabic translation movement after the middle of the eighth century. This historical development must account for the awakened interest, expressed in Timothy's letter (Test. 3), in the last four books of the Organon which had not been studied in the traditional curriculum of the Nestorian schools. To the same interest could be ascribed the compilation in Syriac, from various available Greek sources, of the "Fārābī source" (Test. 1 and 2), a work discussing Greek poetry and poetic meters, possibly as an adjunct to understanding the very difficult *Poetics* itself. It is remotely possible that some text of Themistius may have been drawn upon for this compilation, though only the *name* of Themistius, who was well known in the tradition as a reliable commentator of Aristotle, may have been used in this connection. In any case, the *Poetics* itself, it appears, was not translated into Syriac until about the middle of the ninth century or somewhat later. The author of this translation is not known and the Syriac version itself is lost, but the passage on tragedy from it was quoted in the thirteenth century by Severus

[70] In addition to the original accounts by Margoliouth (1887) and Tkatsch I (1928), for similar, but different scenarios of part of the transmission see Heinrichs (1969) 113–114, Dahiyat 3–12, and Hugonnard-Roche (2003).

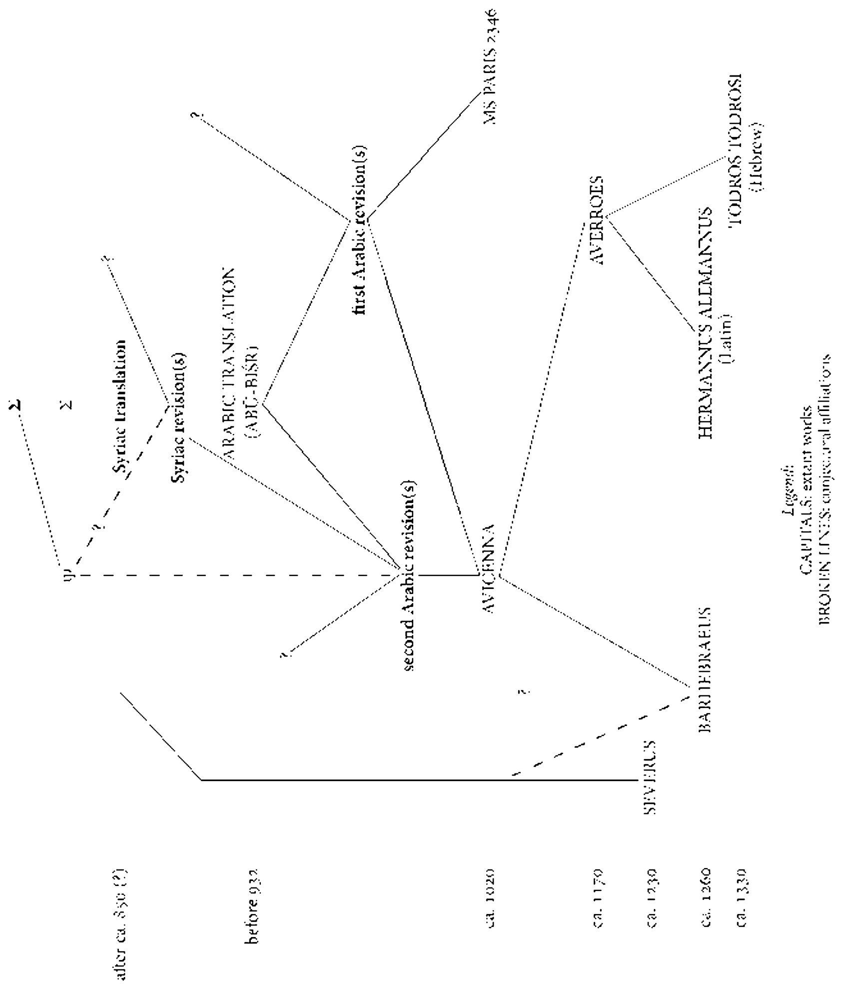
[71] See the discussion by Tarán and his stemma codicum below in Chapter 3. Some of the mistakes due to misreading of words in uncials are noted cursorily in the Graeco-Arabic commentary below.

bar-Šakkō and it survives (Doc. 1). This Syriac translation itself was revised, most probably toward the end of the ninth century (and probably by Isḥāq ibn-Ḥunayn?), on the basis of other, unknown, material, which conceivably could have included another Greek MS (Ψ, for which see below).

This revised Syriac version was the basis of the Arabic translation by Abū-Bišr some time in the first third of the tenth century. Abū-Bišr's version was used heavily by scholars right after its appearance, one or some of whom appear to have made corrections to the text revising it, on unknown bases. This revised Arabic version, in a relatively corrupt state due apparently to a long and complicated transmission that included some of those corrections, is extant in the unique Paris manuscript of the Arabic *Poetics* dating from the first third of the eleventh century (Doc. 2). In the course of the tenth century, however, a second, and more substantial, revision was effected on Abū-Bišr's Arabic translation on the basis both of the revised Syriac translation, eliminating some of Abū-Bišr's more interpretive renditions of terminology, and of other material, which included readings ultimately deriving from a Greek manuscript, Ψ, other than Σ. The existence of Ψ being conjectural, it is not possible to say in what form its readings may have been available to the revisor, who may have been the scholarch of the Baghdad Aristotelians, Yaḥyā ibn-ʿAdī (d. 974). If it was Yaḥyā, and he could not effectively use Greek, he could have received the information from others or in other forms. In any case, from the available evidence it appears clear that this manuscript, Ψ, also belonged to the same family as that of Σ. This second revision of Abū-Bišr's Arabic version was eventually used by Avicenna (d. 1037) for his own paraphrase in *The Cure* in the first quarter of the eleventh century (Doc. 3). In the following century, Averroes (d. 1198) acquired a copy of the first revision of Abū-Bišr's version, akin (but not identical) to that extant in the Paris MS, and it formed the basis of his "middle" commentary on the Aristotelian work (Doc. 4). The Syriac scholar Barhebraeus (d. 1286), finally, wrote a paraphrase of the *Poetics* in Syriac (Doc. 5) in the thirteenth century on the basis, certainly, of Avicenna's work, but apparently also of other sources, the exact nature of which has yet to be determined.

On the basis of this analysis, the following stemmatic representation of the Syro-Arabic transmission may be offered.

Stemma. The Syro-Arabic Transmission of the *Poetics*



4. *The Syro-Arabic* Poetics *in the Editions of the Greek Text*

As far as I can ascertain, it was first the German scholar Wenrich who drew attention in 1842 to the Arabic translation of the *Poetics* by Abū-Bišr in the Paris MS (then Bibliothèque Royale no. 882 A),[72] followed by Zenker in his edition of the Arabic *Categories* in 1846,[73] and, more famously, by Renan in 1852.[74] But it was in the last third of the nineteenth century, with the impulse given to the critical edition of classical texts by the influence of what was later to be seen as Lachmann's method, that saw a flurry of scholarship on the Greek text of the *Poetics* with the help of the Arabic translation. According to a report given by Johannes Vahlen, one of the premier scholars of the *Poetics* in the late nineteenth century, the Austrian orientalist E. Sachau prepared in the early 70s of that century in Paris, with "much toil and strain" ("viel Mühe und Anstrengung"), a transcription of the Arabic text of the translation from the Paris MS. He brought it with him to the University in Vienna, where he and Vahlen, both *dozent*s, collaborated studying the text of the *Poetics*: Sachau worked from the Arabic translation and Vahlen read the Greek text. In 1872 Sachau had the additional kindness to translate the Arabic translation into German ("so gut es gehen wollte") and put it at Vahlen's disposal. Vahlen next expressed his attitude toward the Arabic translation, which has remained fairly standard to the present day. He said that he used Sachau's German version a lot, but because he had not had the "Energie" at that time to learn Arabic, the Arabic translation, which would in any case have opened for him the door only to another translation (i.e., the Syriac), remained forever for him hidden behind a thick veil. He had hoped that Sachau would in the end publish his German version of the Arabic translation with appropriate notes, but before this could happen there appeared in 1887 Margoliouth's edition of the Arabic translation with related material, and Sachau's project never materialized.[75]

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[72] Johann Georg Wenrich, *De auctorum graecorum versionibus et commentariis syriacis, arabicis, armeniacis persicisque commentatio*, Lipsiae: Sumtibus F.C.G. Vogelii, 1842, p. 133.

[73] Julius Theodor Zenker, *Aristotelis Categoriae Graece cum versione Arabica Isaaci Honeini filii et variis lectionibus textus graeci e versione arabica ductis*, Lipsiae: Sumtibus Guil. Engelmann, 1846, pp. IV–V.

[74] Ernest Renan, *De philosophia peripatetica apud Syros commentatio historica*, Parisiis: apud A. Durand, 1852, p. 61.

[75] J. Vahlen, "Über eine Stelle in Aristoteles' Poetik," *SB der Berliner Akademie der*

Vahlen's account is truthful and touching, and it is clear that although he certainly read repeatedly and with care Sachau's German version, he nevertheless made very little *actual* use of it in his publications on the *Poetics* for the reason which he adduced: he was not able to, because he felt that he could not control the Arabic. As he said on another occasion, talking about the Arabic translation was for him "agonizing" ("peinlich") because using it was like "groping about in the fog" ("Tappen im Nebel").[76] As a result, he gave the impression that he did not find it helpful at all, so that O. Immisch, another classical scholar with no knowledge of Arabic, could say in 1896 that Vahlen might as well have put it aside ("so gut wie ganz bei Seite gelegt," p. 22). Immisch further ran through the names of classical scholars (p. 23) who expressed themselves on the reliability or lack thereof of the Arabic translation, each apparently basing his judgment either on hearsay or on whatever other help they may have received from an orientalist on an individual basis; none had bothered to learn Arabic. Immisch himself went on in that article to examine a specimen passage from the *Poetics* (1449a9–31) on the basis of a translation from the Arabic prepared for him by the Arabist A. Socin (p. 23).

The end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth saw the successive editions by S.H. Butcher,[77] who received his information about the Arabic translation both from Margoliouth's 1887 publication and personally from Margoliouth, in private communications, which he included in his prefaces. Bywater (1909) apparently worked only from the notes in Margoliouth (1887) and whatever other literature was available, while Margoliouth himself produced a disappointing edition of the Greek text (1911), which did not make all possible use of the Arabic translation (about which more in the next section), with accompanying Latin translation of the Arabic.

In the meantime, the Czech scholar Jaroslaus Tkatsch had been working on a new edition of the Arabic text since, it appears, 1899, under the sponsorship of the Viennese Academy of Sciences (Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien). The work grew to gigantic proportions and

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Wissenschaften, Berlin 1910, 951–959; reprinted in Vahlen (1923), II,841–850, which was reprinted in Hildesheim / New York: Georg Olms, 1970; here pp. 956–957/847–848.

[76] J. Vahlen, "Hermeneutische Bemerkungen zu Aristoteles' Poetik. II" *SB der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Berlin 1898, 260; reprinted in Vahlen (1923), II,501; reprinted in Hildesheim / New York: Georg Olms, 1970.

[77] S.H. Butcher, *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, London ^{1}1895; ^{2}1898; ^{3}1902; ^{4}1907; repr. 1911; repr. 1951.

a first volume was published only in 1928, just after Tkatsch's death (4/11/1927), while the second appeared posthumously in 1932 as edited from Tkatsch's manuscripts by A. Gudeman and Th. Seif. Accordingly one would have expected Gudeman, with a detailed knowledge of Tkatsch's work and the first to use it for the establishment of the Greek text, to produce an improved edition—especially since, as he states elsewhere (1920), pp. 241–242, he was able to acquire from Vahlen's *Nachlass* Sachau's unpublished German version of the Arabic translation, and in addition to procure the help of the orientalists Karl Süssheim and Franz Pfaff. But despite certain improved readings in the Greek text that Gudeman was able to offer on the basis of this expert advice, he unfortunately failed to understand the precise nature of the Syriac-Arabic translations, including such peculiarities as the hendiadys and other forms of expanded structures that had been used to translate the more laconic Greek, and, assuming that every Arabic word in the translation, as seen through the Latin translation of Tkatsch or the German of Sachau, must mechanically stand for a Greek one, he rewrote the Greek of Aristotle, provoking the following assessment from Belardi in 1985 (p. 60): "per non dire dell'assurdo metodo di A. Gudeman che … getta a mare l'Aristotele greco e se lo riscrive ritraducendo in greco (ma parzialmente, date le aggiunte) il testo arabo." The assessment is perhaps too harsh in its expression, but in essence it is correct (see also for a similar assessment Gallavotti (1954b) 330, and the Latin preface in Kassel's edition, p. x). For his part, finally, Kassel used the Latin translation of the Arabic by Tkatsch to some extent and he additionally consulted privately and repeatedly Richard Walzer of Oxford on obscure passages ("de locis obscuris rogitanti," p. xi of his edition).

In general, it can be said that the classical scholars working on the edition of the *Poetics* have failed to proceed appropriately in a number of areas. In the first place, they approached the very existence of an Arabic translation with relative disdain (as I will discuss in the next section) and by and large did not seriously entertain the possibility of its significance; and secondly, to the extent that they did, they relied implicitly on the Latin versions of the Arabic prepared by Margoliouth and Tkatsch, treating them as if they were the Greek text itself and without showing any awareness of the complexities and nature of the work of translation. And finally, despite the continuing awareness of the existence of the Arabic translation, no classical scholar either learned Arabic himself for this purpose or even collaborated with a Graeco-Arabist on a thorough study of the translation, as Bywater explicitly

recommended over a hundred and twenty years ago (1889, 501)—a recommendation, by the way, which Bywater himself ignored in his 1909 edition:

> Nothing serious can be done however until we have a careful translation of the entire Version [i.e., the Arabic translation of the *Poetics*] with a critical comparison of its readings with those of the existing Greek text. Though this is too much to expect from one man, it would not be impossible, if two would put their heads together, an Orientalist well-versed in the ways of Syriac and Arabian translators working in collaboration with a Greek scholar familiar with the Poetics and with the language and ideas of Aristotle.

On the other hand, to be fair to classicists, it must also be admitted that the two orientalist scholars who worked on the Syro-Arabic tradition, Margoliouth and Tkatsch (the others who offered ad hoc advice upon request can hardly be blamed for not engaging protractedly with the subject), did not provide fully and intelligibly the necessary documentation about the significance of that tradition for the establishment of the Greek text, or offer any detailed explanations of the nature and peculiarities of the translation of the underlying Greek readings in adoptable ways, a subject to which I will next turn.

5. *The Significance of the Syro-Arabic Translation, Its Editions, and the Present Analysis and Commentary*

The four available editions of Abū-Bišr's Arabic translation of the *Poetics*, for all their achievements and the credit that is due to their editors, do not make full use of all the evidence that can be obtained from it for gauging the readings of the Greek exemplar upon which it was based, MS Σ. Of these editions, the two by the Egyptian scholars, ʿAyyād in 1952 and Badawī in 1953, present only a critical edition of the Arabic text, and, some incidental remarks about the Greek text apart, mostly drawn from the previous two editions of Margoliouth and Tkatsch, do not purpose an analysis of the relationship of the Arabic to the Greek. They are of relevance to our investigation here (and to my Graeco-Arabic commentary further below) only to the extent that they may offer a more correct or accurate reading of some passages in the Arabic text that are difficult to read or damaged in the Paris MS. In addition, ʿAyyād's text is provided with vocalization and punctuation, which are truly helpful in aiding the reader to understand how Abū-Bišr read the Syriac text he was translating. These two editions are thus of benefit to research on

the Greek readings behind the Arabic translation—and to an eventual critical edition of the Arabic *Poetics*—but they do not themselves offer any suggestions for these readings. For our purposes here there is need to discuss only the work of Margoliouth and Tkatsch, while emphasizing that the intent in this discussion is not to criticize their work (something which can be—and has been—done, easily though somewhat unfairly, I believe, for the complexity and difficulty of the subject would require infallibility approaching divine levels) but to understand precisely what it is that they achieved and what still remains to be done.

The pioneering edition of Margoliouth (1887) made available for the first time a number of texts of relevance to the Syriac and Arabic transmission of the *Poetics*. Other than an edition of the Arabic translation itself (Arabic pp. 1–76), on the basis of the unique Paris MS (Doc. 2 above), the book includes an edition of the Syriac translation of the tragedy passage (Arabic pp. 77–79) from Bar-Šakkō's *Book of Dialogues* (Doc. 1 above), Avicenna's interpretive paraphrase of the *Poetics* (Arabic pp. 80–112) from his philosophical summa *The Cure* (Doc. 3 above), together with a Latin translation by Margoliouth of its first three chapters (pp. 73–90), Avicenna's brief statement on poetry from his *Elements of Philosophy* (*ʿUyūn al-ḥikma*) as reported in the commentary by Faḫraddīn ar-Rāzī (Arabic p. 113), and the Syriac paraphrase of the *Poetics* by Barhebraeus (Arabic pp. 115–139) from his *Cream of Wisdom* (Doc. 5 above). Thus in a stroke Margoliouth made available in print almost all the basic texts in Syriac and Arabic for the study of the *Poetics*, together with a narrative introduction in Latin about their history and transmission (pp. 1–45). All these are of concern to the orientalist, but for the benefit of the classical scholar interested in the Greek text, two parts of Margoliouth's book are of relevance.[78] First, his apparatus criticus to the Arabic text contains not only documentation and emendations about the readings of the Arabic text, as it should, but also incidental remarks about the underlying Greek text which the Arabic translates, together with suggestions about the possible Syriac readings which may have given rise to the Arabic text in the passage concerned. And second, a chapter called "Symbolae

[78] Margoliouth's book was seen as contributing primarily to classical studies, and it was reviewed only by classical scholars in reviews that were necessarily one-sided since they did not know Arabic or Syriac: Diels (1888a) and (1888b), Bywater (1889), Susemihl (1891), and Immisch (1896). As far as Schrier (1998a) 81 and I are aware, no orientalist journal carried a review of it.

Orientales ad emendationem Poetices" (pp. 46–72) contains a list of suggestions for the readings in the Greek exemplar (Σ) as reflected in the Arabic translation, with little, if any, discussion or explanation. These suggestions are useful as far as they go in presenting Margoliouth's opinion on the readings, but they are given mostly without explanation and certainly without a detailed commentary on and evaluation of the ways in which each Greek reading was rendered into Arabic as it can be seen through the lost Syriac—a task which Margoliouth, consummate scholar of both Arabic and Syriac that he was, was in the best position to perform. When, nearly a quarter century after his edition of the Arabic, Margoliouth came to prepare a Greek edition of the *Poetics* (1911), again he did not avail himself of this second opportunity to perform this analysis. Instead, the discussion of a few variants in his introduction apart (scattered throughout pp. 77–123, "The Text of the Poetics"), he simply indicated with an asterisk in his Greek apparatus what he thought the Greek exemplar of the Syriac translation (Σ) read, and he gave a facing Latin translation of the Arabic. Unwisely, Margoliouth decided to present his analysis of how the text made its transition from Greek into Syriac into Arabic not by means of expository prose but merely through the *typographic* lay-out of his Latin translation. Here is the description of his procedure (1911), p. ix:

> Where the Arabic obviously mistranslates a Syriac word, the rendering of the Syriac has been substituted in small capitals; thus where the Arabic has "laid the foundations" for *took a wife*, the latter has been substituted, since the former is the Syriac expression for that notion. Where the Arabic is corrupt, but can be emended from some source or other, the emendation has been translated, but with an asterisk following the rendering. Where it has been supplemented, the supplement is printed in italics. Agreement with the Arabic is indicated in the critical notes by an asterisk.

The confusing and unclear manner of such a presentation apart, this procedure lacks both an explicit statement of Margoliouth's analysis of each contested passage and the arguments and documentation in support of his final choices expressed through typographic means. It is for this reason that I called above his Greek edition disappointing.

Tkatsch's monumental two volume edition of the Arabic text represents another missed opportunity to make the evidence of the Syro-Arabic translation fully and intelligibly available for the establishment of the Greek text. Again, this is not intended to criticize Tkatsch, whose work is useful on a number of counts, but to understand precisely how its

contents relate to the main project of editing the Greek text. After an introduction reviewing previous editions of the *Poetics*, Greek and Arabic (pp. I,3–37), Tkatsch launched on a lengthy history, first, of the Syriac and Arabic translations in general (I,37–98), and second, of Syriac and Arabic poetry and the transmission of the *Poetics* in the Syro-Arabic tradition (I,98–141). There follows a description of the Paris MS (Arab. 2346) upon which the edition is based, together with a discussion of the extant Syriac fragment in Bar-Šakkō's *Book of Dialogues* and of Abū-Bišr's Arabic translation (I,141–158). The next section (I,158–219), on "Sprache und Technik des Übersetzers," presents a detailed analysis and listing of all the ways in which features of Greek grammar and syntax are rendered in the Arabic *Poetics*—i.e., what can be called a Graeco-Arabic (through Syriac) "grammar of translation."[79] This is followed, finally, by a printing of the Arabic text, with a facing Latin translation, each of which has its own set of notes. The Arabic text, to begin with, is actually close to being a diplomatic edition of the MS. This in itself is not a bad thing, given the deteriorating state of the MS and the difficulty of the text, for it presents, some details apart, precisely what the MS has and allows the reader to construct his own edition. Arguably Tkatsch should have additionally presented also such an edition, fully vocalized and punctuated, that would have indicated precisely how the translator understood the Syriac text. The footnotes to the Arabic text placed under both the Arabic page and the facing Latin one, like those of Margoliouth, offer variant readings, suggest correspondences to the Greek text, and on occasion also offer suggestions for the readings of the intermediary Syriac translation that occasioned the particular Arabic rendering. All this is very useful, and although one could take issue with some of Tkatsch's suggestions, as with Margoliouth's, they are in both cases of great benefit. The notes to the facing Latin translation, on the other hand, are postponed to the second volume.

The second volume begins with a short section containing the notes to the Latin translation (II,1–25), followed by the main body of the work

[79] That is, this section presents the ways in which Greek adjectives and comparatives, noun cases, compound verbs, verb tenses, moods, and voices, Greek particles, etc., as well as numerous syntactical features, find their corresponding expression in Arabic. There has been a number of studies since the second half of the nineteenth century on the subject, among which Tkatsch's contribution finds its rightful place. For a discussion and evaluation of this aspect of Tkatsch's work see Khalil Georr, *Les Catégories d'Aristote dans leurs versions Syro-arabes*, Beyrouth: Institut Français de Damas, 1948, 33–39, and passim.

which is entitled, “The Arabic Translation and the Greek Text” (Die arabische Übersetzung und der griechische Text) (II,26–217). The volume concludes with some additions by the main editor of this posthumous publication, A. Gudeman, and what is arguably the most useful feature of both volumes, a “Conspectus Lectionum,” also by Gudeman (II,224–228). The final indices are by B. Rehm (II,229–237).

The shortcomings of Tkatsch's work are basically two: one is of presentation. The book is too long, containing much material that is not directly relevant to the project at hand (especially the history of Graeco-Arabic translations in the first volume, and much of the Greek textual analysis beyond the requirements of the Arabic translation, in the second, of which more below), and whatever of relevance *is* presented is done in a dense and continuous text without breaks and in a circuitous manner. Most irritatingly, the Latin translation has over one hundred references to notes on every single page, which are intended to explain the correspondence between the Arabic and the Greek through the Syriac. The notes, however, are not at the bottom of the Latin translation page, where one would expect to find them, but at the beginning of the second volume. One then goes to the second volume and finds the note, but the note, instead of explaining what happened in the very passage which is flagged by the note number, simply gives a reference back to the first volume where the underlying grammatical and syntactical problem raised by the note is discussed; and that discussion, to repeat, is Tkatsch's general exposition of the Graeco-Arabic “grammar of translation,” in which various passages in the Arabic text are referred to as examples of that particular problem which the note in the Latin translation is intended to explain. Even if the ridiculously cumbersome nature of this kind of exposition is overlooked, this procedure for the most part fails to explain the particular question at hand because each passage has its own peculiar problems, even within a more general category of problems to which they belong, and these are not discussed.

The second shortcoming is substantive and serious, which is identical with that in Margoliouth's work, namely that there is no detailed and extensive analysis of each problematic passage that *aims to divine the Greek reading in* Σ. It is true that this appears to have been Tkatsch's ultimate intention, as expressed in the following statement concluding his introductory review of earlier work on the *Poetics* (p. I,37a):

> An Hand einer Besprechung aller bemerkenswerten Stellen der Poetik [i.e., what constitutes essentially the bulk of the second volume, the part entitled “Die arabische Übersetzung und der griechische Text,” II,26–

> 217] folgt der Versuch einer Rekonstruktion der erkennbaren oder mutmasslichen Lesarten der Handschrift S [i.e., Σ] und eine Untersuchung ihres Verhältnisses zu den erhaltenen Handscriften und der Ergebnisse der kritischen Einzelbesprechung für die Gestaltung der Grundlage der Textkritik.

But, sad to say, after all these years of work on the Arabic *Poetics*, Tkatsch never wrote, or did not live to write, this part, for it was not found among his papers after his death, as Gudeman reports in his *Nachtrag* at the end of the second volume (II,224a). His main contribution to this end is still in the major section of the second volume on the Arabic translation and the Greek text, in which he discusses various problematic passages in the *Poetics*. In this section, however, he concentrates not so much on analyzing the *Arabic* translation in order to ascertain what the Greek reading in Σ was behind the actual words of the translation(s)—which is the task of the Graeco-Arabist, as he tries to make this branch of the textual evidence available to the Greek scholar—but on far-ranging discussion of *all* the evidence, Greek and non-Greek alike, for the purpose of establishing what *Aristotle* wrote—which is the task of the Greek scholar preparing a critical edition of the *Poetics*. It is for this reason that Plessner rightly criticized him in his review of the second volume for formulating and conducting the research of the classical scholar, not the Arabist.[80] Nevertheless, in his wide ranging discussion Tkatsch does offer numerous suggestions for the Greek readings in Σ, even if he may not always conduct a thorough analysis, and these passages are gratefully collected from this chaotic work and listed by Gudeman in the "Conspectus Lectionum" index at the end of the second volume (II,225–228).[81]

The reluctance that I noted above (at the end of Section 4) of classical scholars to engage with Arabic, and the shortcomings of the Graeco-Arabist publications in presenting their case as just described, may

[80] Plessner (1936) 297a: "In der Hauptsache entzieht sich der Inhalt [of Tkatsch's second volume] einer Beurteilung durch Arabisten, da seine Fragestellung und die Ausführung klassisch-philologischer Natur sind." For an example of Tkatsch's procedure in this fashion see my comment on 1455a34 and my note 56 thereto. Similar sentiments were expressed in other reviews, for a list of which see Schrier (1998a) 115, 118. In a brief footnote in *Gnomon* 8 (1932) 441, R. Walzer endorsed Plessner's and Bergsträsser's criticisms.

[81] The Conspectus, however, contains also many readings, marked with an asterisk, that are Gudeman's own suggestions that should be distinguished (also for reasons of reliability) from those by Tkatsch. Gudeman repeated this index, slightly expanded, in his 1935 article, 49–51, without reference to those readings that are by Tkatsch.

explain the fact that, although the significance of the Syro-Arabic translations is recognized in a general way in classical scholarship, they have been rarely—and, until recently, never thoroughly—used in the editions of the Greek texts which they translate.[82] But difficult as the assessment is of precisely what happened in almost every line of the translation of the *Poetics* into Syriac and from Syriac into Arabic, due to the very complicated transmission I described above, it is nevertheless the case that these translations have preserved unique and valuable information about the state of the Greek text. The exemplar upon which the Syriac translation was made, Σ, represents stemmatically an independent and early branch in the transmission, and as such it has preserved readings some of which are unique—and is therefore a primary witness for the establishment of the Greek text—and some others which corroborate the Graeco-Latin paradosis. It is accordingly necessary to set forth specifically the nature and significance of the Syro-Arabic translation for the establishment of the Greek text of the *Poetics* in order to impart an understanding of the evidence that one realistically can expect to gain from it, and to present in detail the procedure followed in this study.

(A) The first and most important thing to realize is that what is to be decided for the purposes of the textual criticism of the Greek text is not the accuracy or reliability or 'goodness' of the Syriac and Arabic translations, but the extent to which they are so constructed as to reflect the wording of the Greek text. It has been stated *ad nauseam* by the editors of the Greek text that the two "Orientals" (i.e., the Syriac and Arabic translators) had no clue about the subject they were translating, on the basis of which the conclusion was drawn that this was a "bad" translation, that "some allowance has to be made for the misconceptions of an Oriental without an idea of the nature of the subject-matter of the treatise."[83] This is true, but irrelevant; by the seventh century, and before the advent of Islam, even the majority of *Greek* speakers in the Eastern Mediterranean, especially if they were Christians who had no classical Greek education, would know very little about the specifics of tragedy and comedy and about the other forms of civic life in pagan antiquity—society and culture had changed so much—let alone non-

[82] I discuss this subject at greater length in my edition of the Greek and Arabic texts of Theophrastus's *On First Principles*, Gutas (2010), pp. xiii–xvii, and, synoptically in the context of the entire tradition of Aristotelian editions, in Gutas (2012).

[83] To cite only Bywater (1909), p. xxxii, as representative of the general attitude.

Greek speakers; so it is anachronistic to complain about the "Orientals"' lack of knowledge of these subjects. As a matter of fact, it was precisely because even Greek speakers in the Near East apparently knew very little about these subjects that we find the corresponding ignorance among the "Orientals": the Nestorian and Monophysite translators routinely asked such Christian Greek scholars about these matters, as the Patriarch Timothy expressly indicates in one of his letters (no. 48; see Brock (1999) 239); and had these Greek authorities been familiar with tragedy and comedy at some level of sophistication, so would have the "Orientals".

So the question is not judging the 'goodness' of the translation but gauging the extent to which the Syriac and Arabic translations reflect the underlying wording of the Greek text. From this point of view, it is an advantage that, exactly because the translators were ignorant of tragedy and comedy and of the details and history of Greek poetry in general, they wrote literal translations—as literal as the essentially different syntactic structure of Greek on the one hand and Syriac and Arabic on the other would allow. "Good" translations that reproduce the sense of the source text do not necessarily also reveal the wording of that text;[84] literal translations, which follow the source text closely but may miss the sense, do.

In addition, thanks to the fundamental research of Sebastian Brock, we have a very good idea of translation practices from Greek into Syriac, which is the aspect of the translations of the *Poetics* that is crucial for our purposes; Abū-Bišr's Syriac-Arabic translation is manifestly, and could only have been, literal. The Greek into Syriac translations developed from being "free to a surprising degree" in the fourth/fifth century to following an "exceedingly literal method of translation" in the seventh, or, as Brock describes it, from being reader-oriented to text-oriented. To quote a late sixth (?) century translator describing the method he followed:[85]

> This *memrā* [book or treatise] was translated and interpreted from Greek into Syriac word for word without alteration in so far as possible, so as to indicate, not just the sense, but, by its very words, the words of the Greek; and for the most part not one letter has been added or subtracted, provided the requirements of the language have not hindered this.

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[84] In Graeco-Arabic studies, a good example is provided by the Arabic translation of Plotinus's *Enneads*, known as the *Theology of Aristotle* in Arabic. It is an interpretive and interpolated translation that reads well in Arabic at its level (Middle Arabic), but at the same time reveals very poorly the wording of Plotinus.

[85] Cited by Brock (1983) 9–10, who is also the author of the other statements in quotation marks above, pp. 10 and 13.

It is true that with the Graeco-Arabic translation movement gaining momentum in the ninth century and accordingly also in sophistication, there was a move in the translations to become again more reader-oriented, expressing precisely the sense of the contents rather than the very words (Brock 2004), but on the basis of our observation it is certain that the Graeco-Syriac translation of the *Poetics* did not follow this trend—even if it was made at a time when the trend was beginning to set in—precisely because of the difficulty and unfamiliarity of the Greek text.

(B) Second, in order to benefit from this advantage that the literal translation offers, it is necessary to analyze minutely the Greek text and the Arabic translation of each sentence in order to understand precisely what happened in the process. Obviously this is the most difficult part of the study, for it requires knowledge of and long experience with Syriac translation techniques and then the corresponding ones from Syriac into Arabic. We are fortunate that the skills of a number of scholars—notably Margoliouth and Tkatsch—have shed light on some of these problems, but on the one hand they did not take far enough both the analysis of individual readings throughout the *Poetics* and their relation to the Greek text, and on the other they did not express their findings in a way that could be easily understood and adopted by others: in essence, Margoliouth and Tkatsch provided only Latin translations of the Arabic (and Sachau only a German translation for Vahlen and Gudeman). But a Greek scholar trying to judge the Greek readings of the text on the basis of a translation of the Arabic into yet a fourth language, Latin, which is what has been mostly happening till now, has led to many misunderstandings and false philology. In order to desist from taking these neo-Latin translations as if they were literal renderings of the *Greek* text and avoid false judgments and assessments, one has to know the translation practices in the transferal of the text from Greek into Syriac into Arabic, and accordingly how to evaluate the evidence provided by the Syriac and Arabic translations. Let me give two examples, among many.

In the passage on the definition of tragedy, the famous words at 1449b27–28, δι᾽ ἐλέου καὶ φόβου περαίνουσα τὴν τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν, are translated as follows in the extant Syriac fragment: "tempering suffering by means of mercy and fear and effecting purification of those who suffer." The Arabic has essentially a literal translation of this very text, the major difference being that Abū-Bišr uses twice a hendiadys for the one word found in Syriac: "it tempers sufferings and áffects

by means of mercy and fear, and it purifies and cleanses those who suffer." Now this is not what the Greek says. The main reason for the disparity between the Greek and the Syriac, however, is not a different underlying Greek text, but the fact that the Syriac translator simply parsed the syntax wrongly and read as if the Greek were, δι' ἐλέου καὶ φόβου περαίνουσα παθημάτων τὴν κάθαρσιν τῶν τοιούτων [sc. ἀνδρῶν or ἀνθρώπων], in which the participle περαίνουσα and the substantive κάθαρσιν are translated as two participles in Syriac (finite verbs in Arabic). The object of the former is taken to be the word παθημάτων ("it tempers, i.e., limits [περαίνουσα], sufferings"), while the object of κάθαρσιν is taken to be the word τῶν τοιούτων, misunderstood as referring to "such men", that is, "such men as suffer" (= "it effects the purification of those who suffer"), in both cases as if the genitives concerned were object genitives.[86] This creates the two phrases we see in the translation and gives the wrong impression that the underlying Greek text was different than what we have in the Greek paradosis. Centanni (1995), who read Tkatsch's Latin translation of this passage ("per misericordiam et metum temperans dolores et faciens purgationem eorum qui dolent"), not being able to control the Syriac and Arabic, was unable to analyze the sentence in this fashion and thought that Tkatsch's Latin translation, thrice removed from the original, was actually a literal rendering of Aristotle's Greek. As a result, she translated Tkatsch's Latin literally back into Greek and came up with the following unfortunate and completely baseless suggestion to "restore" the text: κεραννῦσα τὰ παθήματα καὶ ποιοῦσα τὴν τῶν παθόντων κάθαρσιν![87]

The second example illustrates the negative consequences of the failure to take the Arabic translation seriously and investigate its place and significance in the transmission of the text. For 47a17, τῷ ἐν/γένει ἑτέροις, Vahlen gave a long argument in favor of the reading ἐν in lieu of the transmitted γένει. At the very end of his discussion he added in a footnote, "Dass die arabische Übersetzung γένει wenigstens nicht ausdrückt, führe ich an, ohne besonderen Wert daraus zu legen."[88] Had he—or anyone else—been able to evaluate the significance of the Greek MS upon which

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[86] Cf. the analysis of this entire passsage in Gutas (1990) 96a.

[87] Unfortunately Margoliouth (1911) 114 made a similar, though tentative, suggestion, as a result of a faulty analysis of the Syriac passage, when he said, "Perhaps the Syrian read κεραννῦσα for περαίνουσα, but he does not ordinarily paraphrase to this extent." Centanni does not appear to be aware of this for she does not cite Margoliouth.

[88] J. Vahlen, "Hermeneutische Bemerkungen zu Aristoteles' Poetik. I." *SB der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Berlin 1897, 630 note; reprinted in Vahlen (1923), II,481 note, which was reprinted in Hildesheim / New York: Georg Olms, 1970.

the Syriac (and hence, the Arabic) translations were based and understand stemmatically its relation to the remaining tradition, he could have immediately recognized ἐν as the authentic reading and saved himself the trouble of the long discussion in favor of it.

(C) Third, in the analysis it is important to keep in mind, discriminate, and record accordingly in the apparatus, the different stages of the transmission of a reading in which an error might have occurred. To review these stages in the particular case of the *Poetics*, starting with the uncial archetype (Ω) at the beginning of the extant manuscript transmission, errors may have occurred

(1) in the transmission within the Greek tradition between the archetype (Ω) and the uncial exemplar used by the Syriac translator (Σ). As an example I will cite the reading at

 1457a35 μεγαλιωτῶν Ξ : μεσαλιωτῶν Σ (*māsāliyūṭā*) : μασσαλιωτῶν frustra ci. Diels ex Ar.

 because it is also falsely mentioned by Kassel in his *Praefatio* as an example of the contribution of the *Arabic* translation to the Greek text. It turns out that there is no reading Μασσαλιωτῶν either in Σ or anywhere in the Greek tradition. A precise analysis reveals that the reading *māsāliyūṭā* in Arabic, which was the basis for Diels's unfortunate conjecture, represents a reading ΜΕϹΑΛΙΩΤΩΝ in Σ, which itself is a corruption, in uncials, from ΜΕΓΑΛΙΩΤΩΝ (i.e., confusion between Γ and C), which is the reading also in the Greek manuscript A.[89] The error thus occurred completely within the Greek transmission, or at most as a misreading by the Syriac translator of his uncial exemplar, and has nothing to do, in this case, with the Syro-Arabic tradition, which duly transliterated the mistaken reading as best as Syriac can represent the Greek alphabet;

(2) in the translation process from Greek into Syriac, for examples of which see below under the explanation of the notation "Syr." in the apparatus, and also, possibly, the example presented in the preceding paragraph;

(3) in the transmission within Syriac, since it is clear that Abū-Bišr used a revised Syriac version, and thus there was more than one

[89] See the full discussion of the reading in my commentary and in Tarán's note.

manuscript between the clean copy of the original Syriac translator and the Syriac exemplar used by Abū-Bišr; for examples see above in Section 2 under Doc. 1;

(4) in the translation process from Syriac into Arabic by Abū-Bišr; for example, the Arabic reading at

> 51b33 ἁπλῶν Ξ, Ψ (*basīṭ*) apud Avic. : ἐπεισοδιωδῶν (*maʿlūla*) ut intell. Ar., sed quid translator legat nescimus (= [Σ])

for a discussion of which see the commentary;

(5) and then in the transmission within the Arabic tradition until the copying of the Paris manuscript, physically the only extant representative of this branch of the transmission; for an example of which see below under the notation "Ar." in the apparatus.

(D) All these possibilities must be kept explicitly in mind, and recorded accordingly in the apparatus; but it may also not be possible at all times to identify the source of an error. When no decision can be reached, this must also be indicated. This I have done by putting the siglum of the MS in question in square brackets, i.e., [Σ].

Accordingly, the following notations have been used in the Graeco-Arabic apparatus in my commentary, and also in the main apparatus criticus of the Greek edition.

Σ — Greek uncial manuscript from which was made the Syriac translation upon which the Arabic translation is based. This notation is used when it is certain beyond a reasonable doubt that the Arabic translation, through a presumably corresponding Syriac translation, reveals the Greek reading in Σ. An example would be the well known passage,[90]

> 47b16 φυσικόν Σ (*umūr aṭ-ṭabīʿa*) et ci. Heinsius : μουσικόν Π

Σ^q — The Greek text in Σ as indicated by the extant fragment of the original Syriac translation preserved by Severus bar-Šakkō.

ut vid. — "ut videtur," used in cases where there may be some slight doubt about a reading, but where an argument could be made on the basis of the evidence that the Greek reading is as stated; e.g.,

> 50b5 καὶ τὰ Π, Σ ut vid. : καὶ B

[90] For all the examples in this section the reader is referred to my commentary where the full explanation of the passage concerned is discussed.

fort. "fortasse," used in cases where there is even greater uncertainty because there is little evidence to decide the matter, but where the probability is still high that the Greek reading is as stated; e.g.,

48a25 καὶ ἃ καὶ ὡς Paris. 2038, fort. Σ : καὶ ἀναγκαίως ut leg. Syr.

[Σ] In cases where it cannot be determined what the Greek reading in Σ was, this is indicated by placing the siglum for the MS in square brackets. This happens usually, but not exclusively, in two sorts of instances. First, when the Syriac, and then the Arabic, cannot properly convey the Greek word in question or its grammatical morphology, as is usually the case with Greek particles, articles, verbal forms (e.g., aorist vs perfect or imperfect), etc. Second is the case of (mis)understandings or (mis)readings by the Syriac translator, and the corresponding (mis)understanding by the Arabic translator in ways that cannot be ascertained due to the variability of numerous factors. For example:

50b23 δὴ ci. Bywater : δὲ Ξ : [Σ]
50b28 γίνεσθαι Π : γενέσθαι B : [Σ]
54b25 οἷον Paris. 2038 : οἷ A : *que* Lat. : οἷα B : [Σ]

Syr. In the absence of the intermediary Syriac translation, usually it is not possible to determine with certainty whether a mistaken reading occurred in Syriac or Arabic. In the cases that it is, that particular reading of the Arabic text is ascribed to the Syriac translator with the notation "Syr." "Syr." points to the text as understood by the original translator from Greek into Syriac, as this can be divined with certainty from the reflection of the Syriac in Arabic (Ar.), and as distinct from what can be attributed with certainty to Σ. Although such misreadings may occur in a number of ways, two are more usual. In the first, the *scriptio continua* of the uncial exemplar Σ was read differently than intended, which is indicated with the notation "ut leg. Syr."; e.g.,

48a25 καὶ ἃ καὶ ὡς Paris. 2038, fort. Σ : καὶ ἀναγκαίως ut leg. Syr.

In the second, the *scriptio continua* was parsed wrongly by the Syriac translator, and this is indicated with the notation, "ut intell. Syr."; e.g.,

51b21 ἐν τῷ 'Αγάθωνος 'Ανθεῖ] ἓν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ὃς ἂν θῇ ut intell. Syr. (*man yaḍaʿu anna l-ḫayra huwa wāḥidun*)

Ar. This notation signifies the text of the translated work as represented in the Arabic tradition of Abū-Bišr's translation in general, as distinct (a) from what can be attributed with certainty to Σ, and (b) from the text extant in the Paris MS. It should thus be emphasized that, insofar as we cannot always ascribe a particular misreading to the Syriac or Arabic translator, *the notation "Ar." in those instances also might include what is meant by the notation "Syr."*, as just explained. This notation is most useful in registering omis-

sions. If there is something missing in the Arabic text in comparison with the Greek, it is as a rule very difficult to ascertain at which stage (of those enumerated above) the omission occurred. In some cases, with the help of such causes of omissions as haplography or homoioteleuton, it may be possible to say whether the omission occurred in the Greek tradition or the Arabic; but most of the time it is not, and hence the notation "Ar." registers this omission in the Arabic text without specifying its precise origin; e.g.,

50a12 οὐδέν] om. Ar. | οὐκ ὀλίγοι non vertit Syr./Ar. ut vid.

Similarly, this notation registers what Abū-Bišr's translation at some point contained as this can be inferred from indirect evidence other than the Paris MS. In the following example, the correct reading is found in Averroes' paraphrase:

47a12 κατὰ φύσιν Π, Σ apud Aver. (*bi-ṭ-ṭabʿi*) : om. cod. Paris. Arab. 2346

non vertit — Not translated in the Arabic. This notation is different from "om. Σ" in that the omission of this word or words in Arabic is not due to a corresponding omission in Σ, but that the translator did not translate the word(s) either because he felt that he could adequately convey the meaning without translating it/them, or because he did not understand it/them or could not read it/them, or for some other reason; see the second preceding example.

ut leg. — ut legit
ut intell. — ut intellexit
ut interpr. — ut interpretatus est

These notations indicate how the Arabic translator read or understood the Syriac translation and also, by extension, how the Syriac translator read or understood the Greek text, when there is no certainty that the Greek text had readings that are different from those in the Greek paradosis. These misreadings on the part of the Syriac and Arabic translators, which are frequent in this translation, are due both to the *scriptio continua* of the Greek uncial exemplar (Σ) and to the difficulty of the text. For example,

48a25 καὶ ἃ καὶ ὡς Paris. 2038, fort. Σ : καὶ ἀναγκαίως ut leg. Syr.
51b33 ἁπλῶν Ξ, Ψ (*basīṭ*) apud Avicen. : ἐπεισοδιωδῶν (*maʿlūla*) ut intell. Ar., sed quid translator legerit nescimus (= [Σ])
49a27–28 λεκτικῆς Ξ : διαλεκτικῆς (*al-ǧadalī*) ut interpr. Ar.

Ψ — Hypothetical Greek manuscript which was used in the revision of Abū-Bišr's Arabic translation, as reflected in the citations of the text by Avicenna.

In the analysis and discussion, along the lines just described here, of all the contested passages in the *Poetics* which I presented in my commen-

tary, I have consulted all available secondary literature on the contributions of the Syro-Arabic tradition to the constitution of the Greek text: notably the work of Margoliouth and Tkatsch, but also more recent work like the articles by Lutz Edzard and others. I have referred to the suggestions of my predecessors whenever I found them useful in the elucidation of the translation process and the underlying Greek text, or when I adopted their readings. Frequently, though, I disagreed with their analyses or found them inadequate and incomplete, mainly because—and this is especially the case with classical scholars—they were working only with Margoliouth's or Tkatsch's Latin renderings of the Arabic and not the Arabic itself. In order to avoid the mistake committed by Tkatsch, who was overly and *ad nauseam* critical of Margoliouth, I have refrained from mentioning the incorrect interpretations of my predecessors if the intent was simply to register them, but have done so only when it served the purposes of a productive discussion and in order to avoid misunderstandings. The interested reader can easily compare my analyses with theirs in the literature.

In conclusion, it should be stated that Graeco-Arabic philology, as briefly presented here and practiced in this study, is absolutely essential for classical scholars in the attainment of reasonable certainty about what Greek readings can be recovered from the Syro-Arabic translations. And just like classical philology, it is not a mathematically precise discipline, and accordingly infallibility cannot be achieved even by experienced practitioners. However, properly practiced and improved to a higher level of sophistication, it may, again just like classical philology and textual criticism, help in the establishment of Greek texts at a comparable level of certainty. The medieval Arabic translations of ancient Greek texts represent the last untapped resource in the continuing quest, since the Renaissance, for their ever more critical editions. It is hoped that after my edition of Theophrastus's *On First Principles*, this edition of the *Poetics* will have promoted this project also for Aristotle.[91]

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[91] For a full discussion of the principles of Graeco-Arabic textual criticism and editorial technique see my Excursus in Gutas (2010) 93–101. This should be consulted for an exposition of the method I followed in this study and the recording of the evidence in the apparatus. For the significance of the Syro-Arabic translations and their place in the tradition of Aristotelian editions, now in its twenty-fourth century, see Gutas (2012).

CHAPTER THREE

PROLEGOMENA TO THE EDITION OF THE TEXT

Some remarks about the four primary sources for the constitution of the text of the *Poetics* have been made in sections 4–7 of Chapter One.[1] The reader should also be familiar with the *sigla* of this edition (p. 161 *infra*). The method followed in this chapter is as follows: I deal first with each of the primary witnesses and in each case, immediately after the description of what is extant, I reconstruct the lost MSS Φ, Π, Ξ, Σ, Ψ, and Σ. In the cases of Σ, Ψ, and Σ, I rely on the work of Gutas as embodied in Chapter Two and in his critical apparatus and comments. My own comments on everything that relates to the Syro-Arabic tradition are concerned only with the contribution it makes to the constitution of the text of the *Poetics*. At the end of this part, I discuss the characteristics of the reconstructed archetype, Ω, and the question of going back from the archetype to the author, i.e. to Aristotle himself.

For each extant and reconstructed MS I offer the evidence in the appropriate places. After this section there is a discussion of Kassel's edition, followed by general remarks about my critical apparatus and *Notes to the Text*. Finally, there is a summary of results and an important concluding paragraph on the present state of the text of the *Poetics* and on the significance of having an *editio maior*.

(a). Parisinus Graecus 1741 = A

This is the oldest extant witness to the text of the *Poetics*. Written on parchment, it has been described by Omont,[2] by Lobel,[3] and, in greater codicological detail and more up-to-date information, by Harlfinger-Reinsch.[4] We do not know for whom it was written nor the identity

[1] Cf. pp. 35 ff. *supra*.
[2] Cf. Omont (1891), pp. VII–XVI.
[3] Cf. Lobel (1933), pp. 6–7.
[4] Cf. Harlfinger-Reinsch (1970), pp. 28–36.

of the four scribes[5] of this codex *vetustissimus*.[6] In any case, the *Poetics* was copied by the first scribe. Readings of later hands (A^2, A^3) are probably not primary.

The MS as now extant contains seventeen works, among which are Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (Nr. 7, folios 120–184) and the *Poetics* (Nr. 8, folios 184–199). However, from the *Pinax* which is now at the end and dates from the late thirteenth or the fourteenth century (more about this *infra*), we see that originally it contained twenty works, so that three have been lost; also, that the quires were earlier in an order different from the present one, and that originally the *Rhetoric* and the *Poetics* were Nrs. 11 and 12 respectively.[7]

At the end of the MS, on fol. 301v,[8] there are three widely separated statements in monocondylic[9] writing:

+δόσις μανουὴλ ἀγγέλου πιστοῦ φίλου+
+σκουταριώτου λευίτου θεοδ(ώ)ρου+
+δῶρον ποθεινόν, ἐκ μανουὴλ ἀγγέλου+

From the writing and from what it says about Theodoros Skoutariotes we may infer that these statements belong to the thirteenth century. The MS was given by Manuel Angelos as a gift to the levite (i.e. diaconus) Theodoros Skoutariotes. Since Theodoros became bishop in 1275, this is a *terminus ante quem* for the gift.[10]

On the same folio and between the three statements transcribed above there is a *pinax*, i.e. a table of contents, divided into four parts. Harlfinger-Reinsch date it approximately to the end of the thirteenth or during

5 Four scribes according to Harlfinger-Reinsch, three according to Omont. The two former scholars have followed Jacob (1910) in the dating of the MS.

6 By its date, about the middle or the second half of the tenth century, and by its calligraphic traits this is a codex *vetustissimus*. Some forms of majuscule letters, however, are present.

7 Cf. Omont (1891), pp. XII–XIII and especially Harlfinger-Reinsch (1970), pp. 32–34.

8 There is a photostatic reproduction of f. 301v in Harlfinger-Reinsch (1970), opposite p. 33.

9 On such kind of writing cf. Devreesse (1954), pp. 50–51 (with bibliography on p. 51, n. 1): "Une fantaisie s'est quelquefois insinuée dans l'esprit du copiste, son travail achevé,—une distraction de virtuoses, à dire vrai; il a donc remplacé la souscription en lettres tracées normalement par une composition, où tous les éléments des mots se trouvent enchevêtrés, pris dans un flot de courbes, comme si la plume suivait, sans jamais se détacher de la page, tous les mouvements du poignet et des doigts largement développés et augmentés. Ce sont les *monocondyles*; les déchiffrer est un exercise de patience."

10 For other MSS owned by Theodoros Skoutariotes cf. Omont (1891), p. XV.

the fourteenth century; it is certainly later than the three monocondylic statements, as even the four-part division of the *pinax* would show. At the time the *pinax* was written the MS was still complete, for it mentions the twenty works which it originally contained. In the upper part of fol. 299^r there is written +τοῦ σκουταριότου νικήτα+. Because of the rather dirty state of this folio and also because (as we shall see presently) the MS was not bound even in the fifteenth century, Harlfinger-Reinsch conjecture that folios 299–301 originally stood at the beginning. As for Nicetas Skoutariotes, he probably was a relative of Theodoros Skoutariotes who received the MS as a gift. He may or may not be the same as the homiletic writer Nicetas Skoutariotes mentioned by Krumbacher and by Beck.[11]

The MS must still have been in Constantinople in 1427, when Francesco Filelfo returned to Italy from his embassy, as he himself copied from **A** the codex *Laurentianus* 60.21, which he most probably brought to Italy[12] rather than copying it in his own country. It is not known at exactly what time *Parisinus Graecus* 1741 arrived in Italy; Lobel believes that it was not before the second quarter of the fifteenth century.[13] The first probable reference to it appears in an undated letter cardinal Bessarion wrote to an unnamed correspondent, probably between 1457 and 1468,[14] where he requests that his addressee send to him successively parts of a MS (most likely *Parisinus Graecus* 1741) which his scribes (literally ταχυγράφοι) will copy. Bessarion says he is already in possession of a copy of Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *De compositione verborum* from that MS and requests that now the *Rhetoric* of Apsines be sent to him. He adds that he does not need from this MS Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* because he already has copies of these two works.[15] We may infer

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[11] Cf. Krumbacher (1897), p. 176 and Beck (1959), p. 630.

[12] That *Laurentianus* 60.21 is in Filelfo's hand was pointed out by Harlfinger-Reinsch (1970) in the "Korrekturensatz" on their p. 50.

[13] Cf. Lobel (1933), p. 6, n. 2.

[14] Cf. Lobel (1933), pp. 6–7 and p. 6 with n. 4. Lobel's hypothesis about the dates is accepted by Harlfinger-Reinsch (1970), pp. 35–36, but they rightly object to his statement that *Marcianus Graecus* 429 was the only MS containing just the *Rhetoric* of Apsines that Bessarion gave to the biblioteca Marciana. For that MS contains copies of the works now extant in *Parisinus Graecus* 1741, except for Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and *Poetics*, cf. Mioni (1985), pp. 196–197. This is essential to understand the implications of Bessarion's request to his unknown correspondent, cf. the text *supra* and also the following note.

[15] Bessarion's letter is now in Mohler, III (1942), p. 484. The pertinent part for us is: Ἐδεξάμην ἃ Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἁλικαρνασσέως ἡμῖν περὶ ὀνομάτων συνθέσεως ἔπεμψας. ταῦτα δὴ ἀντιγραφέντα πρὸς σὲ ἀποπέμπομεν, καὶ προσέτι σοι χάριτας οἴδαμεν. ἀξιοῦμεν δέ, ἵνα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ βιβλίου ἡμῖν πέμψῃς πλὴν τῶν εἴς τε ῥητορικήν, εἴς τε ποιητικὴν Ἀριστοτέλους· ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔχομεν. παρὰ ταῦτα οὖν τὰ ἄλλα πάντα, ἃ τὸ σὸν περιέχει βιβλίον, κατὰ

with great probability that the MS Bessarion refers to is the present *Parisinus Graecus* 1741; and that at the time (i.e. between 1457 and 1468) it was still unbound and had already lost the three additional works it originally contained (*Physiognomonica*, *De signis*, and the *Characters* of Theophrastus).

The next reference to this codex, and this one well attested, occurs during the sixteenth century, when the MS now referred to as *Parisinus Graecus* 1741 was in the library of cardinal Ridolfi, a nephew of pope Leo X. We know that it was not among the codices that cardinal Ridolfi bought from Janus Lascaris,[16] but it is not known from whom he acquired it. That the state of the MS was exactly as it is today we read in the notice at the beginning of the volume, written by one of Ridolfi's secretaries, Nicholas Sophianos, not Michael, the scholar whose emendations of the *Poetics* were reported by Ellebodius.[17] After Ridolfi died in 1550 his library was acquired by the maréchal de France, Pierre Strozzi, at whose death (on June 20, 1558) his cousin Catherine of Medici, wife of king Henry II of France, inherited it. When she died the MS was incorporated into the king's library, and eventually it became the property of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. In the eighteenth century, precisely in 1735, it acquired the number it has today, 1741 of the *Parisini Graeci*. The present binding seems to have been done in 1603, and it exhibits the arms of king Henry IV.

Kassel assigns this MS to about the tenth or eleventh century (but cf. *infra*). Today the date Jacob (1910) gives, about the middle of the tenth century, has been reinforced by the study of Harlfinger-Reinsch.[18] These scholars have compared the four hands present in *Parisinus Graecus* 1741 with samples provided by the Lakes' paleographic albums[19] and have found similarities with MSS dated between 924 and 988. They propose the middle or second half of the tenth century, which Kassel (1971), p. 11 accepts.

μέρη ἡμῖν πέμψον, οὐχ οὕτω μέντοι σφόδρα τεμαχίζων. καὶ γὰρ δή εἰσι παρ' ἡμῖν ταχυγράφοι, ὧν ἕκαστος περὶ δύο τετράδια ἑκάστης ἡμέρας οἷός τέ ἐστι γράφειν. The text of this letter is extant in *Marcianus Graecus* 527, fol. 244–244^{v}.

16 Cardinal Ridolfi acquired from Lascaris another MS of the *Poetics*, now *Parisinus Graecus* 2038, on which cf. Chapter One, section 5), and section (*h*) in this very chapter. Some marginal notes are by Lascaris.

17 Cf. Chapter One, section 5).

18 Cf. Harlfinger-Reinsch (1970), pp. 31–32 with nine photostatic samples of the four scribes who copied this MS (as extant).

19 Cf. Lake (1934–1939).

This MS is the oldest extant primary witness of the *Poetics*. It is also, together with the Latin translation by William of Moerbeke, the only complete copy of the extant *Poetics*, as both **B** and the Arabic translation are incomplete. (Of course, like most MSS it has omissions ranging from one word to two lines, but it has not lost a large part of the text through the disappearance of one or more folios.) I have collated **A** by autopsy and also from photostats; in addition, I have made use of the reproduction of the *Poetics* section in Omont (1891).

To prove that a given MS is a primary witness one must point to a number of passages where it is the only one that has preserved the right reading. In the case of **A** the following examples should suffice:

1448b29 ἀρξαμένοις **A**
1450a4 ᾗ **A**
1453a31 τε **A**
1453a34 τῶν **A**
1461a23 οὗ **A**

Bywater gives a long list of the mistakes which occur in this MS[20] and classifies them under sixteen headings. I here limit myself to naming them, because Bywater was proceeding from his conviction that only *Parisinus Graecus* 1741 (= **A**) was a primary witness to the text. At present, however, we know that there are three more primary witnesses, two of which, **B** and **Φ** through Lat., belong to the Greek tradition. Thus many of the mistakes Bywater lists are not typical of **A** but of the reconstructed MSS Π or Ξ or even Ω; yet it is useful for the reader to be able to consult Bywater's list when the text presents difficulties, also because these mistakes are characteristic of ancient Greek MSS of all kinds of works. Bywater's list is: 1) Confusions through similarity of letters; 2) Confusions through similarity of pronunciation; 3) Omission of *iota mutum*, a frequent phenomenon not only in τραγῳδία, ᾄδειν, etc. but also in the inflections of nouns and verbs; 4) Omission of final N; 5) Confusions through general resemblance; 6) Errors through assimilation of terminations; 7) Errors in accents and breathings; 8) Haplography; 9) Omission of letters or syllables; 10) Omission of words; 11) Transposition, more especially of little words liable to omission; 12) Dittography; 13) Repetition of words from the context; 14) Marginalia in the body of the text; 15) Double readings of the text; 16) Errors due to an attempt to emend.

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[20] Cf. Bywater, pp. xxviii–xxx.

I offer a few examples of mistakes found in A which are peculiar to it:

1447a25 οὖσαι τοιαῦται] οὖσαι A
1447b28 οὖν] οὐ A
1450b29 αὐτὸ μὲν] αὐτὸ A
1451a36 οὐ τὸ] οὕτω A
1451b23 ὥστ᾽ οὐ] ὡς τοῦ A
1452b9 ταῦτ᾽] περὶ ταῦτ᾽ A
1454b4 οἷόν τε] οἴονται A
1458a28 οὐχ οἷόν τε] οὐχοίονται A
1458b14 ἐπὶ τὰ] ἔπειτα A
1458b27 τε] δὲ A
1459b13 καὶ γὰρ] καὶ γὰρ καὶ A
1461b3 ᾗ] ἡ A
1462a1 δ᾽ οὗτοι] δ᾽ οὗτοι δ᾽ A
1462a9 μηδ᾽] μὴ δ᾽ A

It is hardly likely that A is the MS directly transliterated from the model of this family, Π, which was written in majuscule letters, as we shall soon see. It is nevertheless very close to the transliterated MS which must be postulated between Π and A. This is shown by some mistakes peculiar to A, as for example wrong word division, wrong accents and breathings, or even in some instances the absence of accents and/or breathings. Here are a few examples:

1448a3 κακίᾳ and ἀρετῇ ΦΣ, Paris. 2038 : κακία and ἀρετὴ A
1448a15 Κύκλωπας ΦΣ : κυκλωπᾶς A
1449a36 διεστραμμένον ΦΣ, Paris. 2038 : δ᾽ ἐστραμμένον A
1460b32 ἢ εἰ ΒΦ, fec. A[2] : η η A
1461a22 δίδομεν δέ οἱ B[2]Σ : δίδομεν δέοι A
1461b8 δι᾽ ἁμάρτημα ΦΣ, ci. Madius : διαμάρτημα A
1461b21 Αἰγεῖ ἢ τῇ ci. Victorius : αἰγειήτη A
1461b28 δ᾽ ἡ Σ, Paris. 2038 : δὴ A
1462a9 μηδ᾽ ΦΣ : μὴ δ᾽ A
1462a13 τά γ᾽ ἄλλα Σ : τὰ γάλλα A

This manuscript is a primary witness to the text of the *Poetics* and therefore of fundamental importance, but it should not be accorded a higher status than any other primary witness; we must consider and decide each case by itself taking into account all the information available. (More about this *infra* when we discuss Kassel's edition.) On the other hand, A displays numerous small but important omissions, one of the most significant being that of two lines at 16, 1455a14–14[2], caused by homoioteleuton. Though such a kind of omission is not a significant mistake, nevertheless, together with several variants, it permitted Lobel (1933) to establish that all extant Greek MSS of the fifteenth and sixteenth

centuries were directly or indirectly derived from **A**. (**B** is not derived from **A**, and it is in any case earlier than the fifteenth century.) Lobel has shown that *Parisinus Graecus* 1741 was copied three times. As we saw above, one such copy is *Laurentianus* 60.21, which has no descendants; another one is *Vaticanus Graecus* 1904,[21] which gave rise to the largest and most important family;[22] and the third copy was a now non extant MS which is to be reconstructed from *Dresdensis Graecus* D 4 and *Parisinus Graecus* 2938.[23]

(b). The Latin Translation by William of Moerbeke and Its Greek Model, Φ

We are indebted to L. Minio-Paluello for the two editions of the critical text of William of Moerbeke's Latin translation of the *Poetics*, the first published in 1953[24] and the second in 1968.[25] The excellent vocabularies (Graeco-Latinus and Latino-Graecus) accompanying the edition are indispensable for the study and use of the Latin translation for the constitution of the Greek text. One must also pay attention to Minio-Paluello's important 1947 article, where he proved that this translation, anonymous in the two extant MSS which contain it,[26] is indeed to be ascribed to William of Moerbeke.[27] (In Chapter One of this Introduction I have briefly referred to this article, as well as to a few earlier publications.[28])

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21 Cf. Harlfinger-Reinsch (1970), pp. 37 and 39–40.

22 Cf. the summary results in Lobel (1933), p. 46.

23 Cf. the summary results in Lobel (1933), p. 47.

24 For the roles of E. Valgimigli, of E. Franceschini, and of L. Minio-Paluello in the 1953 edition cf. *Studi Medievali* 3ª ser. 1 (1960), pp. 23–24. There Minio-Paluello says that he has used an edition of Moerbeke's Latin translation made, as a "tesi di laurea," by Erbse Valgimigli with the help of E. Franceschini. Nevertheless, as Minio-Paluello himself again collated the two MSS, made the Latin apparatus and the indices, and wrote all but the last paragraph of the preface in Italian, which was translated into Latin by Franceschini, I believe he may justly be considered the editor of Moerbeke (1953).

25 The text of the 1968 edition is basically the same as that of the earlier one, but the vocabulary and the preface have been revised. In addition, the 1968 publication contains a sample of a hitherto unpublished Latin translation by Petrus Leonius, probably made around 1546, as well as an edition of the Latin translation of Averroes' middle commentary on the *Poetics* made by Hermannus Alemannus in Toledo in 1256. There is good probability that Alemannus was helped by one or more of the skilled translators from the Arabic to be found in Spain at that time.

26 These MSS are: *Etonensis* 129, written about 1300, and *Toletanus*, bibl. Capit. 47. 10, written about 1280.

27 Cf. Minio-Paluello (1947) = *idem* (1972).

28 Cf. Chapter One, section 7).

The difficulty which prevented earlier scholars from ascribing this translation to Moerbeke was the misreading of the date. Though it really says that it was finished on March 1 of 1278, the symbol for 7 had been misinterpreted as 4: the date 1248 caused serious difficulty, since no translation by Moerbeke is known to precede the year 1260. Once Minio-Paluello had solved this problem,[29] there remained for him to show, by careful comparative analysis of its vocabulary and style, that the translation is indeed the work of Moerbeke.[30] In the final part of his study he takes issue with many of Lobel's interpretations of the Greek MS from which Moerbeke's translation was made;[31] this section is illuminating in itself and a useful supplement to the preceding one.[32]

Moerbeke was an experienced and competent translator of Aristotle and of Greek philosophical, and even of some scientific, works. He not only translated many treatises of Aristotle but also of his commentators Alexander and Simplicius, as well as works of Proclus, including his commentary on Plato's *Parmenides*, and even of Galen and Archimedes. His translation of the *Poetics*, going back to a Greek MS which has been designated as Φ, generally tries to give as literal as possible a word by word rendering of the Greek; it is important because in many cases it allows us to recover readings of Φ, clearly a primary witness to the text; however, though Latin is grammatically and syntactically close to Greek, it is not the same as having a Greek MS. Minio-Paluello, in his 1947 article, in the notes of his edition, and in the two vocabularies mentioned above, has done fundamental work for the utilization of Moerbeke's translation by an editor of the *Poetics*, yet such an editor must still evaluate the translation's contribution to the text and to the recovery from it of the readings of Φ. Before doing so, it is perhaps well to examine Irigoin's theory of how Moerbeke made the translation: "Certaines fautes de la version latine paraissent dues à une mauvaise compréhension du texte grec lu à haute voix devant le traducteur, qui dictait à son tour le texte latin à un copiste."[33] This seems impossible and would indicate that Irigoin has not himself compared the Latin translation with the original Greek.[34] Had he done so, he would have seen that despite his attempt

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[29] Cf. Minio-Paluello (1947), pp. 41–42.
[30] Cf. Minio-Paluello (1947), pp. 42–52.
[31] Cf. Lobel (1931).
[32] Cf. Minio-Paluello (1947), pp. 53–56.
[33] Cf. Irigoin (1997), p. 174.
[34] Irigoin's knowledge of Moerbeke's translation seems to be based on Kassel's critical apparatus.

at a word by word rendering, Moerbeke sometimes has to change the word order; even more important, he must *construe* and does construe the Greek in order to translate.[35] Irigoin also neglects the phenomenon of "internal dictation" that can account for some of the mistakes he lists. There can be little doubt that Moerbeke made his translation on the basis of his autopsy of the Greek exemplar.

Although Moerbeke tried as much as possible to give a literal rendering of the Greek of Φ, Latin is not Greek: it has no article; Moerbeke himself, after 1266, began to use the French article "le" for the Greek neuter article with the infinitive (in the case of the *Poetics* it occurs in 1, 1447b13–14 τὸ ποιεῖν, rendered "*le facere*"[36]); and he translates τό with a clause by the use of *per* or *propter*.[37] One should add that in general Moerbeke does not attempt to render the Greek neuter (or any other) article when it accompanies a noun; however, even this admits of a few exceptions when he believes it necessary to give in Latin a nuance of the Greek text: thus he translates at 5, 1449a33–34 ἀλλὰ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ ἐστι τὸ γελοῖον μόριον. τὸ γὰρ γελοῖόν ἐστι κτλ. as *sed turpis est quod risile particula; nam risile est* etc.—the first time he renders the article but the second he does not.

There are other important grammatical and syntactical differences between Greek and Latin that Moerbeke must face and of which we must constantly be aware in trying to recover the Greek readings of Φ. Significant is that, unlike Greek, Latin lacks the middle voice and the optative mood: thus, for example, Moerbeke renders the optative with ἄν by *utique* with subjunctive,[38] or more frequently, by *utique* with future indicative;[39] nor can Latin render the Greek construction of the neuter plural subject with the singular verb. Moreover, Latin lacks a verb such as μέλλω,[40] and there are other problems of vocabulary with which

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[35] It seems to me that Irigoin has confused what Moerbeke did with the well-known procedure in some monasteries of producing several identical copies, especially of sacred writings. In that case, someone dictated word by word to several scribes.

[36] Cf. Minio-Paluello (1947), p. 44.

[37] Cf. Mino-Paluello (1947), p. 55.

[38] Cf. 1448a20 μιμήσαιτο ἄν τις = *imitetur utique aliquis*; similarly, in 1453a37 and 1461a33.

[39] Cf. e.g. 1448a26 ἂν εἴη = *utique erit* (also in 1449b32); 1450a24–25 ἂν γένοιτο … γένοιτ᾽ ἄν = *utique fiet … fiet utique*; 1450b2 οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως εὐφράνειεν = *non utique similiter letificabit*. Cf. also 1450b38, 1453a3, 1453b6, 1455a24–25, 1456b7, 1458b15 and 18–19, 1459b20, 1462a4, 1462b14.

[40] Cf. 1447a10 with the second paragraph *sub finem* of the note on 1447a8–13.

Minio-Paluello has dealt in his 1947 article and in his two vocabularies, where he calls attention to the formation of Latin composites and analytical translations of the two parts of Greek words; to hybrid words (part Greek and part Latin); and to Greek words with Latin endings.[41] Lastly, I mention Moerbeke's frequent custom of transcribing the Greek word followed by *idest* and a Latin rendering or explanation. This is important because it enables us to see whether or not he understood something about the Greek theater—we may infer that in general he did.[42] Here are a few examples:

> 1448a28 δράματα = *dramata (idest actitamina)*
> 1448a36 κώμας τὰς περιοικίδας = *'komas' perioikidas (idest ambulatoria circa domos)*
> 1448b1 δρᾶν = *dran (idest actitare)*
> 1450a35 ποιεῖν = *poetizare*

Even when in some cases he failed to render the real meaning of the Greek word in Aristotle, his custom of transcribing it enables us to reconstruct the reading of Φ. For example,

> 1448b1 πράττειν = *prattin (idest agere)*
> 1449a9–10 αὐτοσχηδιαστικῆς = *autoschediastica* (*idest informi* [ablative absolute])
> 1451b34 ἐπεισοδιώδη = *episodiodeam (idest superadventitiam)*

In other instances, lack of acquaintance with Greek tragedies (we are in the fourth quarter of the thirteenth century) led the translator to misinterpretation of the text. For example, at 1455b6 and 7 τὴν ἱερωσύνην and τῆς ἱερείας are translated as "*sanctificationem*" and "*sanctificationis*," which do not adequately render the Greek ἱεροσύνη ("sanctuary") and ἱερεία ("priestess"). An even more serious mistake occurs in 1455b5, where Aristotle's reference to a land ἐν ᾗ νόμος ἦν τοὺς ξένους θύειν τῇ θεῷ is rendered "*in qua lex erat extraneis immolare dee*," while it really means "in which there was a law to sacrifice strangers to the goddess." A telling example is 1454b36–37 καὶ ἐν τῷ Σοφοκλέους Τηρεῖ ἡ τῆς κερκίδος φωνή. In Sophocles' *Tereus* Philomela tells her story by means of her weaving, so that ἡ τῆς κερκίδος φωνή means "the voice of the shuttle" as a metaphor. Not knowing Philomela's story, Moerbeke translates *Et in eo qui Sophoclei*

[41] Cf. Minio-Paluello (1947), pp. 50–52.
[42] There are important studies on Moerbeke's life and works in *Guillaume de Moerbeke* (1989).

Tyrei que 'spate texentium vox.'[43] One final item is noteworthy: Moerbeke always translates ῥῆσις (= "speech") with the Latin *series*.[44] Yet in spite of the limitations mentioned in what precedes, Moerbeke's translation permits us to reconstruct very many readings of Φ and is also instructive in other ways:[45] thus, though he misunderstood ἡ τῆς κερκίδος φωνή, there is no question that Φ had these words.

(c). A + Φ = Π

Analysis shows that MS Φ belongs to the same family as MS **A**: this is clear from a number of significant mistakes that are peculiar to both; and this has led to positing a MS Π on which both **A** and Φ ultimately depend. Below are a few examples:

1449b21 μὲν **B**Σ : om. Π
1450a30 οὐ **B**Σ : om. Π
1450b15 λοιπῶν **B**Σ : λοιπῶν πέντε Π
1450b18 ἡ **B**Σ : ὡς Π
1452a17 ἐξ ἧς **B**Σ : λέξις Π
1453a11 οἰδίπους **B**Σ : δίπους Π
1455a7 ἔφη **B**Σ : om. Π
1455a14–14² τὸ τόξον … τὸ τόξον **B**Σ : τὸ τόξον Π
1455b15 δράμασι **B**Σ : ἅρμασιν Π
1461a23 εὖχος ἀρέσθαι **B**Σ : om. Π

It can also be shown that **A** and Φ go back to two different transliterations into minuscule writing. I offer the following examples:

1449a15 ἐπεὶ ἔσχε τὴν] = **A** : *super ultimam* Lat., which, as Minio-Paluello says, gives us ἐπὶ ἐσχάτην for Φ (basically wrong word division).
1453b33 ὁ Τηλέγονος] = **A** : *quia dicentis* Lat., from ὅτι λέγοντος Φ (basically wrong word division).
1456a16 ὅσοι πέρσιν ἰλίου ὅλην **A**Σ : *quicumque quidem similii totam*, from ὅσοιπερ συνιλίου ὅλην Φ (again, basically wrong word division).
1458a3 ἀφῃρημένον τι ᾖ Φ (from *ablatum aliquid sit* of Lat.) : ἀφέρη μὲν ὄντι **A**
1459b8 δεῖ **B**Φ : ἀεὶ Σ : δὴ **A**
1460b32 ἢ εἰ **B**Φ, fec. **A**² : η η **A**

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[43] Cf. note on 1454b36–37.
[44] Cf. 1450a29 with note, 1454a31, 1456a31.
[45] Cf. for example his interpretation of 1455a32–33 and the note *ad loc.*

Thus we may infer that the reconstructed MS Π was written in majuscule.

Here are a few examples of Φ as the only primary witness that has preserved the right reading:

1447a12 λέγωμεν Φ
1448a8 τῷ Φ
1453b22 δρᾷ Φ
1455a17 ἐκπλήξεως Φ
1457a3 αὐτήν Φ
1457a17 προσσημαίνει Φ
1458b15 ἁρμόττον Φ
1460a13 δι' ὃ Φ
1460b16 εἰ Φ
1461b26 βελτίων Φ

(d). Riccardianus 46 = **B**

This MS, except for its first six folios, is written on oriental paper and contains Aristotle's *Eth. Nic.* (folios 1–90v), followed by the *Poetics*, which is not complete (folios 91–112v). The present numeration of the folios is modern. The *Eth. Nic.* is now complete, but the original writing is extant only in folios 7r-90v, which contain 1096b6–1181b23. The first original folios were lost at some undetermined time (perhaps at the same time as the three quires, Nrs. ιβ′, ιγ′, and ιδ′?, cf. *infra*). In the fifteenth century Joannes Skoutariotes supplied, on Western paper, the lost first part of the *Eth. Nic.* plus a few extra lines (*Eth. Nic.* 1094a1–1097a27). He did so on the first five folios; the sixth is empty.

The text of the *Poetics* in **B** is incomplete in two different ways. It begins on folio 91 with the words τινες αὐτά φασιν in 1448a29, so that 1447a8–1448a28–29 (καλεῖσθαι) is not extant. Irigoin[46] believes that the beginning was missing already in the source of **B**. However, since the numeration of the quires indicates that three quires were lost between fol. 90v and 91r, it is much more likely that 1447a8–1448a28–29 was extant in **B** before the loss of the three quires.[47] There is a second but different kind of loss in **B**: a long omission in the last line of fol. 111. Here, about the middle of the line, and without any indication that something is missing, the

[46] Cf. Irigoin (1997), pp. 177–178.

[47] The beginning of the *Poetics* in folio 91 belongs to quire ιε′, while quires ιβ′- ιδ′ are not extant. Hence the probability is that the beginning was in quire ιδ′ and was lost.

text goes from ὅτι δοκεῖ in 1461b2–3 to ἐκ μιμήσεως (instead of τῆς μιμήσεως) in 1462b1. It is possible that the scribe realized that there was a big lacuna here, because he left folios 111^{v} and 112^{r} empty, but no text has ever been supplied for the missing passage 1461b3–1462a18 (ἐπιτιμῶσιν … τέλος). Therefore this loss had already happened in the exemplar from which **B** was copied.

Riccardianus 46 has generally been dated to the fourteenth century, a date assigned to it also in Nickel's description in the first volume of the catalogue of Aristotle's MSS.[48] However, Davide Baldi strongly argues, on the basis of the similarity of the writing in the case of the *Eth. Nic.* with *Laurentianus, Plut.* 87.7, that this part of **B** is to be dated to about the middle of the twelfth century and is ascribable to the *milieu* of the scribe Joannikios. The writing in the case of the *Poetics* shows affinity with *Parisinus Graecus* 1849, fol. 96^{r} and must also be assigned to the middle of the twelfth century.[49] On the basis of the evidence Baldi adduces, I believe he is right.[50]

The MS is now in a damaged state, yet it is not the case, as Nickel says,[51] that "Lesbarkeit teilweise durch Wasserschäden und kleinere Löcher beeinträchtig:" there are of course holes but it has not been damaged by water. In fact, both the disappearance of the ink in many places and the holes in the paper have one and the same cause: the chemical reaction—perhaps due to, or helped by, the atmospheric humidity—produced by the ink on the material of the oriental paper. Here is a brief account of my work with this MS.

In May of 1999 I collated by autopsy the text of the *Poetics* in *Riccardianus* 46, of which I made a detailed description. Later on I compared this collation against two sets of photostats: one from the Biblioteca Riccardiana, made from a microfilm dating to the early 1960s; another obtained from the Bodleian library with the help of Nigel Wilson. The latter set of photostats is a copy of those made for Lobel around 1930 when he was working on the Greek MSS of the *Poetics*. The differences in the state of the MS between the 1930 and 1960 photostats were minimal; but those between the collations from the two sets of photostats and my

[48] Cf. *Aristoteles Graecus* I (1976), pp. 359–360.

[49] Apart from oral communication in Florence, cf. Baldi (2010), pp. 142–144 with two plates on pp. 166–167. The author has kindly sent me the proofs of Baldi (2011), and also a paper on *Riccardianus* 46. Cf. the Bibliography.

[50] Cf. tav. 2 in Degni (2008).

[51] Cf. *Aristoteles Graecus* I (1976), p. 360.

own collation by autopsy were very substantial. In other words, there has been great deterioration in the state of the MS in the roughly forty years that have elapsed. This new deterioration is a continuation of the damage the MS suffered for the reasons outlined above, and I believe that it has been accelerated by pollution. In any case, I have described in the critical apparatus all the places where the text of **B** is either not extant or dubious. My collations for the damaged passages are based on the two sets of photostats mentioned above.

The evidence which shows that **B** is a primary witness to the text of the *Poetics* is, as Margoliouth pointed out,[52] the fact that it has preserved the text of 1455a14–14² τὸ τόξον … τὸ τόξον, omitted by Π because of homoioteleuton, which is also extant in the Arabic translation, so that its authenticity is firmly established. In addition, **B** is the only witness that has preserved the authentic readings in several places, of which I now mention a few. In some cases I include readings also preserved by Σ, because it is highly unlikely that **B** or its ultimate Greek source got such readings from the Greek MS on which the Syro-Arabic tradition depends. **B**² readings are probably not primary.

1448b22 οἱ **B**Σ : om. **A** : [Φ]
1448b22 πρὸς **B**Σ : καὶ Π
1448b35 ἀλλὰ **B** : ἀλλ' ὅτι Π : [Σ]
1448b36 τὸ … σχῆμα **B**Σ : τὰ … σχήματα Π
1449a9 δ' οὖν **B** : οὖν Π : [Σ]
1449a20 σατυρικοῦ **B** : σατυριακοῦ Π : [Σ]
1449b11 τῷ **B** : τὸ **A**Σ
1449b21 μὲν **B**Σ : om. Π
1449b28 παθημάτων **B**Σ : μαθημάτων Π
1452a24 οἷον **B** : ὥσπερ Π, Σ ut vid.
1452b4 εἰσι **B** : om. Π : [Σ]
1454b9 ἢ ἡμεῖς **B** : ἡμᾶς Π : ἢ ὡς Σ
1455a2 ἀπολόγῳ **B** : ἀπὸ λόγων **A**Σ : *apologon* Lat.
1455a27 ἀνῄει **B**Σ : ἂν εἴη **A** : *utique erat* (*erit* ci. Lobel) Lat.
1455a34 ἐκστατικοί **B** : ἐξεταστικοί Π : [Σ]
1455b28 ἢ εἰς ἀτυχίαν **B**Σ : om. Π
1456a23 καὶ² **B**Σ : om. Π
1456b26 ταῦτα **B** : om. ΠΣ
1458b8 ὂν **B**Σ : om. Π
1460a26 τούτου τὸ **B** : τοῦτο **A** : *huic* Lat.
1460b11 ἢ **B** : om. Π

[52] Cf. p. 67 *supra*.

1460b36–1461a1 εἰ ἔτυχεν ὥσπερ ξενοφάνει **B** : ἔτυχεν ὥσπερ ξενοφάνῃ Π
1461a19 τοῦ **B** : om. **A** : [Φ] : [Σ]
1461a34–35 ὡδὶ ἢ ὡδὶ ὡς **B** : ὡδὶ ἢ ὡς **A** : *sic aut sic* Lat. : ὡς Σ
1461b2 εἰρηκότος **B** : εἰρηκότες ΠΣ

It is clear, however, that the scribe of **B** was not very careful. Numerous omissions caused by homoioteleuton can be ascribed to him, and there are also many changes in the word order, and negligent orthographical mistakes, all of which are dealt with in the critical apparatus. Nevertheless, the readings of **B**, even when not accepted, deserve careful consideration, as they often provide useful information about what went wrong.

B is obviously not a MS transliterated from majuscule into minuscule; it ultimately goes back to Ξ, the hyparchetype of the Graeco-Latin tradition. (More about Ξ in the next section.) Thus we must postulate a transliterated MS between Ξ and **B**. Although we do not know how many MSS stand between Ξ and the transliteration that eventually gave rise to **B**, we may conjecture with good probability that there must have been one or more copies between Ξ and the transliterated MS, and at least one copy between the transliterated MS and **B**.

(e). The Hyparchetype of the Graeco-Latin Tradition: Ξ

There can be no question that one MS, which has been called Ξ, is the hyparchetype of the Graeco-Latin tradition; this is shown, as will be seen presently from the evidence, by a certain number of significant mistakes common to Π and to **B**. As it was explained above that Π was a MS written in majuscule, it follows that so was also Ξ. A few of the examples given below may be explained as errors which occurred in Π and **B** independently of one another, but several show that the mistakes in all probability go back to Ξ.

1448a36 Ἀθηναίους Σ : ἀθηναῖοι Ξ
1455b17 οὐ Σ : om. Ξ
1455b31 αὐτῶν αἰτίασις, λύσις δ' ἡ Σ : αὐτῶν δὴ Ξ
1456a28 ᾀδόμενα Σ : διδόμενα Ξ
1456a28 οὐδὲν Σ, ci. Vahlen : οὐ ci. Madius : om. Ξ
1456b23 συνθετὴ Σ : συνετὴ Ξ
1458a9 καὶ σ Σ : om. Ξ
1459b16 δὲ Σ ut vid., rec. : γὰρ Ξ
1460b34 Εὐριπίδην ci. Heinsius : εὐριπίδης Ξ
1460b36 οὕτω rec. : οὔτε Ξ

1461a1 οὖν ci. Tyrwhitt : οὔ Ξ
1461b1 ἔνιοι Σ, codex (?) Victorii : ἔνια Ξ
1462b9 ἃ rec. : om. Ξ

(f). The Syro-Arabic Tradition and the Greek MSS Used by the Translators and Correctors: Σ, Ψ, and **Σ**

Perhaps it is best to begin with a personal note on the Syro-Arabic tradition of the *Poetics*. I of course considered the work of Tkatsch I (1928) and II (1932), but I found it hard to get from him the readings of the Greek MS which is at the source of the Syro-Arabic translations. This difficulty, together with the reviews by Bergsträsser (1932) and by Plessner (1931) and (1936), two outstanding orientalists well trained also in the classical languages, led me to think about consulting a scholar with expertise on the subject. In January 2005, in Bochum, Gerhard Endress graciously discussed with me all the readings reported by Kassel in his edition and many other passages as well. It then became clear, since Endress would not be available for the prolonged work required, that I needed the cooperation of another orientalist. I am grateful to Dimitri Gutas for having undertaken this task. He has provided a detailed Introduction to the Syro-Arabic tradition of the *Poetics* and an apparatus of the readings that can be recovered from it, as well as a detailed commentary on many difficult passages. I have also found useful the articles by Schrier (1997), and (1998b), and by Hugonnard-Roche (2003).

For all the readings and other contributions made by the Syro-Arabic tradition the reader is referred to Chapter Two by Gutas and also to his critical apparatus with comments. What remains for me to do as an editor of the Greek text is to evaluate what contribution the Syro-Arabic translations make to its establishment. I limit my task to the following ones, which I will discuss in this order because the Arabic is the most complete of them all: it was made from the Syriac by Abu-Bishr Matta (d. 940) before 934. The Syriac translation from a Greek MS Σ, by an unknown translator, dates from the second half of the ninth century; it was later revised perhaps by Ishaq ibn-Hunayn (d. 910–911) and is what Abu-Bishr rendered into Arabic. As Gutas points out, this Arabic version is a complex document which underwent two revisions. It is now extant in *Parisinus Arabus* 2346 (itself derived from the first revision of Abu-Bishr's), which is our main source for recuperating the readings of Σ. In some instances we can recover the first version of Abu-Bishr's translation

also from Avicenna and from Averroes, who had access to it in a copy independent and more accurate than that of *Parisinus Arabus* 2346. Avicenna also had the second revision of Abu-Bishr's translation, which included some readings from an additional Greek MS Ψ and can thus be recovered from his text. Finally, there is a quotation of the definition of Tragedy (1449b24–1450a9) by Severus bar Shakko (d. 1241) in his *The Book of Dialogues*, a quotation which comes from the first Syriac translation.

It seems useful, however, to discuss here the preliminary question of objections raised against the use of the Syro-Arabic tradition as a means of recovering readings of the Greek MSS the translators used. The main objections are: (*a*) Syriac and Arabic are semitic languages with grammatical and syntactical characteristics quite different from those of ancient Greek, which belongs to the Indo-European branch; (*b*) For the most part, we are dealing with the Arabic translation, made from the Syriac, not from the Greek; (*c*) The Syro-Arabic translators were on the whole not acquainted with Greek poetry and in particular did not know what the Greek theater was; (*d*) The Syro-Arabic translators were not familiar with some Greek legal and other institutions, which would prevent them from a correct rendering of Aristotle's Greek. These objections cannot simply be dismissed but can be satisfactorily answered. There are some limits to the use of the Syro-Arabic tradition, but nevertheless we can recover many important Greek readings from it, even if one must admit that the Syro-Arabic translations are not unqualifiedly equivalent to Greek MSS.

The Syro-Arabic version is very valuable for establishing the Greek text of the *Poetics*. I limit myself to three passages, though there are many more: In the case of 1, 1447a28–b9, where the text of Π is unacceptable, it is clear that Σ did not have ἐποποιία in 1447a28, and that it had ἀνώνυμος in 1447b9.[53] In 18, 1455b31, where the text of Ξ is corrupt, Σ had ἡ αὐτῶν αἰτίασις, λύσις δ' ἡ for the ἡ αὐτῶν δή of Ξ.[54] Finally, in the case of 16, 1455a14–14^2, the text of Σ confirms that the two lines omitted by Π but extant in **B** are indeed genuine.[55] In this last case, if we did not have the evidence of Σ, some scholars would probably have denied that **B** here has preserved what Aristotle wrote.

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[53] Cf. the notes on 1447a28–b29 and on 1447b9, as well as pp. 58–60 and 63–64 *supra*.
[54] Cf. the note on 1455b29–32.
[55] Cf. the note on 1455a14–16.

To objection (*a*) the answer is that it has been shown more than once that the Syriac and Arabic translators of Aristotle's philosophical works tried to give a very literal rendering of his Greek.[56] They did so even in many cases where their word order and/or sentence structure was different from the Greek. They may have made mistakes, but they did not invent. Thus, as in many cases their Greek exemplars were free from some of the corruptions found in our Byzantine MSS and sometimes contained a text closer to the archetype or even to the author, they transmit correct readings: this is apparent, for example, in the case of 1, 1447a28–b9 mentioned above. On the other hand, the translators' expertise in Aristotle's philosophy, but lack of acquaintance with Greek poetry, leads them from time to time to an elementary mistake: a conspicuous example is 9, 1451b21, where οἷον ἐν τῷ Ἀγάθωνος Ἀνθεῖ (ΟΙΟΝΕΝΤΩΑΓΑΘΩΝΟCΑΝΘΕΙ) was read as οἷον ἓν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ὃς ἂν θῇ. Thus, while one must be fully aware of these distinctions, the Syro-Arabic translations cannot be dismissed.

As for objection (*b*), we may say that in general Arabic translations are a literal rendering of the Syriac ones, the two languages being very close to one another. Moreover, the scholar who studies, and makes use of, the Arabic translation must constantly consider whether or not the Arabic accurately renders the reconstructed Syriac original. Gutas always refers the readers to difficulties whenever they arise. For example, in the case of 1, 1447b9 the ambiguity in the Arabic between ἀνώνυμος and ἀνώνυμοι is peculiar to it but did not appear in the Syriac original.[57]

Objections (*c*) and (*d*) may be discussed together. It goes without saying that the orientalist and the hellenist must always take into account that the Syriac and Arabic translators were not acquainted with Greek poetry and with Greek institutions. Nevertheless, as Gutas points out at the end of Chapter Two, Section 5, this seeming disadvantage is actually of benefit to the philologist because it led the Syro-Arabic translators to slavishly literal translation which accurately reveals the underlying Greek text; as a result, in a great variety of cases the Syro-Arabic tradition contributes substantial readings which are essential for reconstructing the Greek archetype of the *Poetics*.

While I refer the reader to Gutas' Chapter Two for the evidence and discussion of the oriental tradition, some remarks are in order. The most substantial and extensive contribution is Abu-Bishr Matta's Arabic trans-

[56] As Gutas points out in his Introduction.
[57] Cf. note *ad loc.* with the reference to Gutas.

lation, made from the revised Syriac one. Not the original, but a revised version of Matta's translation is preserved mostly in *Parisinus Arabus* 2346 and in part by Avicenna and by Averroes. This MS, written in oriental paper, has suffered a damage similar to that described above in the case of **B**. Its text is not complete: it does not contain 1460a17–1461a7 ἡδὺ … πρὸς and it ends at 1462b5, γίνονται being the last word. (We can recover a few of its readings from Avicenna's paraphrase.) The first lacuna is due to the loss of a folio in the exemplar from which *Parisinus Arabus* was copied; in the second case the loss happened in *Parisinus* itself. Leaving aside the question of revisions (for which cf. Chapter Two), the Greek readings we can recover from this translation go back, through the Syriac, to a Greek MS, Σ, which must have been written in majuscules in *scriptio continua*, without accents, breathings, and systematic punctuation, as I believe is made clear by the following facts: The translator into a different language of a Greek MS written in majuscule letters is obliged to do *mentally* almost the same work as a Greek scribe who is transliterating from majuscule to calligraphic minuscule writing. Many instances show that the Syriac translator made mistakes in scanning the sentences, dividing letters into words, etc. A clear example is 9, 1451b21 mentioned above. Had the Syriac translator had a Byzantine minuscule MS, he could not have made so many mistakes of this kind. A Greek scribe in transliterating from majuscule may commit some errors but not, I believe, so many and of such a kind.

The three examples given above show that Σ is a primary witness to the text. I offer a few additional instances in which it is the only primary witness to preserve the correct reading:

1447a26 ἡ Σ : οἱ Π
1447b16 φυσικόν Σ : μουσικόν Π
1448a36 ᾿Αθηναίους Σ : ᾿Αθηναῖοι Ξ
1449b6 Σ did not have ἐπίχαρμος καὶ φόρμις as Ξ did
1454b2 ἀνάπλουν Σ : ἁπλοῦν Ξ
1454b37 τρίτη δὲ ἡ Σ : ἤτοι τῇ **AB** : *aut* Lat.
1458a14 σύνθετα Σ : ταῦτα **AB** : ταὐτά Φ

The revised version of Matta's translation was available both to Avicenna and to Averroes, probably in a more accurate version than the one extant in *Parisinus Arabus* 2346.[58]

[58] For example, while in 1447a12 *Parisinus Arabus* 2346 omits κατὰ φύσιν, Averroes has preserved these words.

The second revision of Matta's translation (possibly by Yahya ibn-Adi) was made on the basis of the revised Syriac translation, which perhaps had itself incorporated the readings of an additional Greek MS, which Gutas calls Ψ. This second revision is not extant, but we can recover some readings of Ψ from the paraphrase of the *Poetics* by Avicenna (d. 1037), which was the ninth part of the section on Logic in his philosophical summa *The Cure*. Avicenna had available the text of Matta's translation in its first revision and also in its second: he himself refers to the two versions in his text on 1449a21–22, by calling one of them "accurate." There are in any case in Avicenna several readings that must come from a Greek MS that was not Σ, but a different one (Ψ), cf. Gutas' discussion in Chapter Two and his comments on 1451b33, 1453a19, and 1456b38–1457a10. He conjectures with good probability that this MS, though different from Σ, goes back like the latter to Σ, the hyparchetype of the Syro-Arabic tradition. Yet even if this were not the case, it would not affect the inference that our four sources for the text of the *Poetics* go back to the archetype Ω, for we are able to recover very few readings from Ψ and they do not permit us to evaluate its status as an independent witness. In some cases, the correction found in Ψ brings it into agreement with Ξ (cf. 9, 1451b33).

Finally we come to the Syriac quotation of the definition of Tragedy in 1449b24–1450a9 (ἔστιν … τραγῳδία) by Severus bar Shakko (d. 1241) in his work *The Book of Dialogues*. Gutas discusses the problematic aspects of this translation. All the readings that can be ascertained I have listed in the critical apparatus under the *siglum* Σ^q.

Barhebraeus (d. 1286) also made use of the Syriac translation of the *Poetics* in his work *Cream of Wisdom*. According to Gutas, his account of the *Poetics* is greatly indebted to Avicenna's paraphrase, though in some parts it is also influenced by other sources. Gutas shares Margoliouth's and Tkatsch's skepticism as to the possibility of obtaining additional Greek readings from Barhebraeus' work.

(g). The Archetype Ω

Our four primary sources, **A**, **B**, **Φ**, and Σ go back to a common archetype which I call Ω. This is shown by a number of common significant mistakes, of which I here list the following:

1449b9 μὲν τοῦ ci. Tyrwhitt : μόνου Ω
1450a29–30 λέξει καὶ διανοίᾳ ci. Vahlen : λέξεις καὶ διανοίας Ω

1450b12 τῶν μὲν λόγων (Σ had this or τῶν λόγων) : I have excised these words; but even if one considers them to be corrupt, as Kassel does, or one emends them to τῶν ἐν λόγῳ, as Bywater proposed, they are testimony to a common significant mistake.
1452a3 καὶ μᾶλλον Ω : del. Ellebodius, Spengel.
1452b25 ⟨ὡς εἴδεσι⟩ rec. (cf. 1452b14) : om. Ω
1454a19 τινα ⟨ἤ τις ἂν⟩ ᾖ ci. Vahlen : τινα ᾖ Ω; here too, even if one does not accept Vahlen's conjecture, the text of Ω is impossible.
1454b14 παράδειγμα σκληρότητος secl. Ritter : hab. Ω
1456b8 ᾖ δέοι ci. Vahlen : ἠδέα **ΑΒΣ** : *idea* Lat. Here Ω was corrupt, since Lat.'s reading, if we take into account iotacism, ultimately presupposes ΗΔΕΑ, jus as **ΑΒΣ** do.
1457b33 ⟨**⟩ lac. ci. Madius : the explanation of κόσμος is missing. This most probably goes back to Ω.
1458a29 μεταφορῶν ci. Bywater : μεταφορὰν Ω
1460a13 ἄλογον ci. Victorius : ἀνάλογον Ω
1461a16 πάντες ci. Graefenhan : ἄλλοι Ω. Cf. note on 1461a16–17.

Clearly, then, the archetype contained mistakes and interpolations.

(h). Parisinus Graecus 2038 and Other Recentiores

To this fifteenth century MS (not sixteenth, as Kassel says), written by Andronicos Callistos, I have referred on three occasions in Chapter One: first, as being copied directly from a no longer extant MS ζ, itself derived from a no longer extant MS ε which was a copy of *Estensis* α. T. 8. 3 (*olim* 100) (Lobel), or perhaps corrected more than once from **B** by Andronicos himself;[59] then I mentioned it twice in its relation to the Aldine text.[60] I have also argued against M. Centanni's attempt to elevate the status of this MS and her "rehabilitation" of the Aldine text of 1508. Of course it is likely that Andronicos also took some readings from other Greek MSS in addition to making his own conjectures.

There remains to emphasize that *Parisinus* 2038 is not a primary witness to the text of the *Poetics*; this is shown even by the fact that its very text exhibits parts of the **A** tradition and of that of **B**. This is why I have not assigned it a *siglum*. It is useful because Andronicos Callistos probably had access either to **A** or to a close copy of **A** (as some of his corrections of **A** readings show) and also incorporated

[59] Cf. pp. 43–44 *supra*.
[60] Cf. pp. 43–45 and especially pp. 75–76.

into it readings from **B**. It is clear that he did not systematically collate **B** because, for example, he does not have the reading ἐκστατικοί in 1455a34 nor did he realize that two lines are omitted at 1455a14–14[2] (τὸ τόξον … τὸ τόξον) by **A** and by all other extant MSS derived from **A** known to us. (In some cases Andronicos' readings are really very poor conjectures, which the Aldine editors printed.) We may infer then that Andronicos incorporated his own and probably other scholars' conjectures. He undoubtedly also accepted readings from other MSS; yet in this respect we can assert with a certain degree of confidence that these also were mostly conjectures, often easy corrections inferred from the context or from a general knowledge of Greek literature. The fact that some of these readings also appear in the Syro-Arabic tradition should not lead us, as it did Gudeman and others, to the assumption that they come from primary sources. In fact, most of them are probably nothing but palmary conjectures. Here are two examples:

In 1454b2 Ξ has ἁπλοῦν, some *recentiores* read ἀπόπλουν, while *Parisinus* 2038 and Σ have ἀνάπλουν. Given the context, however, it is clear that the reading of Ξ is impossible, and that in this MS the beginning of the word has been lost. Two choices remain: ἀνάπλουν or ἀπόπλουν. Andronicos probably saw that ἀν- was lost by homoioteleuton, while some *recentiores* chose ἀπόπλουν. The fact that both Σ and *Parisinus* 2038 have ἀνάπλουν is a coincidence and does not mean that Callistos had access to an important MS that was the main source of his corrected readings when they differ from those of **B**.

The second example comes from 1454b37. Here Σ has τρίτη δὲ ἡ, while the text of Ξ was obviously corrupt, since **A** and **B** have ἤτοι τῇ and Lat., *aut*. *Parisinus* 2038 has τρίτη ἡ, and Spengel conjectured ἡ τρίτη. Given the corrupt reading of **A**, **B**, and Lat., the restoration to some form of "third" is obvious once we realize that the context deals with different types of "recognitions": 1454b20 reads πρώτη μὲν ἡ ἀτεχνοτάτη, 1454b30–31 δεύτεραι δὲ αἱ πεποιημέναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ, and here we must have τρίτη δὲ ἡ, as Σ does. In *Parisinus* 2038, then, τρίτη ἡ is a conjecture, whoever its ultimate author might be.

Finally, *Parisinus* 2038 also has notes and readings in the hand of Janus Lascaris, who once owned it and then sold it to cardinal Ridolfi.[61] (It eventually came to the Bibliothèque Nationale, just as *Parisinus Graecus*

[61] Cf. Omont (1891), p. xv and n. 3.

1741 and many other MSS.) Lascaris played an important role as advisor to Aldus for his *Rhetorici Graeci* of 1508–1509, and hence also for the text of the *Poetics*.[62]

For its importance as a source of significant emendations I have differentiated the readings which come from *Parisinus* 2038 from the fewer ones of several other *recentiores*. In this I differ from Kassel. Of course, what has been said about conjectures in *Parisinus* 2038 also applies to other *recentiores*.

(i). Lost or Unknown MSS of the Poetics

Lobel[63] mentions some MSS either lost or still unknown to us, and refers to an *Aristotelis poetica in quarta forma*[64] once owned by Francisco de Mendoza y Bobadilla. Of more importance to us is the Ἀριστοτέλους περὶ ποιητικῆς καί τινα συγγράμματα τοῦ Θεοφράστου π(εργαμένον), which K.K. Müller conjectures was catalogued by Janus Lascaris about 1490 among the MSS belonging to Lorenzo de' Medici. However, P. de Nolhac rightly considers that this list contains a catalogue of books that belonged to Lascaris.[65] Lobel suggests that this MS may have been a part of *Parisinus* 1741 (= **A**); it could be so, because we know (cf. section (*a*) of this chapter) that *Parisinus Graecus* 1741 was still unbound. In any case, it is possible, but not more than that, for this to be the parchment MS accessible to Robortello, the third Greek MS of the *Poetics* that he consulted. Yet his work was published in 1548, and he identifies as belonging to the Medicean library two other MSS he used and which were not in parchment. If one accepts de Nolhac's contention that the list in Müller was of books belonging to Lascaris, there is no reason to think that the Medicean library ever owned a parchment codex of the *Poetics*. In short, either the MS Lascaris saw was part of **A** or it was a different parchment MS unknown to us.

Lobel also mentions the "extremely ancient codex" which Victorius saw in the library of Cardinal Ridolfi (but this was almost certainly **A**);[66] as well as a number of MSS Madius refers to as belonging to

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62 Cf. Sicherl (1992), and p. 76 *supra*.

63 Cf. Lobel (1933), pp. 2–3.

64 Cf. Graux (1880), p. 423.

65 Cf. Nolhac (1886), p. 251, n. 1 and Speranzi (2005), p. 467, n. 1; Müller (1884), p. 373. Cf. Lobel (1933), pp. 2 and esp. 7.

66 On **A** in Ridolfi's library cf. p. 132 *supra*. Cf. also Chapter One, section 5).

Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, to Benedetto Lampridio, and to Bernardo Feliciano, and of which both Madius and Lombardi cite some readings which, however, are of no importance whatever.

I take issue with Lobel when he says:

> Apart from such external evidence, technical considerations based on the internal evidence of the MSS. we possess in at least half a dozen places seem to necessitate the inference of a member or members of the stemma not yet discovered and perhaps no longer surviving.

There is no evidence to support Lobel's inference. *Parisinus Graecus* 2038 and several other *recentiores* have indeed preserved good readings; yet the great majority of them, if not all, are the kind of conjectures that fifteenth and sixteenth century Greek and Italian scholars were quite capable of making, either from the context or from their knowledge of Greek poetry. There is no evidence of important and significant readings that would require us to postulate the disappearance of an additional primary witness to the text. Short of the discovery of such a MS, our primary witnesses remain those discussed above. Even supposing the disappearance of one or two important MSS, which may have been the sources for some of the readings of the *recentiores*, it would not seriously affect our inferences about the archetype Ω: as was explained above,[67] Greek and Italian fifteenth and sixteenth century scholars did not systematically collate MSS. If one (or more) of the supposedly lost Greek MSS was a primary witness to the text, of course we would regret its loss, just as we regret the relative scarcity of Greek primary witnesses to the *Poetics* and to other works as well. Thus, even if some of the correct readings of the Greek extant fifteenth and sixteenth century MSS originated in one or more important lost MS, this still does not justify Lobel's contention that the readings of the *recentiores* go back in several key passages to one or more primary MSS; for most of these improved readings are or may be nothing but conjectures.

(j). The Edition of the Poetics *by Rudolph Kassel*

I have already said[68] that Kassel's edition is at present the only one to be taken into account, for he based his text on the main four primary

[67] Cf. pp. 43 ff. *supra*.
[68] Cf. pp. 4–6 *supra*.

witnesses, **A**, **B**, Lat., and Σ. Gallavotti's,[69] though published later, does not compete with it.

Kassel's edition is the only one so far that can be used as a basis for scholarly study of the *Poetics*. He is an outstanding philologist, and I hereby express my gratitude to him for all I have learned from it and from his articles. Yet I must state my reservations as to whether his edition is sufficiently informative and reliable for scholars engaged in serious study of this very difficult text. As will be explained in the next section, the *Poetics* is not as well transmitted as most other authentic works of Aristotle; for that reason an editor must offer the fullest possible information about the evidence provided by our primary witnesses, something I believe Kassel has not done. In part this is because, as he himself says, his is not an *editio maior* but one published in the *Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis*, where there is room only for a short introduction and a reduced critical apparatus. Nevertheless, even within these limits, more information could have been given.

Let us begin with the Introduction. Kassel accepts from his predecessors that the four primary witnesses to the text are **A**, **B**, the Latin translation by Moerbeke, and the Arabic translation which ultimately goes back to Σ. While this is true, proof has not been offered; even within the limits of a short preface he could have briefly presented some evidence for the contribution each of these sources makes to the text, as well as the evidence on which is based the reconstruction of the non extant MSS Φ, Π, Ξ, and Σ.

Kassel's reports could have been more complete and accurate. He clearly admires clever emendations and includes many even in passages where he accepts the transmitted text; yet that space would have been better used by giving fuller reports of the primary witnesses. He also seems to admit the validity of the type of work done by De Montmollin and Else, and he mentions some of their proposals.[70] Moreover, when four primary witnesses to the text exist, an editor should evaluate the contribution of each, case by case, and not privilege the evidence of one MS; yet it seems that Kassel would still place greater confidence in **A**

[69] Gallavotti's edition is not even based on an accurate knowledge of the four primary witnesses, and is rather arbitrary in its choice of readings. Cf., e.g., my comments on ἕκαστον (in the note on 1447a8–13) and the note on 1448b29. It is regrettable also that instead of adopting the *sigla* suggested by Minio-Paluello, as Kassel and most critics have done, he insists in using the one he had himself devised.

[70] Cf. Kassel, pp. xiii–xiv. I have discussed De Montmollin's and Else's methods in Chapter One, 7).

than in any of the other three witnesses, as we infer from the fact that his reports of **A**'s readings are more detailed and abundant than those of the three other sources.

As explained above, **B** is damaged and in numerous cases we cannot recover its readings. While it is true that Kassel's reports are the most complete and accurate so far, there are nevertheless gaps in the information he provides. Only occasionally does he report on the status of **B**, which causes the reader to infer that **A** and **B** have the same reading when in fact we only have that of **A**. Even in one or two of the few occasions when Kassel does report the readings of **B** which are no longer available to us, he is inaccurate. For example, on 4, 1448b30 he prints: ἐν οἷς Π : ἑνὸς **B**. Kassel collated **B** from the ca. 1930 Bodleian photostats, and his student B. Wosnik collated the MS by autopsy in Florence. Yet the Bodleian photostats and the Riccardiana ones, as well as my own collation by autopsy, show that there is in the MS a hole which has been repaired. The hole affects the last two syllables of the preceding word, τοιαῦτα, and continues for a space of three letters, though above the line, at the end, we can read ⟨ὸ. This may be the ending νὸς, but there seems to be too much space for the single letter ἑ.[71] A second example occurs at 1448b7, where Kassel reports that **B** omitted ἐστι. However, **B** really has for μιμητικώτατόν ἐστι, μιμητικ followed by an empty space of ca. 7 to

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[71] Else (1966), p. 764, in his review of Kassel's edition, points out that the lacuna is longer than Kassel reports. However, he is mistaken on two counts: 1) though the supralinear writing is by a different hand, *pace* Else, it is not ὃ that is written above the line but ὸ, and preceding it there is an additional symbol. 2) Nor could it be the case, as Else suggests, that ἑνὸς in 1449a16 was seen through the hole. This for two reasons: first, the hole had been repaired and filled with material, as can be seen even in the Bodleian photostat; second, if the hole had not been covered, through it one would be looking, not at *Poetics* 1449a16 but at fol. 90^{v}, i.e. at the *Eth. Nic.* For all that, some but not all of Else's corrections of Kassel's collations are right.

There are two other long reviews of Kassel on which I should briefly comment. The first by Petruševski (1966). It does not contribute to the text, which is not strange, for he seems to have peculiar views about the relation of MSS. Thus he believes that Kassel has not seen the relationship of **B** to Σ and proposes that these two MSS go back to Ξ, which is independent of Π. But it is only significant mistakes, not coincidence in correct readings, what permits us to classify MSS.

The review by Newiger (1973) is extensive, but he has no knowledge of the MSS independently of Kassel's edition. He agrees with some of Kassel's choices and disagrees with others. For example, he agrees with Kassel's reading ἀνώνυμοι in 1447b9 and therefore also with Lobel's proposal to change ἢ in 1447a29 into καὶ ἡ; also with Kassel's proposal, in his critical apparatus, to change the λεγόμενοι of 1449b3 to γενόμενοι, etc. In short, the review is learned but does not advance our knowledge of the text of the *Poetics*.

8 letters because the ink has disappeared. Hence, we cannot tell whether or not **B** omitted ἐστι. In general, Kassel does not report the numerous places where the readings of **B** cannot be made out.

Concerning *Parisinus Graecus* 2038, Kassel refers to Lobel (1933), pp. 27–31 for its dependence from **B**. He seems to believe that even for the passage 1447a8–1448a28, which is now missing in **B**, a few good readings in *Parisinus* 2038 come from **B**. Yet Lobel does not say that: what he does is to present evidence that the scribe of *Parisinus* 2038 (who, *pace* Lobel, was really Andronicos Callistos) used the extant part of **B**, but Lobel does not conjecture that the missing part of the *Poetics* in **B** was also accessible to this scribe. In fact, we do not know when the three quires now missing in **B** were lost. Unfortunately, after 1448a29 Kassel assigns to *recentior(es)* all the readings of *Parisinus Graecus* 2038.

In general, the reader interested in seeing the differences between my reports and those of Kassel should of course compare our editions.[72] Apart from what was said above about **B**, there are significant differences in our reports of **A**, Φ, Lat., and Σ. Of the two latter sources Kassel has not made full use, though not for the same reasons. For Lat. itself and as a source of Φ, the 1953 edition, which he used, was sufficiently complete. For Ar. and Σ he used the edition of Tkatsch. Being aware, thanks to Bergsträsser's review, of its shortcomings, Kassel says that he consulted Richard Walzer,[73] yet even Tkatsch could have furnished more information than Kassel has reported. Moreover, he is not aware of the additional readings supplied by Ψ.[74]

Finally, our two editions differ in the text printed, including its punctuation. In some instances an Aristotelian scholar would find it difficult to accept Kassel's readings. An example is his ἀνώνυμοι in 1447b9: even apart from its absence from the Syriac translation, it would ruin Aristotle's argument to the effect that the plot, and not the meter, is the essential element of poetry.[75] Also, Kassel excises 6, 1450a17–20. I believe that with the text of **B** in line 17 the passage is sound; yet even if it were corrupt in one or two places, only Aristotle could have written these lines.

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[72] I call attention e.g. to my critical apparatus on 1452a31, 1454a34–36, 1454b21 and 25, 1456a31, and 1457a6.

[73] Cf. Kassel, pp. x–xi.

[74] Cf. pp. 145 and 148 *supra*.

[75] Cf. the note *ad loc.* and note on 1447a28–b29.

(k). The Text of the Poetics *and the Present Edition*

The *Poetics* has not been as well transmitted as many other Aristotelian works, as can be seen even in the greater number of emendations an editor must adopt. There are several related reasons for this difference. There is no extant ancient commentary on the *Poetics*, nor any evidence that there ever was one in ancient or early Byzantine times. A commentary helps to preserve the genuine text in its discussions, while lemmata are also important, if less so: ancient readers often modified them in order to bring them into agreement with their own copies of the work in question; in so doing, they contaminated the tradition but at the same time preserved ancient variants. The lack of the above shows that there was in ancient times no great interest in the *Poetics*, especially so among Aristotelian scholars.[76] This accounts for the fact that our text was not copied as often as other Aristotelian treatises, and so the Greek tradition has provided us with only two primary witnesses, one of which (**B**) is not even complete and is seriously damaged.

The solution to these problems is to produce an *editio maior* where the critical apparatus clearly presents in the case of each variant the evidence from every primary witness. Only such an edition can provide the necessary basis for the critical and scholarly study of the *Poetics*, leading to reliable results.

I have therefore tried in this book to provide full reports of the primary sources. In the cases of Φ and Σ, for different reasons, they could not always be positively complete. Hence, to eliminate doubt or ambiguity, when a reconstructed MS goes back to the Latin or Arabic translation and cannot contribute to the variant in question, I have used square brackets to enclose the source in question, e.g. [Φ] or [Σ].

Given the many years elapsed between the renewed interest in the *Poetics* in the Italian Renaissance and the discovery of the four main sources for the text in the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century, whenever a scholar had anticipated by conjecture the reading of one of the four primary witnesses, I have mentioned his name after the primary source for the recovered reading, preceded by the abbreviation ci. for *coniecit*. In this way it is clear to the reader that the emendation was made before the discovery of the primary reading. For the sake of uniformity I have done the same for all other emendations, including the

[76] Cf. Chapter One, sections 2) and 3).

cases where a modern conjecture coincides with a reading of *Parisinus* 2038 or of other *recentiores* and there is reason to believe that the emendation was made without knowledge of a MS source. This does not imply that there is any difference between the conjecture in a MS source and that of the more recent scholar. Naturally, I have given the emendator's name in cases where I have adopted his reading. Other than that, I have seldom mentioned emendations in the critical apparatus, although I have done so in the *Notes to the Text* as part of my defense of the transmitted text.

In the following genealogical tree, I have simplified the Syro-Arabic tradition to the sources that contribute readings of the two Greek MSS behind them. For full details about the Syro-Arabic tradition the reader is referred to Chapter Two by Gutas and to his genealogical tree.

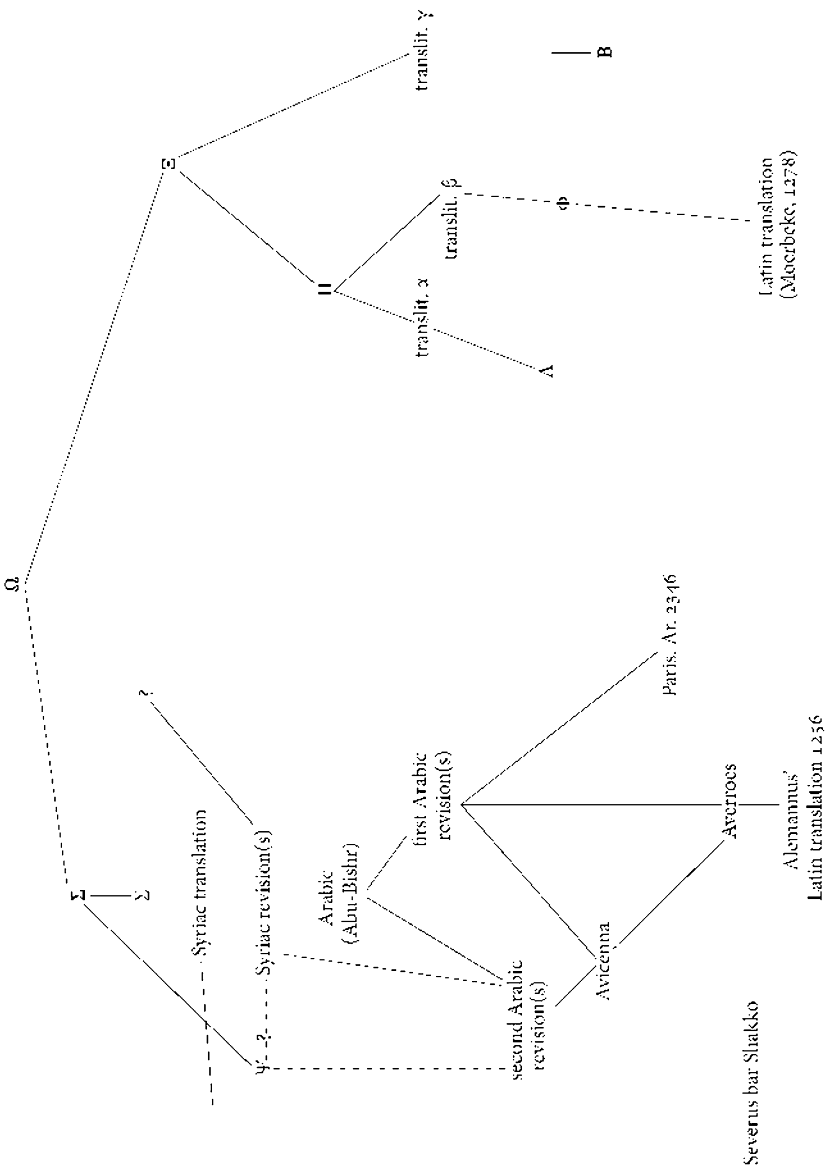
In the critical apparatus, only the Latin readings of Moerbeke's translation are in italics; and no bold face is used there for **A** and **B**. When after the primary witnesses I mention *Parisinus* 2038 or *recentior(es)*, it means merely that the reading in question was conjectured by a Greek or Italian scholar in the fifteenth or sixteenth century. As I said above, in the case of Φ and Σ, when their readings do not contribute to the variant in question, the sigla are printed within square brackets. In the critical apparatus, when a reading is given to the left of the symbol], it means that this is the reading of all our sources, excepting the reading or readings that are to the right of the symbol.

The two extant MSS are not entirely consistent in reporting *iota mutum*. **A** more often reports it, but not systematically; **B** seldom does. In the case of final ν or ν ἐφελκυστικόν I have not aimed for consistency. Most trivial errors of spelling have been ignored, unless they help to explain a mistake in one or more of our four sources. I have done my best to ascribe emendations to their first proponent, and I hope most of my ascriptions are right. I have myself made two proposals, which I trust had not been made before.

The *Poetics* has not been as well transmitted as almost any other work of Aristotle; nevertheless it has been possible to reconstruct from our four primary sources and from the conjectures of many scholars through the centuries, a text which I believe to be close to what Aristotle wrote. Certainly, we are able to disengage from it Aristotle's theory of Epic and Tragedy and even to understand most of the poetic examples he offers. As with any other Greek classical text, a few uncertainties remain on some individual points; but they do not prevent us from achieving persuasive solutions to the most serious problems. The task of

understanding Aristotle's theory in the *Poetics* must start from the text and take into account that Aristotle is looking at poetry and in particular at Epic and Drama from the point of view of his own philosophy.

STEMMA CODICUM



SIGLA

A	Parisinus Graecus 1741, ca. middle of X cent.
A^{c}	idem after correction
A^{2}, **A**^{3}	later hands in A
B	Riccardianus 46, ca. middle of XII cent.
B^{c}	idem after correction
B^{2}	later hands in B
Lat.	Latin translation by William of Moerbeke, finished March 1, 1278 (extant in two MSS: O = *Etonensis* 129 ca. 1300, and T = *Toletanus*, bibl. Capit. 47.10 ca. 1280)
Φ	Greek minuscule MS from which Moerbeke translated
Π	**A** + Φ
Ξ	Π + **B**
Paris. 2038	Parisinus Graecus 2038, XV cent.
rec.	recentior or recentiores
Paris. Arab. 2346	Parisinus Arabus 2346, first half of XI cent.
Ar.	the tradition of the Arabic translation from the Syriac by Abu-Bishr Matta, done before 934
Syr.	anonymous Syriac translation, probably finished in the latter half of IX cent., perhaps later revised by Ishaq ibn-Hunayn
Σ	Greek majuscule MS from which the Syriac translation, upon which the Arabic translation is based, was made
Σ^{q}	readings of Σ recovered from the quotation of 1449b24–1450a10 by Severus bar Shakko in his *The Book of Dialogues*, which he took from the original Syriac translation
Ψ	Greek MS inferred from the paraphrase of the *Poetics* by Avicenna
Avic.	Avicenna
Aver.	Averroes
Ω	Archetype
[Σ] and/or [Φ]	no information on the variant in question can be obtained from the MS mentioned

ARISTOTLE
POETICS

Ἀριστοτέλους Περὶ Ποιητικῆς

Περὶ ποιητικῆς αὐτῆς τε καὶ τῶν εἰδῶν αὐτῆς, ἥν τινα 1447a8
δύναμιν ἕκαστον ἔχει, καὶ πῶς δεῖ συνίστασθαι τοὺς μύθους εἰ μέλλει καλῶς ἕξειν ἡ ποίησις, ἔτι δὲ ἐκ πόσων καὶ ποίων ἐστὶ μορίων, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστι μεθόδου, λέγωμεν ἀρξάμενοι κατὰ φύσιν πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων. ἐποποιία δὴ καὶ ἡ τῆς τραγῳδίας ποίησις ἔτι δὲ κωμῳδία καὶ ἡ διθυραμβοποιητικὴ καὶ τῆς αὐλητικῆς ἡ πλείστη καὶ κιθαριστικῆς πᾶσαι τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι μιμήσεις τὸ σύνολον· διαφέρουσι δὲ ἀλλήλων τρισίν, ἢ γὰρ τῷ ἐν ἑτέροις μιμεῖσθαι ἢ τῷ ἕτερα ἢ τῷ ἑτέρως καὶ μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον. ὥσπερ γὰρ καὶ χρώμασι καὶ σχήμασι πολλὰ μιμοῦνταί τινες ἀπεικάζοντες (οἱ μὲν διὰ τέχνης οἱ δὲ διὰ συνηθείας), ἕτεροι δὲ διὰ τῆς φωνῆς, οὕτω κἀν ταῖς εἰρημέναις τέχναις ἅπασαι μὲν ποιοῦνται τὴν μίμησιν ἐν ῥυθμῷ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἁρμονίᾳ, τούτοις δ’ ἢ χωρὶς ἢ μεμιγμένοις· οἷον ἁρμονίᾳ μὲν καὶ ῥυθμῷ χρώμεναι μόνον ἥ τε αὐλητικὴ καὶ ἡ κιθαριστικὴ κἂν εἴ τινες ἕτεραι τυγχάνωσιν οὖσαι τοιαῦται τὴν δύναμιν, οἷον ἡ τῶν συρίγγων, αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ ῥυθμῷ [μιμοῦνται] χωρὶς ἁρμονίας ἡ τῶν ὀρχηστῶν (καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι διὰ τῶν σχηματιζομένων ῥυθμῶν

1447a8–1448a28–29 (… καλεῖσθαι) : codices A, Lat., Φ, Π (= A + Φ), Ar., Σ.

Titulus et subscriptiones codicum: cf. ad loc. **1447a9** ἕκαστον ΑΣ : non vert. Lat. 10 μέλλει] *debeat* Lat. 12 μεθόδου] = Σ λέγωμεν Φ : λέγομεν ΑΣ κατὰ φύσιν Π, Σ apud Aver. : om. Paris. Ar. 2346 17 ἐν ci. Forchhammer, Σ ut vid. : γένει Π 19 τινες] *quosdam* Lat. 21 κἀν Paris. 2038 : καὶ Π, Σ ut vid. ἅπασαι] *omnibus* Lat. 24 μόνον] *solo* Lat. 25 τυγχάνωσιν Π : τυγχάνουσιν rec. : [Σ] οὖσαι τοιαῦται Σ, Paris. 2038 : *habentes talem* Lat. : οὖσαι A 26 μιμοῦνται Π : μιμεῖται Paris. 2038 : del. Spengel : non habet nisi χρῆται add. Σ ἡ Σ, Paris. 2038 : οἱ Π 27 τῶν ὀρχηστῶν] *saltatricum* Lat.

μιμοῦνται καὶ ἤθη καὶ πάθη καὶ πράξεις)· ἡ δὲ [ἐποποιία] μόνον τοῖς λόγοις ψιλοῖς ἢ τοῖς μέτροις καὶ τούτοις εἴτε
1447b8 μιγνῦσα μετ᾽ ἀλλήλων εἴθ᾽ ἑνί τινι γένει χρωμένη τῶν μέτρων ἀνώνυμος τυγχάνει οὖσα μέχρι τοῦ νῦν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν ἔχοιμεν ὀνομάσαι κοινὸν τοὺς Σώφρονος καὶ Ξενάρχου μίμους καὶ τοὺς Σωκρατικοὺς λόγους οὐδὲ εἴ τις διὰ τριμέτρων ἢ ἐλεγείων ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τινῶν τῶν τοιούτων ποιοῖτο τὴν μίμησιν, πλὴν οἱ ἄνθρωποί γε συνάπτοντες τῷ μέτρῳ τὸ ποιεῖν ἐλεγειοποιοὺς τοὺς δὲ ἐποποιοὺς ὀνομάζουσιν, οὐχ ὡς κατὰ τὴν μίμησιν ποιητὰς ἀλλὰ κοινῇ κατὰ τὸ μέτρον προσαγορεύοντες· καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἰατρικὸν ἢ φυσικόν τι διὰ τῶν μέτρων ἐκφέρωσιν, οὕτω καλεῖν εἰώθασιν· οὐδὲν δὲ κοινόν ἐστιν Ὁμήρῳ καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλεῖ πλὴν τὸ μέτρον, διὸ τὸν μὲν ποιητὴν δίκαιον καλεῖν, τὸν δὲ φυσιολόγον μᾶλλον ἢ ποιητήν· ὁμοίως δὲ κἂν εἴ τις ἅπαντα τὰ μέτρα μιγνύων ποιοῖτο τὴν μίμησιν καθάπερ Χαιρήμων ἐποίησε Κένταυρον μικτὴν ῥαψῳδίαν ἐξ ἁπάντων τῶν μέτρων, καὶ ποιητὴν προσαγορευτέον. περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων διωρίσθω τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. εἰσὶ δέ τινες αἳ πᾶσι χρῶνται τοῖς εἰρημένοις, λέγω δὲ οἷον ῥυθμῷ καὶ μέλει καὶ μέτρῳ, ὥσπερ ἥ τε τῶν διθυραμβικῶν ποίησις καὶ ἡ τῶν νόμων καὶ ἥ τε τραγῳδία καὶ ἡ κωμῳδία· διαφέρουσι δὲ ὅτι αἱ μὲν ἅμα πᾶσιν αἱ δὲ κατὰ μέρος. ταύτας μὲν οὖν λέγω τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν τεχνῶν ἐν οἷς ποιοῦνται τὴν μίμησιν.

1448a1 Ἐπεὶ δὲ μιμοῦνται οἱ μιμούμενοι πράττοντας, ἀνάγκη 2
δὲ τούτους ἢ σπουδαίους ἢ φαύλους εἶναι (τὰ γὰρ ἤθη σχεδὸν

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28 ἐποποιία Π : del. Ueberweg : non habet Σ 29 μόνον Π : μᾶλλον Σ ἢ ΠΣ : ⟨ καὶ ⟩ ἢ ci. Lobel, Kassel **1447b9** ἀνώνυμος Σ, et ci. Bernays : om. Π : de Ar. cf. n. ad loc. τυγχάνει οὖσα ci. Suckow : τυγχάνουσα A, Σ ut vid. : *existens* Lat. 9–10 ἂν ἔχοιμεν] *habemus* Lat. 15 κατὰ τὴν rec. : τὴν κατὰ ΑΣ : [Φ] κοινῇ Φ : κοινὴ ΑΣ 16 φυσικόν Σ et ci. Heinsius : μουσικόν Π 20–23 ὁμοίως … προσαγορευτέον, cf. n. ad loc. 22 καὶ] de Ar. cf. Gutas ad loc. 24 αἳ rec. : οἳ ΠΣ 28 οὖν ΦΣ, Paris. 2038 : οὐ Α 29 οἷς ci. Victorius : αἷς ΠΣ

ἀεὶ τούτοις ἀκολουθεῖ μόνοις, κακίᾳ γὰρ καὶ ἀρετῇ τὰ ἤθη διαφέρουσι πάντες), ἤτοι βελτίονας ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἢ χείρονας ἢ καὶ τοιούτους, ὥσπερ οἱ γραφεῖς· Πολύγνωτος μὲν γὰρ κρείττους, Παύσων δὲ χείρους, Διονύσιος δὲ ὁμοίους εἴκαζεν. δῆλον δὲ ὅτι καὶ τῶν λεχθεισῶν ἑκάστη μιμήσεων ἕξει ταύτας τὰς διαφορὰς καὶ ἔσται ἑτέρα τῷ ἕτερα μιμεῖσθαι τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. καὶ γὰρ ἐν ὀρχήσει καὶ αὐλήσει καὶ κιθαρίσει ἔστι γενέσθαι ταύτας τὰς ἀνομοιότητας, καὶ [τὸ] περὶ τοὺς λόγους δὲ καὶ τὴν ψιλομετρίαν, οἷον Ὅμηρος μὲν βελτίους, Κλεοφῶν δὲ ὁμοίους, Ἡγήμων δὲ ὁ Θάσιος ὁ τὰς παρῳδίας ποιήσας πρῶτος καὶ Νικοχάρης ὁ τὴν Δειλιάδα χείρους· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τοὺς διθυράμβους καὶ περὶ τοὺς νόμους, ὥσπερ [γᾶς] Κύκλωπας Τιμόθεος καὶ Φιλόξενος μιμήσαιτο ἄν τις. ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ διαφορᾷ καὶ ἡ τραγῳδία πρὸς τὴν κωμῳδίαν διέστηκεν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ χείρους ἡ δὲ βελτίους μιμεῖσθαι βούλεται τῶν νῦν.

3 Ἔτι δὲ τούτων τρίτη διαφορὰ τὸ ὡς ἕκαστα τούτων μιμήσαιτο ἄν τις. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ μιμεῖσθαι ἔστιν ὁτὲ μὲν ἀπαγγέλλοντα, ἢ ἕτερόν τι γιγνόμενον ὥσπερ Ὅμηρος ποιεῖ ἢ ὡς τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ μεταβάλλοντα, †ἢ† πάντα ὡς πράττοντας καὶ ἐνεργοῦντας τοὺς μιμουμένους. ἐν τρισὶ δὴ ταύταις διαφοραῖς ἡ μίμησίς ἐστιν,

1448a3 κακίᾳ et ἀρετῇ ΦΣ, Paris. 2038 : κακία et ἀρετὴ A 8 τῷ Φ, Paris. 2038 : τὸ ΑΣ (vel τὸ non vert. Ar.) ἕτερα Π : ἑτέραν ut intell. Syr. vel. Ar. 10 ἔστι] = A^{c} (στι in rasura) καὶ ΦΣ, Paris. 2038 : καὶ τὸ A 11 δὲ Π : non vert. Ar. 12 ὁ^{2} Σ, Paris. 2038 : om. A : [Φ] 13 δειλιάδα A : *diliadem* Lat. : δηλιάδα (H supra ει) A^{2}, Paris. 2038 : [Σ] 15 γᾶς A : om. Lat. : οὕτως Σ ut vid. : corruptum putat Kassel : secl. edd. κύκλωπας ΦΣ : κυκλωπᾶς A τιμόθεος A, Lat. O, Σ : *et thimotheus* Lat. T 16 αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ Π : τῇ αὐτῇ δὲ ut intell. Ar., et ci. Victorius : ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ ci. Casaubonus καὶ Π : om. Ar. 18 τῶν νῦν A : *nunc* Lat. : non vert. Ar. 21 ἀπαγγέλλοντα Π : ἐπαγγέλλοντα ut intell. Ar. 23 ἢ Π : καὶ vel ἢ Ar. : de corrupt. cf. n. ad 1448a20–24 πάντα ci. Casaubonus : πάντας ΠΣ

ὡς εἴπομεν κατ᾿ ἀρχάς, ἐν οἷς τε ⟨καὶ ἃ⟩ καὶ ὥς. ὥστε τῇ μὲν ὁ αὐτὸς ἂν εἴη μιμητὴς Ὁμήρῳ Σοφοκλῆς, μιμοῦνται γὰρ ἄμφω σπουδαίους, τῇ δὲ Ἀριστοφάνει, πράττοντας γὰρ μιμοῦνται καὶ δρῶντας ἄμφω. ὅθεν καὶ δράματα καλεῖσθαί τινες αὐτά φασιν, ὅτι μιμοῦνται δρῶντας. διὸ καὶ ἀντιποιοῦνται τῆς τε τραγῳδίας καὶ τῆς κωμῳδίας οἱ Δωριεῖς (τῆς μὲν γὰρ κωμῳδίας οἱ Μεγαρεῖς οἵ τε ἐνταῦθα ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς παρ᾿ αὐτοῖς δημοκρατίας γενομένης καὶ οἱ ἐκ Σικελίας, ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ ἦν Ἐπίχαρμος ὁ ποιητὴς πολλῷ πρότερος ὢν Χιωνίδου καὶ Μάγνητος· καὶ τῆς τραγῳδίας ἔνιοι τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ) ποιούμενοι τὰ ὀνόματα σημεῖον· αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ κώμας τὰς περιοικίδας καλεῖν φασιν, Ἀθηναίους δὲ δήμους, ὡς κωμῳδοὺς οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ κωμάζειν λεχθέντας ἀλλὰ τῇ κατὰ κώμας πλάνῃ ἀτιμαζομένους ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως· καὶ τὸ ποιεῖν αὐτοὶ μὲν δρᾶν, Ἀθηναίους δὲ πράττειν προσαγορεύειν. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν διαφορῶν καὶ πόσαι καὶ τίνες τῆς μιμήσεως εἰρήσθω ταῦτα.

Ἐοίκασι δὲ γεννῆσαι μὲν ὅλως τὴν ποιητικὴν αἰτίαι 4
δύο τινὲς καὶ αὗται φυσικαί. τό τε γὰρ μιμεῖσθαι σύμφυτον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐκ παίδων ἐστὶ καὶ τούτῳ διαφέρουσι

1448a29 ff. τινες κτλ. : codices A, Lat., Φ, Π (= A + Φ), B, Ξ (= Π + B), Ar., Σ.

25 καὶ ἃ καὶ ὥς Paris. 2038, fort. Σ : καὶ ἀναγκαίως ut leg. Syr. : καὶ ὡς Π 29 a voce τινες incipit B 31 γὰρ Π : om. B : [Σ] 32 δημοκρατίας AB : *democratia* Lat. : [Σ] 34 Χιωνίδου Σ, ci. Robortellus : χωνίδου Ξ 34–35 καὶ[2] … ποιούμενοι] καὶ[2] et ἔνιοι non vert. Ar., ποιουμένοιν ut intell. Ar. 35 σημεῖον] *signum autem* Lat. αὐτοὶ ci. Spengel : οὗτοι Ω 36 φασιν Ξ : non vert. Ar. Ἀθηναίους Σ, ci. anon. in ed. Oxon. a. 1760, et Spengel : ἀθηναῖοι Ξ 37–38 οὐκ … πλάνῃ] non vert. Ar. **1448b1–2** καὶ τὸ … προσαγορεύειν AB : *et … appellant* Lat. : om. Ar. (an etiam Σ?) : del. Gudeman 4 γεννῆσαι μὲν ὅλως A : *genuisse omnino* Lat. : ὅλως γεννῆσαι μὲν B : [Σ] (ὅλως om. Ar.) 5 αὗται Paris. 2038 : αὐταὶ Ξ, et ut intell. Syr. / Ar. τό τε] non vert. Lat. 6 τούτῳ] τούτωχ A (ras. unius litt. post ω) διαφέρουσι ΠΣ : διαφέρει B

τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων ὅτι μιμητικώτατόν ἐστι καὶ τὰς μαθήσεις ποιεῖται διὰ μιμήσεως τὰς πρώτας, καὶ τὸ χαίρειν τοῖς μιμήμασι πάντας. σημεῖον δὲ τούτου τὸ συμβαῖνον ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων· ἃ γὰρ αὐτὰ λυπηρῶς ὁρῶμεν, τούτων τὰς εἰκόνας τὰς μάλιστα ἠκριβωμένας χαίρομεν θεωροῦντες, οἷον θηρίων τε μορφὰς τῶν ἀτιμοτάτων καὶ νεκρῶν. αἴτιον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι μανθάνειν οὐ μόνον τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἥδιστον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁμοίως, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ βραχὺ κοινωνοῦσιν αὐτοῦ. διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο χαίρουσι τὰς εἰκόνας ὁρῶντες, ὅτι συμβαίνει θεωροῦντας μανθάνειν καὶ συλλογίζεσθαι τί ἕκαστον, οἷον ὅτι οὗτος ἐκεῖνος· ἐπεὶ ἐὰν μὴ τύχῃ προεωρακώς, οὐχ ᾗ μίμημα ποιήσει τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἀπεργασίαν ἢ τὴν χροιὰν ἢ διὰ τοιαύτην τινὰ ἄλλην αἰτίαν. κατὰ φύσιν δὲ ὄντος ἡμῖν τοῦ μιμεῖσθαι καὶ τῆς ἁρμονίας καὶ τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ (τὰ γὰρ μέτρα ὅτι μόρια τῶν ῥυθμῶν ἐστι φανερὸν) ἐξ ἀρχῆς οἱ πεφυκότες πρὸς αὐτὰ μάλιστα κατὰ μικρὸν προάγοντες ἐγέννησαν τὴν ποίησιν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοσχεδιασμάτων. διεσπάσθη δὲ κατὰ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἤθη ἡ ποίησις· οἱ μὲν γὰρ σεμνότεροι τὰς καλὰς ἐμιμοῦντο πράξεις καὶ τὰς τῶν τοιούτων, οἱ δὲ εὐτελέστεροι τὰς τῶν φαύλων, πρῶτον ψόγους ποιοῦντες, ὥσπερ ἕτεροι ὕμνους καὶ ἐγκώμια. τῶν μὲν οὖν πρὸ Ὁμήρου οὐδενὸς ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν τοιοῦτον ποίημα, εἰκὸς δὲ εἶναι πολλούς, ἀπὸ δὲ Ὁμήρου ἀρξαμένοις

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7 μιμητικώτατόν ἐστι ΠΣ : μιμητικ, et ca. 7–8 litt. vac. B   7–8 τὰς μαθήσεις] *imitationes* Lat.   8 διὰ … πρώτας] om. in lac. Lat., et add. *propter* ante τὸ χαίρειν   πρώτας] πρ et vac. 4–5 litt. B   9 δὲ τούτου] δ----του B   10 ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων] *in opere* Lat. (= τῷ ἔργῳ? ci. Minio)   αὐτὰ ΠΣ : αὐτῶν B   13 καὶ τοῦτο ΑΣ : καὶ τούτου Φ : τούτων B   14 ὁμοίως] ὅτι B   ἀλλ᾽] *omnibus* Lat.   18 οὐχ ᾗ ci. Ellebodius, Hermann : οὐχὶ Ω   21 ἐστι] *sint* Lat.   22 οἱ ΒΣ : om. A : [Φ]   πρὸς ΒΣ : καὶ Π   23 προάγοντες] *adducentes* Lat. (προσάγοντες? ci. Minio)   25 σεμνότεροι ΠΣ : σεμνότερον B   26 τῶν[1] A : om. ΒΣ : [Φ]   εὐτελέστεροι ΠΣ : εὐτελέστερον B   27 ποιοῦντες ΠΣ : ποιοῦνται B   ὥσπερ ἕτεροι Ξ : ὥσπερ ἅτεροι ci. Sophianus, alii : ὕστερον ἑτέροις ut intell. Ar.   29 εἶναι ΠΣ : εἰδέναι B   ἀρξαμένοις A : ἀρξάμενος ΒΦΣ

ἔστιν, οἷον ἐκείνου ὁ Μαργίτης καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. ἐν οἷς κατὰ τὸ ἁρμόττον καὶ τὸ ἰαμβεῖον ἦλθε μέτρον—διὸ καὶ ἰαμβεῖον καλεῖται νῦν, ὅτι ἐν τῷ μέτρῳ τούτῳ ἰάμβιζον ἀλλήλους. καὶ ἐγένοντο τῶν παλαιῶν οἱ μὲν ἡρωικῶν οἱ δὲ ἰάμβων ποιηταί. ὥσπερ δὲ καὶ τὰ σπουδαῖα μάλιστα ποιητὴς Ὅμηρος ἦν (μόνος γὰρ οὐχ ὅτι εὖ ἀλλὰ καὶ μιμήσεις δραματικὰς ἐποίησεν), οὕτως καὶ τὸ τῆς κωμῳδίας σχῆμα πρῶτος ὑπέδειξεν, οὐ ψόγον ἀλλὰ τὸ γελοῖον δραματοποιήσας· ὁ γὰρ Μαργίτης ἀνάλογον ἔχει, ὥσπερ Ἰλιὰς 1449a1 καὶ ἡ Ὀδύσσεια πρὸς τὰς τραγῳδίας, οὕτω καὶ οὗτος πρὸς τὰς κωμῳδίας. παραφανείσης δὲ τῆς τραγῳδίας καὶ κωμῳδίας οἱ ἐφ᾽ ἑκατέραν τὴν ποίησιν ὁρμῶντες κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν φύσιν οἱ μὲν ἀντὶ τῶν ἰάμβων κωμῳδοποιοὶ ἐγένοντο, οἱ δὲ ἀντὶ τῶν ἐπῶν τραγῳδοδιδάσκαλοι, διὰ τὸ μείζω καὶ ἐντιμότερα τὰ σχήματα εἶναι ταῦτα ἐκείνων. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐπισκοπεῖν εἰ ἄρ᾽ ἔχει ἤδη ἡ τραγῳδία τοῖς εἴδεσιν ἱκανῶς ἢ οὔ, αὐτό τε καθ᾽ αὑτὸ κρῖναι καὶ πρὸς τὰ θέατρα, ἄλλος λόγος. γενομένης δ᾽ οὖν ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς αὐτοσχεδιαστικῆς—καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ἡ κωμῳδία, καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ

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30 τοιαῦτα ἐν οἷς ΠΣ : τοι ----<ὸ B, superscr. B^2 31 καὶ τὸ B : om. ΠΣ καὶ^2]---B 32 τούτῳ] non vert. Lat. ἀλλήλους] --λήλους B 34 καὶ τὰ ΑΒΣ : *secundum* Lat. (= κατὰ Φ ci. Lobel) 35 ἀλλὰ B, ci. Bonitz : ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι Π : [Σ] 36 τὸ … σχῆμα ΒΣ : τὰ … σχήματα Π 37 ὑπέδειξεν ΠΣ : ἀπέδειξεν B 38 ὁ B : τὸ A : [Φ] : [Σ] **1449a1** πρὸς τὰς τραγῳδίας ΠΣ : om. B in fin. paginae 2 παραφανείσης] *secus apparentie* Lat. 6 μείζω καὶ ἐντιμότερα Φ, Σ ut vid., Paris. 2038 : μείζω καὶ ἐντιμότερον B : μεῖζον καὶ ἐντιμότερα A τὰ σχήματα AB, fort. Syr. : *scemata* Lat. : τοῦ σχήματος ut intell. Ar. εἶναι ταῦτα ἐκείνων Π et fort. Σ : ταῦτα ἐκείνων εἶναι B 7 τὸ … ἐπισκοπεῖν] *superintendendi* Lat. (ex τοῦ … ἐπισκοπεῖν? ci. Minio) εἰ ἄρ᾽ ἔχει ci. Tkatsch (ex εἰ ἄρχει Σ) : εἰ ἄρα ἔχει Paris. 2038 : παρέχει A : *si habet* Lat. : ἄρα ἔχει B 8 εἴδεσιν ΠΣ : ἠδέσι B ante αὐτό Lat. add. *sique* κρῖναι ci. Forchhammer : κρίνεται ἢ ναί A : κρίνεται εἶναι ΒΦ : [Σ] 9 θέατρα Ξ : θάτερα ut intell. Syr. γενομένης Ω : γενομένη rec. δ᾽ οὖν B : οὖν Π : [Σ] 10 καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ΠΣ : καὶ αὐτὴ B καὶ^3 Π : B om. : [Σ]

τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν διθύραμβον, ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ φαλλικὰ ἃ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν πόλεων διαμένει νομιζόμενα—κατὰ μικρὸν ηὐξήθη προαγόντων ὅσον ἐγίγνετο φανερὸν αὐτῆς· καὶ πολλὰς μεταβολὰς μεταβαλοῦσα ἡ τραγῳδία ἐπαύσατο, ἐπεὶ ἔσχε τὴν αὑτῆς φύσιν. καὶ τό τε τῶν ὑποκριτῶν πλῆθος ἐξ ἑνὸς εἰς δύο πρῶτος Αἰσχύλος ἤγαγε καὶ τὰ τοῦ χοροῦ ἠλάττωσε καὶ τὸν λόγον πρωταγωνιστεῖν παρεσκεύασεν· τρεῖς δὲ καὶ σκηνογραφίαν Σοφοκλῆς. ἔτι δὲ τὸ μέγεθος ἐκ μικρῶν μύθων, καὶ ⟨ἡ λέξις ἐκ⟩ λέξεως γελοίας διὰ τὸ ἐκ σατυρικοῦ μεταβαλεῖν ὀψὲ ἀπεσεμνύνθη, τό τε μέτρον ἐκ τετραμέτρου ἰαμβεῖον ἐγένετο. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον τετραμέτρῳ ἐχρῶντο διὰ τὸ σατυρικὴν καὶ ὀρχηστικωτέραν εἶναι τὴν ποίησιν, λέξεως δὲ γενομένης αὐτὴ ἡ φύσις τὸ οἰκεῖον μέτρον εὗρε· μάλιστα γὰρ λεκτικὸν τῶν μέτρων τὸ ἰαμβεῖόν ἐστιν· σημεῖον δὲ τούτου, πλεῖστα γὰρ ἰαμβεῖα λέγομεν ἐν τῇ διαλέκτῳ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἑξάμετρα δὲ ὀλιγάκις καὶ ἐκβαίνοντες τῆς λεκτικῆς ἁρμονίας. ἔτι δὲ ἐπεισοδίων πλήθη. καὶ τὰ ἄλλ᾽ ὡς ἕκαστα κοσμηθῆναι λέγεται ἔστω ἡμῖν εἰρημένα· πολὺ γὰρ ἂν ἴσως ἔργον εἴη διεξιέναι καθ᾽ ἕκαστον.

11–12 φαλλικὰ Paris. 2038 : φαΰλλικὰ A : φαυλικὰ BΦ, et ut leg. Syr. 12 διαμένει ΦΣ, Paris. 2038 : διαμένειν AB 15 ἐπεὶ ἔσχε τὴν] *super ultimam* Lat. (= ἐπὶ ἐσχάτην ci. Minio) αὑτῆς] αὐτῆς vel ἑαυτῆς ΦΣ : ἑαυτῆς Paris. 2038 : αὐτῆς AB 17 ἠλάττωσε et τὸν λόγον] non vertit Ar. 18 πρωταγωνιστεῖν ci. Sophianus : πρωταγωνιστὴν Ξ : [Σ] 18–19 τρεῖς δὲ καὶ σκηνογραφίαν Σοφοκλῆς Ξ : *atque etiam primus, qui manifestavit has species ludi et ioci, erat Sophocles*, ut intell. Ar. 19 τὸ μέγεθος] τọ̀ -́γεθος B 19 ⟨ἡ λέξις ἐκ⟩ ci. Christ : ἡ *** ἐκ Σ (de Ar. cf. Gutas ad loc.) : om. Ξ 20 σατυρικοῦ B : σατυριακοῦ Π : [Σ] 25 μέτρων Ξ : μερῶν Σ vel ut intell. Syr. 27–28 λεκτικῆς Ξ : διαλεκτικῆς ut interpr. Ar. 28 πλήθη] = B^c (ex πλήθει) ἄλλ᾽ ὡς rec. : ἄλλως AB : ἄλλα ὡς Σ : *alia* Lat. 30 κοσμηθῆναι] *delata esse* Lat. (= κομισθῆναι? ci. Minio) 30–31 ἔστω … εἴη] non vertit Ar. 31 διεξιέναι Π : διϊέναι B : [Σ]

Ἡ δὲ κωμῳδία ἐστὶν ὥσπερ εἴπομεν μίμησις φαυλοτέρων μέν, οὐ μέντοι κατὰ πᾶσαν κακίαν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ ἐστι τὸ γελοῖον μόριον. τὸ γὰρ γελοῖόν ἐστιν ἁμάρτημά τι καὶ αἶσχος ἀνώδυνον καὶ οὐ φθαρτικόν, οἷον εὐθὺς τὸ γελοῖον πρόσωπον αἰσχρόν τι καὶ διεστραμμένον ἄνευ ὀδύνης. αἱ μὲν οὖν τῆς τραγῳδίας μεταβάσεις καὶ δι᾽ ὧν ἐγένοντο οὐ λελήθασιν, ἡ δὲ κωμῳδία διὰ τὸ μὴ σπουδάζεσθαι ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔλαθεν· καὶ γὰρ χορὸν κωμῳδῶν ὀψέ ποτε ὁ ἄρχων ἔδωκεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐθελονταὶ ἦσαν. ἤδη δὲ σχήματά τινα αὐτῆς ἐχούσης οἱ λεγόμενοι αὐτῆς ποιηταὶ μνημονεύονται. τίς δὲ πρόσωπα ἀπέδωκεν ἢ προλόγους ἢ πλήθη ὑποκριτῶν καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, ἠγνόηται. τὸ δὲ μύθους ποιεῖν [Ἐπίχαρμος καὶ Φόρμις] τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐκ Σικελίας ἦλθε, τῶν δὲ Ἀθήνησιν Κράτης πρῶτος ἦρξεν ἀφέμενος τῆς ἰαμβικῆς ἰδέας καθόλου ποιεῖν λόγους καὶ μύθους. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐποποιία τῇ τραγῳδίᾳ μέχρι μὲν τοῦ μετὰ μέτρου ⟨καὶ⟩ λόγου μίμησις εἶναι σπουδαίων ἠκολούθησεν· τῷ δὲ τὸ μέτρον ἁπλοῦν ἔχειν καὶ ἀπαγγελίαν εἶναι, ταύτῃ διαφέρουσιν· ἔτι δὲ τῷ μήκει· ἡ μὲν ὅτι μάλιστα πειρᾶται ὑπὸ μίαν περίοδον ἡλίου εἶναι ἢ μικρὸν ἐξαλλάττειν, ἡ δὲ ἐποποιία ἀόριστος τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τούτῳ διαφέρει, καίτοι τὸ πρῶτον ὁμοίως ἐν ταῖς τραγῳδίαις τοῦτο ἐποίουν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν. μέρη δ᾽ ἐστὶ τὰ μὲν ταὐτά, τὰ δὲ ἴδια τῆς

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33 κακίαν] = B^{c} (pr. κ ex α et pr. α add. s. l.) 34 τὸ^{1} Π : τι Σ : om. B 35 ἀνώδυνον] = B^{c} (α ex corr.) 36 διεστραμμένον ΦΣ, Paris. 2038 : δ᾽ ἐστραμμένον A : ἐστραμμένον B **1449b1** ἔλαθεν ΠΣ : ἔλαχε B χορὸν ΠΣ : χρόνον B 6 ἐπίχαρμος καὶ φόρμις Ξ : non habet Σ (cf. Gutas ad loc.) : secl. Susemihl τὸ μὲν] *quantum ad id quod* Lat. 8 ἰδέας] εἰδέας A 9 μὲν τοῦ ci. Tyrwhitt : μόνου Ξ, Σ ut vid. 10–11 μέτρου … τῷ δὲ] om. Lat. 10 μετὰ μέτρου ⟨καὶ⟩ λόγου ci. Tarán : μετὰ μέτρου λόγῳ ci. Kassel : μέτρου μετὰ λόγου B, Σ ut vid. : μέτρου μεγάλου A 11 τῷ B : τὸ ΑΣ 13 ἡλίου] ἰλίου B ἐξαλλάττειν] *variat* Lat. 14 ἀόριστος] *optima* Lat. (= ἄριστος? ci. Minio) τούτῳ] = A^{c} (τοὐ ex τοῦ) 15 ἐν^{1} ΠΣ : ὅτι ἐν B 15–17 τοῦτο … τραγῳδίας] om. Lat. 16 ταὐτὰ Paris. 2038 : ταῦτα ΑΒΣ

τραγῳδίας· διόπερ ὅστις περὶ τραγῳδίας οἶδε σπουδαίας καὶ φαύλης, οἶδε καὶ περὶ ἐπῶν· ἃ μὲν γὰρ ἐποποιία ἔχει, ὑπάρχει τῇ τραγῳδίᾳ, ἃ δὲ αὐτῇ, οὐ πάντα ἐν τῇ ἐποποιίᾳ.

6 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐν ἑξαμέτροις μιμητικῆς καὶ περὶ κωμῳδίας ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν· περὶ δὲ τραγῳδίας λέγωμεν ἀναλαβόντες αὐτῆς ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων τὸν γινόμενον ὅρον τῆς οὐσίας. ἔστιν οὖν τραγῳδία μίμησις πράξεως σπουδαίας καὶ τελείας μέγεθος ἐχούσης, ἡδυσμένῳ λόγῳ χωρὶς ἑκάστῳ τῶν εἰδῶν ἐν τοῖς μορίοις, δρώντων καὶ οὐ δι᾽ ἀπαγγελίας, δι᾽ ἐλέου καὶ φόβου περαίνουσα τὴν τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν. λέγω δὲ ἡδυσμένον μὲν λόγον τὸν ἔχοντα ῥυθμὸν καὶ ἁρμονίαν καὶ μέλος, τὸ δὲ χωρὶς τοῖς εἴδεσι τὸ διὰ μέτρων ἔνια μόνον περαίνεσθαι καὶ πάλιν ἕτερα διὰ μέλους. ἐπεὶ δὲ πράττοντες ποιοῦνται τὴν μίμησιν, πρῶτον μὲν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἂν εἴη τι μόριον τραγῳδίας ὁ τῆς ὄψεως κόσμος· εἶτα μελοποιία καὶ λέξις, ἐν τούτοις γὰρ ποιοῦνται τὴν μίμησιν. λέγω δὲ λέξιν μὲν αὐτὴν τὴν τῶν μέτρων σύνθεσιν, μελοποιίαν δὲ ὃ τὴν δύναμιν φανερὰν ἔχει πᾶσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πράξεώς ἐστι μίμησις, πράττεται δὲ ὑπὸ τινῶν πραττόντων, οὓς ἀνάγκη ποιούς τινας εἶναι κατά τε τὸ ἦθος καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν, διὰ γὰρ τούτων καὶ τὰς πράξεις εἶναί φαμεν ποιάς τινας, πέφυκεν αἴτια δύο τῶν

19 πάντα ΠΣ : πάντως B 21 μὲν ΒΣ : om. Π 23 ἀναλαβόντες ci. Bernays : *sumentes* Lat. (= λαβόντες vel ἀναλαβόντες) : ἀπολαβόντες ΑΒΣ 24-**1450a9** (ἔστιν … τραγῳδία) : ad MSS add. frag. Syr. = Σ^{q} (cf. n. ad 1449b24–1450a9) 24 σπουδαίας ΠΣ^{q}Σ : om. B 25–26 ἑκάστῳ Pacius in versione, ci. Reiz : ἑκάστου ΞΣ^{q} Σ (= Ω) 26–27 ἀπαγγελίας Π : ἐπαγγελίας ΒΣ^{q} Σ 28 παθημάτων ΒΣ^{q}Σ, Paccius in versione : μαθημάτων Π 29 καὶ μέλος Ξ Σ^{q} Σ (= Ω) : secl. Tyrwhitt, Kassel 31–34 ποιοῦνται τὴν μίμησιν … ποιοῦνται τὴν μίμησιν] de cod. B cf. n. ad loc. 36 πᾶσαν Ω : πᾶσιν ci. Madius πράξεως] *actio* Lat. **1450a1–2** πέφυκεν … ἦθος ΞΣ^{q} Σ (= Ω) : secl. Else, Kassel

πράξεων εἶναι, διάνοια καὶ ἦθος, καὶ κατὰ ταύτας καὶ τυγχάνουσι καὶ ἀποτυγχάνουσι πάντες. ἔστιν δὲ τῆς μὲν πράξεως ὁ μῦθος ἡ μίμησις, λέγω γὰρ μῦθον τοῦτον τὴν σύνθεσιν τῶν πραγμάτων, τὰ δὲ ἤθη, καθ' ὃ ποιούς τινας εἶναί φαμεν τοὺς πράττοντας, διάνοιαν δέ, ἐν ὅσοις λέγοντες ἀποδεικνύουσί τι ἢ καὶ ἀποφαίνονται γνώμην. ἀνάγκη οὖν πάσης τῆς τραγῳδίας μέρη εἶναι ἕξ, καθ' ὃ ποιά τις ἐστὶν ἡ τραγῳδία· ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ μῦθος καὶ ἤθη καὶ λέξις καὶ διάνοια καὶ ὄψις καὶ μελοποιία. οἷς μὲν γὰρ μιμοῦνται, δύο μέρη ἐστίν, ὡς δὲ μιμοῦνται, ἕν, ἃ δὲ μιμοῦνται, τρία, καὶ παρὰ ταῦτα οὐδέν. τούτοις μὲν οὖν οὐκ ὀλίγοι αὐτῶν ὡς εἰπεῖν κέχρηνται τοῖς εἴδεσιν· καὶ γὰρ ὄψιν ἔχει πᾶν καὶ ἦθος καὶ μῦθον καὶ λέξιν καὶ μέλος καὶ διάνοιαν ὡσαύτως. μέγιστον δὲ τούτων ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων σύστασις. ἡ γὰρ τραγῳδία μίμησίς ἐστιν οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ πράξεων καὶ βίου, καὶ εὐδαιμονία καὶ κακοδαιμονία ἐν πράξει ἐστίν, καὶ τὸ τέλος πρᾶξίς τις ἐστίν, οὐ ποιότης· εἰσὶν δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὰ ἤθη ποιοί τινες, κατὰ δὲ τὰς πράξεις εὐδαίμονες ἢ τοὐναντίον· οὔκουν ὅπως τὰ ἤθη μιμήσωνται πράττουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἤθη συμπεριλαμβάνουσιν διὰ τὰς πράξεις· ὥστε τὰ πράγματα καὶ ὁ μῦθος τέλος

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2 διάνοια ΒΦ : διάνοιαν Α : [Σ^q] : [Σ] ταύτας καὶ Π : ταῦτα καὶ Σ^q et Σ ut vid. : ταῦτα Β 4 ἡ Α : om. Β, Σ^q et Σ ut vid. : [Φ] γὰρ] *autem* Lat. 5 ὃ ΑΒΣ^{q}Σ : ἃ Φ, rec. 6 ὅσοις Π : νόσοις Β : [Σ^q] : [Σ] 7 ἀποδεικνύουσι Β : ἀποδεικνύασιν Α : [Φ] : [Σ^q] : [Σ] τι ἢ Π : τινὰ Β : om. Syr. / Ar. in lac. (?) ἀποφαίνονται γνώμην] *negant sententia* Lat. 8 πάσης] = B^c (ση ex corr.) τῆς ΒΣ^{q}Σ : om. Α : [Φ] 12 οὐδὲν] om. Ar. οὐκ ὀλίγοι non vertit Syr. / Ar. ut vid. 13 γὰρ ΠΣ : om. Β ὄψιν edd. : ὄψιν et ὄψεις rec. : *visus* Lat. (= ὄψις vel ὄψεις) : ὄψις ΑΒ : [Σ], lac. unius verbi in charta cod. Ar. 16–17 πράξεων ΒΣ : πράξεως Π 17 εὐδαιμονία καὶ κακοδαιμονία Β : εὐδαιμονίας· καὶ ἡ κακοδαιμονία Π (sed artic. incert. in Lat.) : εὐδαιμονία Σ (καὶ κακοδαιμονία ex homoioteleuton om. ut vid., lac. 3–4 litt. in charta cod. Ar.) 18–19 οὐ ποιότης non vertit Ar. 19 εἰσὶν ΠΣ : ἔστιν Β 21 συμπεριλαμβάνουσιν Ξ : συμπαραλαμβάνουσιν rec. : [Σ]

τῆς τραγῳδίας, τὸ δὲ τέλος μέγιστον ἁπάντων. ἔτι ἄνευ μὲν πράξεως οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο τραγῳδία, ἄνευ δὲ ἠθῶν γένοιτ᾽ ἄν· αἱ γὰρ τῶν νέων τῶν πλείστων ἀήθεις τραγῳδίαι εἰσίν, καὶ ὅλως ποιηταὶ πολλοὶ τοιοῦτοι, οἷον καὶ τῶν γραφέων Ζεῦξις πρὸς Πολύγνωτον πέπονθεν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Πολύγνωτος ἀγαθὸς ἠθογράφος, ἡ δὲ Ζεύξιδος γραφὴ οὐδὲν ἔχει ἦθος. ἔτι ἐάν τις ἐφεξῆς θῇ ῥήσεις ἠθικὰς καὶ λέξει καὶ διανοίᾳ εὖ πεποιημένας, οὐ ποιήσει ὃ ἦν τῆς τραγῳδίας ἔργον, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἡ καταδεεστέροις τούτοις κεχρημένη τραγῳδία, ἔχουσα δὲ μῦθον καὶ σύστασιν πραγμάτων. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὰ μέγιστα οἷς ψυχαγωγεῖ ἡ τραγῳδία τοῦ μύθου μέρη ἐστίν, αἵ τε περιπέτειαι καὶ ἀναγνωρίσεις. ἔτι σημεῖον ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἐγχειροῦντες ποιεῖν πρότερον δύνανται τῇ λέξει καὶ τοῖς ἤθεσιν ἀκριβοῦν ἢ τὰ πράγματα συνίστασθαι, οἷον καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι ποιηταὶ σχεδὸν ἅπαντες. ἀρχὴ μὲν οὖν καὶ οἷον ψυχὴ ὁ μῦθος τῆς τραγῳδίας, δεύτερον δὲ τὰ ἤθη (παραπλήσιον γάρ ἐστιν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γραφικῆς· εἰ γάρ τις ἐναλείψειε τοῖς καλλίστοις φαρμάκοις χύδην, οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως εὐφράνειεν καὶ λευκογραφήσας εἰκόνα)· ἔστιν τε μίμησις πράξεως καὶ διὰ ταύτην μάλιστα τῶν πραττόντων. τρίτον δὲ ἡ διάνοια· τοῦτο δέ ἐστιν τὸ λέγειν δύνασθαι τὰ ἐνόντα καὶ τὰ ἁρμόττοντα, ὅπερ ἐπὶ τῶν λόγων τῆς πολιτικῆς καὶ ῥητορικῆς ἔργον ἐστίν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαῖοι πολιτικῶς ἐποίουν λέγοντας, οἱ

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26 πολλοὶ Ξ : ἄλλοι Σ vel ut intell. Ar. 27 πολύγνωτον ΒΣ : πολύγνωστον Π 28 πολύγνωτος Σ ut vid. : πολύγνωστος Π : om. B 29 ῥήσεις] *series* Lat. 29–30 λέξει καὶ διανοίᾳ ci. Vahlen : λέξεις καὶ διανοίας Ω 30 εὖ] non vert. Lat. οὐ ΒΣ : om. Π 31 ἡ Φ (= *que* Lat.), Paris. 2038 : ἢ AB, et Σ ut vid. 32–34 τραγῳδία … τραγῳδία] *tragodia* Lat. 34 μέρη] = B[c] (μ et ι ex corr.; μέρη ex περιπέτειαι) ἐστίν A : εἰσὶν ΒΦ : [Σ] 35 ὅτι καὶ Π : ὅτι B, Σ ut vid. 37 συνίστασθαι] *scire* Lat. **1450b1** τις ἐναλείψειε ΠΣ : τι ἐναλείψει B 2 ὁμοίως Π : ὅτι B, et fort. Σ 4 πραττόντων] = B[c] (ο ex ω) 5 καὶ τὰ Π, Σ ut vid. : καὶ B

δὲ νῦν ῥητορικῶς. ἔστιν δὲ ἦθος μὲν τὸ τοιοῦτον ὃ δηλοῖ τὴν προαίρεσιν, ὁποία τις [ἐν οἷς οὐκ ἔστι δῆλον ἢ προαιρεῖται ἢ φεύγει]—διόπερ οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἦθος τῶν λόγων ἐν οἷς μηδ' ὅλως ἔστιν ὅ τι προαιρεῖται ἢ φεύγει ὁ λέγων—διάνοια δὲ ἐν οἷς ἀποδεικνύουσί τι ὡς ἔστιν ἢ ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἢ καθόλου τι ἀποφαίνονται. τέταρτον δὲ [τῶν μὲν λόγων] ἡ λέξις· λέγω δέ, ὥσπερ πρότερον εἴρηται, λέξιν εἶναι τὴν διὰ τῆς ὀνομασίας ἑρμηνείαν, ὃ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμμέτρων καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λόγων ἔχει τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν. τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἡ μελοποιία μέγιστον τῶν ἡδυσμάτων, ἡ δὲ ὄψις ψυχαγωγικὸν μέν, ἀτεχνότατον δὲ καὶ ἥκιστα οἰκεῖον τῆς ποιητικῆς· ἡ γὰρ τῆς τραγῳδίας δύναμις καὶ ἄνευ ἀγῶνος καὶ ὑποκριτῶν ἔστιν, ἔτι δὲ κυριωτέρα περὶ τὴν ἀπεργασίαν τῶν ὄψεων ἡ τοῦ σκευοποιοῦ τέχνη τῆς τῶν ποιητῶν ἐστιν.

7 Διωρισμένων δὲ τούτων, λέγωμεν μετὰ ταῦτα ποίαν τινὰ δεῖ τὴν σύστασιν εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων, ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο καὶ πρῶτον καὶ μέγιστον τῆς τραγῳδίας ἐστίν. κεῖται δὴ ἡμῖν τὴν τραγῳδίαν τελείας καὶ ὅλης πράξεως εἶναι μίμησιν ἐχούσης τι μέγεθος· ἔστιν γὰρ ὅλον καὶ μηδὲν ἔχον μέγεθος. ὅλον δέ ἐστιν τὸ ἔχον ἀρχὴν καὶ μέσον καὶ τελευτήν. ἀρχὴ δέ ἐστιν ὃ αὐτὸ μὲν μὴ ἐξ ἀνάγκης μετ'

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8 τὸ ΑΣ : om. Β : [Φ] 9 ὁποία τις ΦΣ, Paris. 2038 : ὁποῖα τίς ΑΒ (Β hab. τις) 9–10 ἐν οἷς … φεύγει Ξ : om. Σ et secl. Bekker 9 ἢ] *si* Lat. 10–10[1] διόπερ … φεύγει ΠΣ : φεύγει Β 10[1] οἷς ΑΣ : *quibus quidem* Lat. μηδ' ὅλως ἔστιν Π (Α hab. μὴ δ' ὅλως ἔστιν) : [Σ] ὅ τι rec. : ὅ τις Π : ἔτι Σ 12 τῶν μὲν λόγων Ξ : τῶν λόγων vel τῶν μὲν λόγων Σ ut vid. : "videntur fuisse interpolata" calamo notavit nescio quis in editionis Oxon. a. 1760 exemplari Bodleiano : corrupta esse putat Kassel : τῶν ἐν λόγῳ ci. Bywater 15 λοιπῶν ΒΣ : λοιπῶν πέντε Π : λοιπῶν πέμπτον rec. : *quinque* Lat. ("quintum forte", Lat. T, "glossa translatoris"?, ci. Minio) 16 ἡ μελοποιία ΠΣ : ἡ μελοποιός· ῖ (sic) Β ἡ δὲ ὄψις Α, Σ ut vid. : *visus autem* Lat. : αἱ δὲ ὄψεις Β 18 ἡ ΒΣ : ὡς Π 20 τοῦ σκευοποιοῦ] *vasificorum* Lat. 22 τὴν ΑΣ : om. Β : [Φ] 23 δὴ ci. Bywater : δὲ Ξ : [Σ] 26 καὶ[1]] non vert. Lat.

ἄλλο ἐστίν, μετ᾽ ἐκεῖνο δ᾽ ἕτερον πέφυκεν εἶναι ἢ γίνεσθαι· τελευτὴ δὲ τοὐναντίον ὃ αὐτὸ μὲν μετ᾽ ἄλλο πέφυκεν εἶναι ἢ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἄλλο οὐδέν· μέσον δὲ ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ μετ᾽ ἄλλο καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκεῖνο ἕτερον. δεῖ ἄρα τοὺς συνεστῶτας εὖ μύθους μήθ᾽ ὁπόθεν ἔτυχεν ἄρχεσθαι μήθ᾽ ὅπου ἔτυχε τελευτᾶν, ἀλλὰ κεχρῆσθαι ταῖς εἰρημέναις ἰδέαις. ἔτι δ᾽ ἐπεὶ τὸ καλὸν καὶ ζῷον καὶ ἅπαν πρᾶγμα ὃ συνέστηκεν ἐκ τινῶν οὐ μόνον ταῦτα τεταγμένα δεῖ ἔχειν ἀλλὰ καὶ μέγεθος ὑπάρχειν μὴ τὸ τυχόν· τὸ γὰρ καλὸν ἐν μεγέθει καὶ τάξει ἐστίν, διὸ οὔτε πάμμικρον ἄν τι γένοιτο καλὸν ζῷον (συγχεῖται γὰρ ἡ θεωρία ἐγγὺς τοῦ ἀναισθήτου χρόνου γινομένη) οὔτε παμμέγεθες (οὐ γὰρ ἅμα ἡ θεωρία γίνεται ἀλλ᾽ οἴχεται τοῖς θεωροῦσι τὸ ἓν καὶ τὸ ὅλον ἐκ τῆς θεωρίας) οἷον εἰ μυρίων σταδίων εἴη ζῷον· ὥστε δεῖ καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ζῴων ἔχειν μὲν μέγεθος, τοῦτο δὲ εὐσύνοπτον εἶναι, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν μύθων ἔχειν μὲν μῆκος, τοῦτο δὲ εὐμνημόνευτον εἶναι. τοῦ δὲ μήκους ὅρος ⟨ὁ⟩ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὴν αἴσθησιν οὐ τῆς τέχνης ἐστίν· εἰ γὰρ ἔδει ἑκατὸν τραγῳδίας ἀγωνίζεσθαι, πρὸς κλεψύδρας ἂν ἠγωνίζοντο, ὥσπερ ποτὲ καὶ ἄλλοτέ φασιν. ὁ δὲ κατ᾽ αὐτὴν τὴν

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28 γίνεσθαι Π : γενέσθαι B : [Σ]   29 αὐτὸ μὲν BΣ : *et ipsum* Lat. : αὐτὸ A   31 καὶ αὐτὸ Π, Σ ut vid. : καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ B (pr. καὶ add. in comp. s. l.)   33 ὅπου ΠΣ : ὅποι B   34 ἰδέαις B : εἰδέαις A : *speciebus* Lat. : [Σ]   37 πάμμικρον rec : πᾶν μικρὸν Ξ : [Σ] (πᾶν non vertit Ar.)   38 συγχεῖται] *adiacet* (= σύγκειται? ci. Minio) Lat.   39 ἀναισθήτου ΠΣ : αἰσθητοῦ B παμμέγεθες rec. : πᾶν μέγεθος Ω   **1451a3–4** καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ζῴων Ω, cf. n. ad 1451a3–4   5–6 εὐμνημόνευτον ΠΣ : ἀμνημόνευτον B   6 δὲ BΣ : om. Π   ὁ μὲν ci. Ellebodius, Bursian : μὲν Ω   7 ante τὴν Lat. hab. *ad* (= πρὸς)   οὐ Ξ : om. Ar.; sed ὅ pro οὐ prop. Margoliouth   ἑκατὸν Ξ : ἕκαστον ut intell. Syr.   8 κλεψύδρας Ω : κλεψύδραν rec.   9 ὥσπερ ποτὲ καὶ ἄλλοτέ φασιν Ξ, et Σ dubit. Gutas (de Arab. cf. ad loc.) : cf. ad 1451a7–9   9–10 τὴν φύσιν τοῦ πράγματος Π : τὴν τοῦ πράγματος φύσιν B : [Σ]

φύσιν τοῦ πράγματος ὅρος, ἀεὶ μὲν ὁ μείζων μέχρι τοῦ σύνδηλος εἶναι καλλίων ἐστὶ κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος· ὡς δὲ ἁπλῶς διορίσαντας εἰπεῖν, ἐν ὅσῳ μεγέθει κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἢ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ἐφεξῆς γιγνομένων συμβαίνει εἰς εὐτυχίαν ἐκ δυστυχίας ἢ ἐξ εὐτυχίας εἰς δυστυχίαν μεταβάλλειν, ἱκανὸς ὅρος ἐστὶν τοῦ μεγέθους.

Μῦθος δ' ἐστὶν εἷς οὐχ ὥσπερ τινὲς οἴονται ἐὰν 8
περὶ ἕνα ᾖ· πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἄπειρα τῷ ἑνὶ συμβαίνει, ἐξ ὧν ἐνίων οὐδέν ἐστιν ἕν· οὕτως δὲ καὶ πράξεις ἑνὸς πολλαί εἰσιν, ἐξ ὧν μία οὐδεμία γίνεται πρᾶξις. διὸ πάντες ἐοίκασιν ἁμαρτάνειν ὅσοι τῶν ποιητῶν Ἡρακληΐδα καὶ Θησηΐδα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιήματα πεποιήκασιν· οἴονται γάρ, ἐπεὶ εἷς ἦν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, ἕνα καὶ τὸν μῦθον εἶναι προσήκειν. ὁ δ' Ὅμηρος ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα διαφέρει καὶ τοῦτ' ἔοικεν καλῶς ἰδεῖν, ἤτοι διὰ τέχνην ἢ διὰ φύσιν· Ὀδύσσειαν γὰρ ποιῶν οὐκ ἐποίησεν ἅπαντα ὅσα αὐτῷ συνέβη, οἷον πληγῆναι μὲν ἐν τῷ Παρνασσῷ, μανῆναι δὲ προσποιήσασθαι ἐν τῷ ἀγερμῷ, ὧν οὐδὲν θατέρου γενομένου ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ἢ εἰκὸς θάτερον γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ περὶ μίαν πρᾶξιν οἵαν λέγομεν τὴν Ὀδύσσειαν συνέστησεν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἰλιάδα. χρὴ οὖν, καθάπερ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις μιμητικαῖς ἡ μία μίμησις ἑνός ἐστιν, οὕτω καὶ τὸν μῦθον, ἐπεὶ πράξεως μίμησίς ἐστι, μιᾶς τε εἶναι καὶ ταύτης ὅλης, καὶ τὰ μέρη συνεστάναι τῶν πραγμάτων οὕτως ὥστε μετατιθεμένου τινὸς μέρους ἢ ἀφαιρουμένου διαφέρεσθαι καὶ κινεῖσθαι τὸ ὅλον· ὃ γὰρ προσὸν ἢ μὴ προσὸν μηδὲν ποιεῖ ἐπίδηλον, οὐδὲν μόριον τοῦ ὅλου ἐστίν.

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12 διορίσαντας ΠΣ : διορίσαντα B 14 ἐξ εὐτυχίας εἰς δυστυχίαν μεταβάλλειν Π : ἐξ εὐτύχων εἰς δυστυχήματαβάλλειν (sic) B : ἐκ δυστυχίας εἰς εὐτυχίαν μεταβάλλειν sic vertit Ar. 17 ἑνὶ ΒΣ : γένει Π 18 ἐνίων ΠΣ : ἔνι B 20 καὶ Θησηΐδα ΒΣ : Θησηΐδα Π 24 ἰδεῖν] *nosse* Lat. 27–28 ἦν ἢ B : ἦν A et Ar. ut vid. : *aut* Lat. 28 μίαν] μὲν ante μίαν B : [Σ] 29 λέγομεν ΒΦ : λέγοιμεν A : [Σ] δὲ ΠΣ : ὅτι δὲ B 34 διαφέρεσθαι Ξ : διαφθείρεσθαι Σ, Laur. 60. 21 in marg.

9 Φανερὸν δὲ ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ ὅτι οὐ τὸ τὰ γενόμενα λέγειν, τοῦτο ποιητοῦ ἔργον ἐστίν, ἀλλ' οἷα ἂν γένοιτο καὶ τὰ δυνατὰ κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἢ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον. ὁ γὰρ ἱστορικὸς καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς οὐ τῷ ἢ ἔμμετρα λέγειν ἢ ἄμετρα 1451b1 διαφέρουσιν (εἴη γὰρ ἂν τὰ Ἡροδότου εἰς μέτρα τεθῆναι καὶ οὐδὲν ἧττον ἂν εἴη ἱστορία τις μετὰ μέτρου ἢ ἄνευ μέτρων)· ἀλλὰ τούτῳ διαφέρει, τῷ τὸν μὲν τὰ γενόμενα λέγειν, τὸν δὲ οἷα ἂν γένοιτο. διὸ καὶ φιλοσοφώτερον καὶ σπουδαιότερον ποίησις ἱστορίας ἐστίν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ποίησις μᾶλλον τὰ καθόλου, ἡ δ' ἱστορία τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον λέγει. ἔστιν δὲ καθόλου μέν, τῷ ποίῳ τὰ ποῖα ἄττα συμβαίνει λέγειν ἢ πράττειν κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἢ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον, οὗ στοχάζεται ἡ ποίησις ὀνόματα ἐπιτιθεμένη· τὸ δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον, τί Ἀλκιβιάδης ἔπραξεν ἢ τί ἔπαθεν. ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς κωμῳδίας ἤδη τοῦτο δῆλον γέγονεν· συστήσαντες γὰρ τὸν μῦθον διὰ τῶν εἰκότων οὕτω τὰ τυχόντα ὀνόματα ὑποτιθέασιν, καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ ἰαμβοποιοὶ περὶ τὸν καθ' ἕκαστον ποιοῦσιν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τραγῳδίας τῶν γενομένων ὀνομάτων ἀντέχονται. αἴτιον δ' ὅτι πιθανόν ἐστι τὸ δυνατόν· τὰ μὲν οὖν μὴ γενόμενα οὔπω πιστεύομεν εἶναι δυνατά, τὰ δὲ γενόμενα φανερὸν ὅτι δυνατά· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐγένετο, εἰ ἦν ἀδύνατα. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς τραγῳδίαις ἐνίαις μὲν ἓν ἢ δύο τῶν γνωρίμων ἐστὶν ὀνομάτων, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πεποιη-

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36 οὐ τὸ ΒΦΣ : οὕτω Α 36–37 γενόμενα Σ, rec. : γινόμενα ΑΒ : [Φ] 37 τοῦτο] non vert. Lat. **1451b1** λέγειν ἢ ἄμετρα Π : ἢ ἄμετρα λέγειν Β : [Σ] 2 γὰρ ΠΣ : om. Β 3 καὶ ΠΣ : om. Β ἧττον] = B^{c} (ἢ ex ἂν) εἴη et τις non vert. Lat. 4 τούτῳ ΒΦ : τοῦτο ΑΣ 7 τὰ καθόλου Ξ : καθόλου ut interpr. Ar. λέγει] = B^{c} (ex λέγειν) 8 καθόλου Π, et ut interpr. Ar. : τὰ καθόλου Β (ex l. 7) 9 οὗ Π, Σ ut vid. : οὐ Β 10 τὸ Β : τὸν Α : τὰ Paris. 2038, et ut interpr. Ar. : [Φ] 10–11 καθ' ἕκαστον Ξ : καθ' ἕκαστα ut interpr. Ar. 13 οὕτω Ξ : οὐ Σ τυχόντα ΠΣ : τιθέντα Β 13–14 ὑποτιθέασιν Π : τιθέασι Β : [Σ] 14 τὸν Α : τῶν Β : τὰ ut interpr. Ar. : [Φ] καθ' ἕκαστον Ξ : καθ' ἕκαστα ut interpr. Ar. 19 ἐνίαις ΠΣ : ἐν ἐνίαις Β

μένα, ἐν ἐνίαις δὲ οὐθέν, οἷον ἐν τῷ Ἀγάθωνος Ἀνθεῖ· ὁμοίως γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ τά τε πράγματα καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα πεποίηται, καὶ οὐδὲν ἧττον εὐφραίνει. ὥστ᾽ οὐ πάντως εἶναι ζητητέον τῶν παραδεδομένων μύθων, περὶ οὓς αἱ τραγῳδίαι εἰσίν, ἀντέχεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ γελοῖον τοῦτο ζητεῖν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ γνώριμα ὀλίγοις γνώριμά ἐστιν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως εὐφραίνει πάντας. δῆλον οὖν ἐκ τούτων ὅτι τὸν ποιητὴν μᾶλλον τῶν μύθων εἶναι δεῖ ποιητὴν ἢ τῶν μέτρων, ὅσῳ ποιητὴς κατὰ τὴν μίμησίν ἐστιν, μιμεῖται δὲ τὰς πράξεις. κἂν ἄρα συμβῇ γενόμενα ποιεῖν, οὐθὲν ἧττον ποιητής ἐστι· τῶν γὰρ γενομένων ἔνια οὐδὲν κωλύει τοιαῦτα εἶναι οἷα ἂν εἰκὸς γενέσθαι καὶ δυνατὰ γενέσθαι, καθ᾽ ὃ ἐκεῖνος αὐτῶν ποιητής ἐστιν.

τῶν δὲ ἁπλῶν μύθων καὶ πράξεων αἱ ἐπεισοδιώδεις εἰσὶν χείρισται· λέγω δ᾽ ἐπεισοδιώδη μῦθον ἐν ᾧ τὰ ἐπεισόδια μετ᾽ ἄλληλα οὔτ᾽ εἰκὸς οὔτ᾽ ἀνάγκη εἶναι. τοιαῦται δὲ ποιοῦνται ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν φαύλων ποιητῶν δι᾽ αὐτούς, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν διὰ τοὺς ὑποκριτάς· ἀγωνίσματα γὰρ ποιοῦντες καὶ παρὰ τὴν δύναμιν παρατείνοντες τὸν μῦθον πολλάκις διαστρέφειν ἀναγκάζονται τὸ ἐφεξῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ μόνον τελείας ἐστὶ πράξεως ἡ μίμησις ἀλλὰ καὶ φοβερῶν καὶ ἐλεεινῶν, ταῦτα δὲ γίνεται καὶ μάλιστα [καὶ μᾶλλον] ὅταν γένηται παρὰ τὴν δόξαν δι᾽ ἄλληλα· τὸ γὰρ θαυμαστὸν οὕτως ἕξει μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου καὶ

21 οὐθὲν Φ : οὐθ᾽ ἓν A : οὐδὲν B : [Σ] ἐν τῷ Ἀγάθωνος Ἀνθεῖ] ἓν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ὃς ἂν θῇ ut intell. Syr. Ἀνθεῖ ci. Welcker : ἄνθει AB : *Anthe* Lat. : Ἄνθῃ ci. Gudeman ὁμοίως ΠΣ : ὁμοίως ὅτι B 23 ὥστ᾽ οὐ ΒΦΣ : ὡς τοῦ A 28 ὅσῳ] *tamquam* Lat. (= ὡς ὁ? ci. Minio) τὴν A : om. B : [Φ] : [Σ] 30 οὐθὲν A : *nichil* Lat. : οὐδὲν B : [Σ] 32 καὶ δυνατὰ γενέσθαι Ξ : om. Σ, secl. Vorlaender 33 ἁπλῶν Ξ, Ψ apud Avicen. : [Σ] : ἐπεισοδιωδῶν ut intell. Ar., sed quid translator legerit nescimus : ἄλλων ci. Tyrwhitt : ἀτελῶν ci. Essen ἐπεισοδιώδεις ΠΣ : ἐπιδόσεις B 34 τὰ A, Σ ut vid. : καὶ B : [Φ] 38 παρατείνοντες ΒΣ : παρατείναντες A : [Φ] τὸν B : om. A : [Φ] : [Σ] **1452a1** δὲ Ξ : non vertit Ar. 3 δὲ ΠΣ : om. B καὶ[2] Π : om. B : [Σ] καὶ μᾶλλον Ω : del. Ellebodius, Spengel 5 οὕτως ΠΣ : οὔτε B

τῆς τύχης, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τύχης ταῦτα θαυμασιώτατα δοκεῖ ὅσα ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες φαίνεται γεγονέναι, οἷον ὡς ὁ ἀνδριὰς ὁ τοῦ Μίτυος ἐν Ἄργει ἀπέκτεινεν τὸν αἴτιον τοῦ θανάτου τῷ Μίτυι, θεωροῦντι ἐμπεσών· ἔοικε γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐκ εἰκῇ γίνεσθαι· ὥστε ἀνάγκη τοὺς τοιούτους εἶναι καλλίους μύθους.

10 Εἰσὶ δὲ τῶν μύθων οἱ μὲν ἁπλοῖ οἱ δὲ πεπλεγμένοι· καὶ γὰρ αἱ πράξεις ὧν μιμήσεις οἱ μῦθοί εἰσιν ὑπάρχουσιν εὐθὺς οὖσαι τοιαῦται. λέγω δὲ ἁπλῆν μὲν πρᾶξιν ἧς γινομένης ὥσπερ ὥρισται συνεχοῦς καὶ μιᾶς ἄνευ περιπετείας ἢ ἀναγνωρισμοῦ ἡ μετάβασις γίνεται, πεπλεγμένην δὲ ἐξ ἧς μετὰ ἀναγνωρισμοῦ ἢ περιπετείας ἢ ἀμφοῖν ἡ μετάβασίς ἐστιν. ταῦτα δὲ δεῖ γίνεσθαι ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς συστάσεως τοῦ μύθου, ὥστε ἐκ τῶν προγεγενημένων συμβαίνειν ἢ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἢ κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς γίγνεσθαι ταῦτα· διαφέρει γὰρ πολὺ τὸ γίγνεσθαι τάδε διὰ τάδε ἢ μετὰ τάδε.

11 Ἔστι δὲ περιπέτεια μὲν ἡ εἰς τὸ ἐναντίον τῶν πραττομένων μεταβολὴ καθάπερ εἴρηται, καὶ τοῦτο δὲ ὥσπερ λέγομεν κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἢ ἀναγκαῖον, οἷον ἐν τῷ Οἰδίποδι ἐλθὼν ὡς εὐφρανῶν τὸν Οἰδίπουν καὶ ἀπαλλάξων τοῦ πρὸς τὴν μητέρα φόβου, δηλώσας ὃς ἦν, τοὐναντίον ἐποίησεν· καὶ ἐν τῷ Λυγκεῖ ὁ μὲν ἀγόμενος ὡς ἀποθανούμενος, ὁ δὲ Δαναὸς ἀκολουθῶν ὡς ἀποκτενῶν, τὸν μὲν συνέβη ἐκ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀποθανεῖν, τὸν δὲ σωθῆναι. ἀναγνώρισις

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6 ἐπεὶ … τύχης] non vertit Lat. τῶν ἀπὸ τύχης A, Σ ut vid. : ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης B 7 ὡς ὁ A : ὥσπερ ὁ B : [Φ] : [Σ] 8 τὸν αἴτιον] *causam* Lat. 9 μίτυϊ B, Σ ut vid. : μήτυϊ A : *mityo* Lat. 10 γίνεσθαι ΒΣ : γενέσθαι Π 12 πεπλεγμένοι ΠΣ : πεπλασμένοι B 16 ἢ] *et* Lat. πεπλεγμένην B : πεπλεγμένη Π : πεπλεγμέναι ut intell. Ar. 17 ἐξ ἧς ΒΣ : λέξις Π ἢ[2] ΠΣ : om. B 21 τὸ A, B (add. s. l.) : [Φ] : [Σ] 22–23 πραττομένων ΠΣ : πραττόντων B 24 λέγομεν] *dicebamus* Lat. οἷον B : ὥσπερ Π, Σ ut vid. 25 ἀπαλλάξων Π, Σ ut vid. : ἀπαλάσσων B[c] (ω ex corr.) 26 τοὐναντίον] τουναν plus spat. 2–3 litt. B 27 λυγκεῖ Π, Σ ut vid. : γλυκεῖ B 28 et 29 τὸν et τὸν Π : τῷ et τῷ B : [Σ]

δέ, ὥσπερ καὶ τοὔνομα σημαίνει, ἐξ ἀγνοίας εἰς γνῶσιν μεταβολή, ἢ εἰς φιλίαν ἢ εἰς ἔχθραν, τῶν πρὸς εὐτυχίαν ἢ δυστυχίαν ὡρισμένων· καλλίστη δὲ ἀναγνώρισις, ὅταν ἅμα περιπετείᾳ γένηται, οἷον ἔχει ἡ ἐν τῷ Οἰδίποδι. εἰσὶν μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλαι ἀναγνωρίσεις· καὶ γὰρ πρὸς ἄψυχα καὶ τὰ τυχόντα ἐστὶν ὡς ὅπερ εἴρηται συμβαίνει, καὶ εἰ πέπραγέ τις ἢ μὴ πέπραγεν ἔστιν ἀναγνωρίσαι. ἀλλ' ἡ μάλιστα τοῦ μύθου καὶ ἡ μάλιστα τῆς πράξεως ἡ εἰρημένη ἐστίν· ἡ γὰρ τοιαύτη ἀναγνώρισις καὶ περιπέτεια ἢ ἔλεον ἕξει ἢ φόβον, οἵων πράξεων ἡ τραγῳδία μίμησις ὑπόκειται· ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀτυχεῖν καὶ τὸ εὐτυχεῖν ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων συμβήσεται. ἐπεὶ δὴ ἡ ἀναγνώρισις τινῶν ἐστιν ἀναγνώρισις, αἱ μέν εἰσι θατέρου πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον μόνον, ὅταν ᾖ δῆλος ἅτερος τίς ἐστιν, ὁτὲ δὲ ἀμφοτέρους δεῖ ἀναγνωρίσαι, οἷον ἡ μὲν Ἰφιγένεια τῷ Ὀρέστῃ ἀνεγνωρίσθη ἐκ τῆς πέμψεως τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, ἐκείνου δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ἰφιγένειαν ἄλλης ἔδει ἀναγνωρίσεως.

δύο μὲν οὖν τοῦ μύθου μέρη ταῦτ' ἐστί, περιπέτεια καὶ ἀναγνώρισις· τρίτον δὲ πάθος. τούτων δὲ περιπέτεια μὲν

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31 ἢ εἰς φιλίαν] = B ἢ^2 ΠΣ : om. B εἰς^2] non vert. Lat. 33 περιπετείᾳ ci. Gomperz : περιπετεῖαι (sic) A : *peripetie* Lat. : περιπέτεια ΒΣ γένηται ΒΣ : γίνονται Π οἷον Ω : οἵαν ci. Bywater : ὡς Paris. 2038 ἡ Π : om. Β, Σ ut vid. 34–36 ἀναγνωρίσεις … ἀναγνωρίσαι] ἀναγνωρίσεις B 34–35 καὶ τὰ τυχόντα … καὶ] καὶ Σ καὶ τὰ τυχόντα ἐστὶν A (sed ἔστιν Paris. 2038) : *et ad quaecumque adhuc et* Lat. (= καὶ πρὸς τὰ τυχόντα, ἔτι καὶ?) 35 ὡς ὅπερ εἴρηται ci. Spengel, Bywater : ὥσπερ εἴρηται Π 36 ἢ Paris. 2038 : εἰ A : εἰ vel καὶ εἰ Σ : *et si* Lat. **1452b1** οἵων ΒΦ : οἷον ΑΣ ante μίμησις B scr. μιμη in fine paginae 2 ἔτι δὲ Ω : ἐπειδὴ ci. Vahlen, Kassel 3 ἐπειδὴ (ἐπεὶ δὴ Paris. 2038) ἡ ἀναγνώρισις ΠΣ : ἔτι δὲ ἀναγνωρίσεις B τινῶν ἐστιν ἀναγνώρισις ΠΣ : om. B 4 εἰσι B : om. Π : [Σ] ἅτερος Paris. 2038 : ἄτερος (sic) B : ἕτερος A : [Φ] : [Σ] 5 ὁτὲ ΦΣ, Paris. 2038 : ὅτε AB 6 μὲν] non vert. Lat. 7 ἐκείνου ci. Bywater : ἐκείνῳ Ξ : [Σ] ἔδει ΠΣ : ἔφη B 9 ταῦτ'] ταῦτα ΒΦ, fort. Σ : περὶ ταῦτ' A 10 καὶ Π : μὲν καὶ B : [Σ] 10–12 τούτων … ὀδυνηρά] de Arab. cf. Gutas ad 1452b9

καὶ ἀναγνώρισις εἴρηται, πάθος δέ ἐστι πρᾶξις φθαρτικὴ ἢ ὀδυνηρά, οἷον οἵ τε ἐν τῷ φανερῷ θάνατοι καὶ αἱ περιωδυνίαι καὶ τρώσεις καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα.

12 Μέρη δὲ τραγῳδίας οἷς μὲν ὡς εἴδεσι δεῖ χρῆσθαι πρότερον εἴπομεν, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ποσὸν καὶ εἰς ἃ διαιρεῖται κεχωρισμένα τάδε ἐστίν, πρόλογος ἐπεισόδιον ἔξοδος χορικόν, καὶ τούτου τὸ μὲν πάροδος τὸ δὲ στάσιμον, κοινὰ μὲν ἁπάντων ταῦτα, ἴδια δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ κομμοί. ἔστιν δὲ πρόλογος μὲν μέρος ὅλον τραγῳδίας τὸ πρὸ χοροῦ παρόδου, ἐπεισόδιον δὲ μέρος ὅλον τραγῳδίας τὸ μεταξὺ ὅλων χορικῶν μελῶν, ἔξοδος δὲ μέρος ὅλον τραγῳδίας μεθ᾽ ὃ οὐκ ἔστι χοροῦ μέλος· χορικοῦ δὲ πάροδος μὲν ἡ πρώτη λέξις ὅλη χοροῦ, στάσιμον δὲ μέλος χοροῦ τὸ ἄνευ ἀναπαίστου καὶ τροχαίου, κομμὸς δὲ θρῆνος κοινὸς χοροῦ καὶ ἀπὸ σκηνῆς. μέρη δὲ τραγῳδίας οἷς μὲν ⟨ὡς εἴδεσι⟩ δεῖ χρῆσθαι πρότερον εἴπαμεν, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ποσὸν καὶ εἰς ἃ διαιρεῖται κεχωρισμένα ταῦτ᾽ ἐστίν.

13 Ὧν δὲ δεῖ στοχάζεσθαι καὶ ἃ δεῖ εὐλαβεῖσθαι συνιστάντας τοὺς μύθους καὶ πόθεν ἔσται τὸ τῆς τραγῳδίας ἔργον, ἐφεξῆς ἂν εἴη λεκτέον τοῖς νῦν εἰρημένοις. ἐπειδὴ οὖν

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11 ἢ ΑΒΣ : καὶ Φ 12 οἵ τε ΒΣ : *que* Lat. : ὅτε Α 13 τρώσεις Α : αἱ τρώσεις Β : [Φ] : [Σ] 14–27 cf. n. ad loc. 16–17 χορικόν Ξ : χορικοῦ ut intell. Syr. 17 τούτου ΠΣ : τοῦτο Β 18 ἴδια] om. Ar. in lac. ἀπὸ ΠΣ : ὑπὸ Β 18–19 κομμοί … τὸ πρὸ om. Ar. in lac. cf. Gutas ad 1452b18–20 18 κομμοί edd. : κόμμοι ΑΒ : [Φ] 19–20 πρὸ χοροῦ παρόδου Φ, Paris. 2038 : προχωροῦ παρόδου Α : προχόρου γὰρ ὁδοῦ Β : ⟨***⟩χοροῦ παρόδου Σ, lac. in text. Ar. stat. Gutas 21 μέρος ΠΣ : μέλος Β 22 μεθ᾽ ὃ ΠΣ : καθ᾽ ὃ Β μέλος ΠΣ : μέρος Β χορικοῦ Π, Σ ut vid. : χορικὸς Β 23 ὅλη ci. Susemihl : ὅλου Ω στάσιμον Π : στάσιμος Β, Σ ut vid. μέλος Ξ : μέρος Σ 24 κομμὸς edd. : κόμμος ΑΒ : [Φ] : [Σ] κοινὸς] καινὸς Φ 25 ὡς εἴδεσι rec. (cf. supra 1452b14) : om. Ω 26 εἴπαμεν Π : εἴπομεν Β : [Σ] δὲ] non vert. Lat. 27 κεχωρισμένα ταῦτ᾽ ΠΣ : ταῦτα κεχωρισμένα Β 28 ὧν ΦΣ, Paris. 2038 (ex ὡς) : ὡς ΑΒ 29 καὶ] = Α, sed αὶ in ras. vel def. perg.

δεῖ τὴν σύνθεσιν εἶναι τῆς καλλίστης τραγῳδίας μὴ ἁπλῆν ἀλλὰ πεπλεγμένην καὶ ταύτην φοβερῶν καὶ ἐλεεινῶν εἶναι μιμητικήν (τοῦτο γὰρ ἴδιον τῆς τοιαύτης μιμήσεώς ἐστιν), πρῶτον μὲν δῆλον ὅτι οὔτε τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς ἄνδρας δεῖ μεταβάλλοντας φαίνεσθαι ἐξ εὐτυχίας εἰς δυστυχίαν, οὐ γὰρ φοβερὸν οὐδὲ ἐλεεινὸν τοῦτο ἀλλὰ μιαρόν ἐστιν· οὔτε τοὺς μοχθηροὺς ἐξ ἀτυχίας εἰς εὐτυχίαν, ἀτραγῳδότατον γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ πάντων, οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔχει ὧν δεῖ, οὔτε γὰρ φιλάνθρωπον οὔτε ἐλεεινὸν οὔτε φοβερόν ἐστιν· οὐδ' αὖ τὸν σφόδρα πονηρὸν ἐξ εὐτυχίας εἰς δυστυχίαν μεταπίπτειν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ φιλάνθρωπον ἔχοι ἂν ἡ τοιαύτη σύστασις ἀλλ' οὔτε ἔλεον οὔτε φόβον, ὁ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τὸν ἀνάξιόν ἐστιν δυστυχοῦντα, ὁ δὲ περὶ τὸν ὅμοιον, ἔλεος μὲν περὶ τὸν ἀνάξιον, φόβος δὲ περὶ τὸν ὅμοιον, ὥστε οὔτε ἐλεεινὸν οὔτε φοβερὸν ἔσται τὸ συμβαῖνον. ὁ μεταξὺ ἄρα τούτων λοιπός. ἔστι δὲ τοιοῦτος ὁ μήτε ἀρετῇ διαφέρων καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ μήτε διὰ κακίαν καὶ μοχθηρίαν μεταβάλλων εἰς τὴν δυστυχίαν ἀλλὰ δι' ἁμαρτίαν τινά, τῶν ἐν μεγάλῃ δόξῃ ὄντων καὶ εὐτυχίᾳ, οἷον Οἰδίπους καὶ Θυέστης καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων γενῶν ἐπιφανεῖς ἄνδρες. ἀνάγκη ἄρα τὸν καλῶς ἔχοντα μῦθον ἁπλοῦν εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ διπλοῦν, ὥσπερ τινές φασι, καὶ μεταβάλλειν οὐκ εἰς εὐτυχίαν ἐκ δυστυχίας ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον ἐξ εὐτυχίας εἰς δυστυχίαν μὴ διὰ μοχθηρίαν ἀλλὰ δι' ἁμαρτίαν μεγάλην ἢ οἵου εἴρηται ἢ βελτίονος μᾶλλον ἢ χείρονος. σημεῖον δὲ καὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ

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31 δεῖ] = A[c] (εῖ in ras. vel def. perg.)   32 πεπλεγμένην ΠΣ : πεπλασμένην B   35–37 δυστυχίαν … εὐτυχίαν ΠΣ : δυστυχίαν τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀρετῇ· B   37 ἀτραγῳδότατον Π : ἀτραγῳδητότατον B : [Σ]   38 ἔχει] non vert. Lat.   **1453a1** αὖ τὸν Paris. 2038 : αὐτὸν B, Σ ut vid. (nisi αὐτὸν ⟨τὸν⟩ leg.) : αὐτὸ Π   4 περὶ ΠΣ : παρὰ B   5–6 ὅμοιον … ὅμοιον] ὅμοιον B   6 ἔσται] *est* Lat.   11 οἰδίπους BΣ : δίπους Π   12 ἄνδρες] = B[c] (σ ex corr.)   13 τινές φασι edd. : τινὲς φασὶ Π : φασὶ τινὲς B : [Σ]   15 μοχθηρίαν A, Σ ut vid. : *pestilentiam* Lat. : μοχθηρίας B   16 οἵου ΠΣ : οἵου ὡς B   ἢ[2]] om. Σ   17 πρῶτον ΠΣ : πρότοῦ (sic) B

οἱ ποιηταὶ τοὺς τυχόντας μύθους ἀπηρίθμουν, νῦν δὲ περὶ ὀλίγας οἰκίας αἱ κάλλισται τραγῳδίαι συντίθενται, οἷον περὶ Ἀλκμέωνα καὶ Οἰδίπουν καὶ Ὀρέστην καὶ Μελέαγρον καὶ Θυέστην καὶ Τήλεφον καὶ ὅσοις ἄλλοις συμβέβηκεν ἢ παθεῖν δεινὰ ἢ ποιῆσαι. ἡ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν τέχνην καλλίστη τραγῳδία ἐκ ταύτης τῆς συστάσεώς ἐστι. διὸ καὶ οἱ Εὐριπίδῃ ἐγκαλοῦντες τὸ αὐτὸ ἁμαρτάνουσιν ὅτι τοῦτο δρᾷ ἐν ταῖς τραγῳδίαις καὶ αἱ πολλαὶ αὐτοῦ εἰς δυστυχίαν τελευτῶσιν. τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν ὥσπερ εἴρηται ὀρθόν· σημεῖον δὲ μέγιστον· ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν σκηνῶν καὶ τῶν ἀγώνων τραγικώταται αἱ τοιαῦται φαίνονται, ἂν κατορθωθῶσιν, καὶ ὁ Εὐριπίδης, εἰ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μὴ εὖ οἰκονομεῖ, ἀλλὰ τραγικώτατός γε τῶν ποιητῶν φαίνεται. δευτέρα δ᾽ ἡ πρώτη λεγομένη ὑπὸ τινῶν ἐστιν σύστασις, ἡ διπλῆν τε τὴν σύστασιν ἔχουσα καθάπερ ἡ Ὀδύσσεια καὶ τελευτῶσα ἐξ ἐναντίας τοῖς βελτίοσι καὶ χείροσιν. δοκεῖ δὲ εἶναι πρώτη διὰ τὴν τῶν θεάτρων ἀσθένειαν· ἀκολουθοῦσι γὰρ οἱ ποιηταὶ κατ᾽ εὐχὴν ποιοῦντες τοῖς θεαταῖς. ἔστιν δὲ οὐχ αὕτη ἀπὸ τραγῳδίας ἡδονὴ ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τῆς κωμῳδίας οἰκεία· ἐκεῖ γὰρ οἳ ἂν ἔχθιστοι ὦσιν ἐν τῷ μύθῳ, οἷον Ὀρέστης καὶ Αἴγισθος, φίλοι γενόμενοι ἐπὶ τελευτῆς ἐξέρχονται, καὶ ἀποθνῄσκει οὐδεὶς ὑπ᾽ οὐδενός.

14 Ἔστιν μὲν οὖν τὸ φοβερὸν καὶ ἐλεεινὸν ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως 1453b1
γίγνεσθαι, ἔστιν δὲ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς συστάσεως τῶν πραγ-

19 οἰκίας] *convenientes* Lat. (= οἰκείας) κάλλισται Ξ, Ψ apud Avicen. : om. Σ : del. Christ. 20 ἀλκμέωνα ci. Bywater : ἀλκμαίωνα AB : *alkmeonem* Lat. : [Σ] 22 τὴν A : om. BΣ : [Φ] 23 ταύτης τῆς] *tali* Lat. (= τοιαύτης Φ? ci. Minio) 24 τὸ αὐτὸ Ξ : om. Ar. (fort. om. Σ) : del. Spengel, Gudeman : τοῦτ᾽ αὐτὸ ci. Thurot : αὐτοὶ ci. Reiz : τὸ secl. Bywater 25 ἐν BΦ, A^c (ν in ras.), Σ ut vid. ταῖς A^c (τ in ras.), Σ ut vid. : αἷς B : [Φ] καὶ αἱ ci. Knebel : καὶ Π : αἱ B : [Σ] : αἱ γὰρ ut intell. Ar. 29 μὴ Ξ : om. Ar. 31 ἡ ΦΣ, Paris. 2038 : ἢ B : ἢ A τε A : om. BΦ : [Σ] 32 καὶ ΠΣ : om. B 32–33 ἐξ ἐναντίας ΠΣ : εἰς τοὐναντίον B 33 εἶναι] non vert. Lat. 34 τῶν A : om. B : [Φ] : [Σ] 37 οἳ ἂν ci. Bonitz : ἂν οἱ ABΣ : *si* Lat. (= ἂν)

μάτων, ὅπερ ἐστὶ πρότερον καὶ ποιητοῦ ἀμείνονος. δεῖ γὰρ καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ ὁρᾶν οὕτω συνεστάναι τὸν μῦθον ὥστε τὸν ἀκούοντα τὰ πράγματα γινόμενα καὶ φρίττειν καὶ ἐλεεῖν ἐκ τῶν συμβαινόντων· ἅπερ ἂν πάθοι τις ἀκούων τὸν τοῦ Οἰδίπου μῦθον. τὸ δὲ διὰ τῆς ὄψεως τοῦτο παρασκευάζειν ἀτεχνότερον καὶ χορηγίας δεόμενόν ἐστιν. οἱ δὲ μὴ τὸ φοβερὸν διὰ τῆς ὄψεως ἀλλὰ τὸ τερατῶδες μόνον παρασκευάζοντες οὐδὲν τραγῳδίᾳ κοινωνοῦσιν· οὐ γὰρ πᾶσαν δεῖ ζητεῖν ἡδονὴν ἀπὸ τραγῳδίας ἀλλὰ τὴν οἰκείαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ ἐλέου καὶ φόβου διὰ μιμήσεως δεῖ ἡδονὴν παρασκευάζειν τὸν ποιητήν, φανερὸν ὡς τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐμποιητέον. ποῖα οὖν δεινὰ ἢ ποῖα οἰκτρὰ φαίνεται τῶν συμπιπτόντων, λάβωμεν. ἀνάγκη δὴ ἢ φίλων εἶναι πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὰς τοιαύτας πράξεις ἢ ἐχθρῶν ἢ μηδετέρων. ἂν μὲν οὖν ἐχθρὸς ἐχθρόν, οὐδὲν ἐλεεινὸν οὔτε ποιῶν οὔτε μέλλων, πλὴν κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ πάθος· οὐδ' ἂν μηδετέρως ἔχοντες· ὅταν δ' ἐν ταῖς φιλίαις ἐγγένηται τὰ πάθη, οἷον ἢ ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφὸν ἢ υἱὸς πατέρα ἢ μήτηρ υἱὸν ἢ υἱὸς μητέρα ἀποκτείνῃ ἢ μέλλῃ ἤ τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτον δρᾷ, ταῦτα ζητητέον. τοὺς μὲν οὖν παρειλημμένους μύθους λύειν οὐκ ἔστιν, λέγω δὲ οἷον τὴν Κλυταιμήστραν ἀποθανοῦσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀρέστου καὶ τὴν Ἐριφύλην ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀλκμέ-

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1453b3 πρότερον καὶ Π, Σ ut vid. : καὶ πρότερον καὶ B 4 οὕτω ΠΣ : τοῦ B συνεστάναι A : συνιστάναι B : [Φ] : [Σ] 6 ἅπερ ἂν πάθοι τις ΠΣ : ἅπερ ἂν ⌊ καὶ χορηγίας δεόμενόν ἐστι ⌋ (ex lin. 8) --πάθοι τίς (sic) B 6–7 ἀκούων τὸν τοῦ Οἰδίπου μῦθον Π : τὸν ọἰδίπου μῦθον ἀκούων B : [Σ] 7 δὲ Π, Σ ut vid. : om. B 9 φοβερὸν] φοβε--- B 10 πᾶσαν A : ἅπασαν B : [Φ] : [Σ] 12 ἀπὸ ἐλέου Π : ἀπελέου B : [Σ] 15 δὴ ci. Spengel : δὲ Ξ : γὰρ ut intell. Ar. 17 οὐδὲν ἐλεεινὸν Π, fort. Σ : ἐλεεινὸν οὐδὲν B 19 ἐγγένηται A : ἐγγίγνεται BΦ : [Σ] 21 ἀποκτείνῃ ἢ μέλλῃ B : ἀποκτείνει ἢ μέλλει Π : [Σ] 22 δρᾷ Φ, rec. : δρᾶν AB : [Σ] 23 λύειν Π, fort. Σ : λύειν δὲ B κλυταιμήστραν Σ : κλυταιμνήστραν Ξ 24 ἐριφύλην ΠΣ : ἐριφύνην B 24–25 ἀλκμέωνος, ci. Bywater (cf. ad 1453a20) : ἀλκμαίωνος AB : *alkmeone* Lat. : [Σ]

ωνος, αὐτὸν δὲ εὑρίσκειν δεῖ καὶ τοῖς παραδεδομένοις χρῆσθαι καλῶς. τὸ δὲ καλῶς τί λέγομεν, εἴπωμεν σαφέστερον. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ οὕτω γίνεσθαι τὴν πρᾶξιν, ὥσπερ οἱ παλαιοὶ ἐποίουν εἰδότας καὶ γιγνώσκοντας, καθάπερ καὶ Εὐριπίδης ἐποίησεν ἀποκτείνουσαν τοὺς παῖδας τὴν Μήδειαν· ἔστιν δὲ πρᾶξαι μέν, ἀγνοοῦντας δὲ πρᾶξαι τὸ δεινόν, εἶθ' ὕστερον ἀναγνωρίσαι τὴν φιλίαν, ὥσπερ ὁ Σοφοκλέους Οἰδίπους· τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἔξω τοῦ δράματος, ἐν δ' αὐτῇ τῇ τραγῳδίᾳ οἷον ὁ Ἀλκμέων ὁ Ἀστυδάμαντος ἢ ὁ Τηλέγονος ὁ ἐν τῷ τραυματίᾳ Ὀδυσσεῖ. ἔτι δὲ τὸ τρίτον παρὰ ταῦτα τὸ μέλλοντα ποιεῖν τι τῶν ἀνηκέστων δι' ἄγνοιαν ἀναγνωρίσαι πρὶν ποιῆσαι. καὶ παρὰ ταῦτα οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλως. ἢ γὰρ πρᾶξαι ἀνάγκη ἢ μὴ καὶ εἰδότας ἢ μὴ εἰδότας. τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν γινώσκοντα μελλῆσαι καὶ μὴ πρᾶξαι χείριστον· τό τε γὰρ μιαρὸν ἔχει, καὶ οὐ τραγικόν· ἀπαθὲς γάρ. διόπερ οὐδεὶς ποιεῖ ὁμοίως, εἰ μὴ ὀλιγάκις, οἷον ἐν Ἀντιγόνῃ τὸν Κρέοντα 1454a1
ὁ Αἵμων. τὸ δὲ πρᾶξαι δεύτερον. βέλτιον δὲ τὸ ἀγνοοῦντα

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25 δεῖ] = B ut vid. 26 τί λέγομεν] ---έγο--- B εἴπωμεν ΦΣ, Paris. 2038 : --πῳ--- B : εἴπομεν A 26–27 σαφέστερον … γίνεσθαι]——̀ ṿ γὰρ οὕ̣--γίγνεσθαι B 27 ὥσπερ] --περ B 28 ἐποίουν] ̓πο̣ι̣-- ν B 28–29 καὶ Εὐριπίδης ἐποίησεν] κ---̓ριπίδ̣--̓-οίησεν B 29 ἀποκτείνουσαν] *interficere* Lat. τοὺς παῖδας] non vert. Lat. 29–30 ἔστιν δὲ πρᾶξαι μὲν] ἔστιν δὲ μὴ πρᾶξαι μὲν γιγνώσκοντας Σ vel scriptor quidam Graecus 30 ὕστερον] = B ut vid. 31 φιλίαν] ---́-- B 32 οὖν ἔξω τοῦ] ουṿ ἔξ---- B 32–33 ἐν … ἀστυδάμαντος] non vert. Lat. 32 δ'] –B 33 ἀλκμέων ὁ ci. Victorius (sed ἀλκμαίων scr.) : ἀλκμαίωνος A, B ut vid. (ἀλκμ---νος) : [Σ] ὁ τηλέγονος A, B ut vid. (ὁ τηλέγ----) : *quia dicentis* Lat., ex ὅτι λέγοντος (ci. Minio) = Φ : ὅτι vel ὅτε λέγοντος ut intell. Syr. 34 τραυματίᾳ] *Tramatia* Lat. ἔτι] *est* Lat. τὸ τρίτον ΒΣ : τρίτον Π ταῦτα] τ---α̣ B τὸ[2] Σ, ci. Theod. Rentius, Bonitz : τὸν AB : [Φ] 35 ποιεῖν τι τῶν ἀνηκέστων δι' ΠΣ : τι ποιεῖν δι' ἀνήκεστὸν δι' B[c] (pr. δι' inductum, acc. supra η eras., ὸν s. l., alt. δι' ex corr.) 36 ποιῆσαι καὶ παρὰ] ποιῆ-----ὶ--ρὰ B ἄλλως] = B ut vid. γὰρ πρᾶξαι] -̀--ρᾶξαι B 37 καὶ] --- B 38 μελλῆσαι] = B ut vid. τό τε] *tunc* Lat. **1454a1** ὁμοίως] ὁμοί-- B 2–3 βέλτιον … πρᾶξαι ΠΣ, sed βέλτιον δὲ τὸ⟨ν⟩ ἀγνοοῦντα [μὲν] πρᾶξαι ut intell. Ar. : om. B

μὲν πρᾶξαι, πράξαντα δὲ ἀναγνωρίσαι· τό τε γὰρ μιαρὸν οὐ πρόσεστιν καὶ ἡ ἀναγνώρισις ἐκπληκτικόν. κράτιστον δὲ τὸ τελευταῖον, λέγω δὲ οἷον ἐν τῷ Κρεσφόντῃ ἡ Μερόπη μέλλει τὸν υἱὸν ἀποκτείνειν, ἀποκτείνει δὲ οὔ, ἀλλ' ἀνεγνώρισε, καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰφιγενείᾳ ἡ ἀδελφὴ τὸν ἀδελφόν, καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἕλλῃ ὁ υἱὸς τὴν μητέρα ἐκδιδόναι μέλλων ἀνεγνώρισεν. διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο, ὅπερ πάλαι εἴρηται, οὐ περὶ πολλὰ γένη αἱ τραγῳδίαι εἰσίν. ζητοῦντες γὰρ οὐκ ἀπὸ τέχνης ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τύχης εὗρον τὸ τοιοῦτον παρασκευάζειν ἐν τοῖς μύθοις· ἀναγκάζονται οὖν ἐπὶ ταύτας τὰς οἰκίας ἀπαντᾶν ὅσαις τὰ τοιαῦτα συμβέβηκε πάθη. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων συστάσεως καὶ ποίους τινὰς εἶναι δεῖ τοὺς μύθους εἴρηται ἱκανῶς.

Περὶ δὲ τὰ ἤθη τέτταρά ἐστιν ὧν δεῖ στοχάζεσθαι, ἓν μὲν καὶ πρῶτον, ὅπως χρηστὰ ᾖ. ἕξει δὲ ἦθος μὲν ἐὰν ὥσπερ ἐλέχθη ποιῇ φανερὸν ὁ λόγος ἢ ἡ πρᾶξις προαίρεσίν τινα ⟨ἥ τις ἂν⟩ ᾖ, χρηστὸν δὲ ἐὰν χρηστήν. ἔστιν δὲ ἐν ἑκάστῳ γένει· καὶ γὰρ γυνή ἐστιν χρηστὴ καὶ δοῦλος,

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3 δὲ] non vert. Lat., Ar. τό τε A : τότε Φ (= *tunc* Lat.), Σ vel ut intell. Syr. : ---- B 4 καὶ ἡ ἀναγνώρισις ἐκπληκτικόν] = Σ, cf. Gutas ad loc. 5 λέγω δὲ οἷον] λέγ--̀--̑ον B Κρεσφόντῃ] κ̣---φόντη B 6 μέλλει … ἀποκτείνει A, B ut vid. : *debebat … interfecit* Lat. : [Σ̇] δὲ οὔ]----B 6–7 ἀνεγνώρισε A[c] (una litt. eras. post σε), ΦΣ : ἐγνώρισε B 7 τῇ Ἰφιγενείᾳ ἡ] --ἰφι------- B 7–8 καὶ[2] … ἐκδιδόναι] κ--------λη - ὑὸς -------ρ---διδο--- B 9 ὅπερ πάλαι Π, Σ ut vid. : ὃ----άλαι B 10 γένη αἱ τραγῳδίαι] = B ut vid. 11 ἀπὸ] α̣-- B 13 πάθη] ---- B 14 συστάσεως ΠΣ : στάσεως B ποίους] ----υς B 16 ἐστιν A : εἰσὶν B : [Φ] : [Σ] 17 καὶ Π : om. B, et fort. Σ πρῶτον ὅπως χρηστὰ] πρῶτο̣-ὅ-ω̣ς χρη--- B 18 ποιῇ] = A[c] (ῆι in ras.) πρᾶξις] πρᾶ--- B 18–19 προαίρεσιν Π : πρὸς αἵρεσιν ΒΣ 19 τινα ⟨ἥ τις ἂν⟩ ᾖ ci. Vahlen : τινα ᾖ ΑΒΣ (sed τινα, ᾖ ut interpr. Ar.) : τινα Paris. 2038 : τινα [ᾖ] ci. Bywater et alii ex Paris. 2038 : *que sit* Lat. 20 καὶ[2]] --- B

καίτοι γε ἴσως τούτων τὸ μὲν χεῖρον, τὸ δὲ ὅλως φαῦλόν ἐστιν. δεύτερον δὲ τὸ ἁρμόττοντα· ἔστιν γὰρ ἀνδρεῖον μὲν τὸ ἦθος, ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ ἁρμόττον γυναικὶ οὕτως ἀνδρείαν ἢ δεινὴν εἶναι. τρίτον δὲ τὸ ὅμοιον. τοῦτο γὰρ ἕτερον τοῦ χρηστὸν τὸ ἦθος καὶ ἁρμόττον ποιῆσαι ὡς προείρηται. τέταρτον δὲ τὸ ὁμαλόν. κἂν γὰρ ἀνώμαλός τις ᾖ ὁ τὴν μίμησιν παρέχων καὶ τοιοῦτον ἦθος ὑποτεθῇ, ὅμως ὁμαλῶς ἀνώμαλον δεῖ εἶναι. ἔστιν δὲ παράδειγμα πονηρίας μὲν ἤθους μὴ ἀναγκαίας οἷον ὁ Μενέλαος ὁ ἐν τῷ Ὀρέστῃ, τοῦ δὲ ἀπρεποῦς καὶ μὴ ἁρμόττοντος ὅ τε θρῆνος Ὀδυσσέως ἐν τῇ Σκύλλῃ καὶ ἡ τῆς Μελανίππης ῥῆσις, τοῦ δὲ ἀνωμάλου ἡ ἐν Αὐλίδι Ἰφιγένεια· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔοικεν ἡ ἱκετεύουσα τῇ ὑστέρᾳ. χρὴ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἤθεσιν ὁμοίως ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων συστάσει ἀεὶ ζητεῖν ἢ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ἢ τὸ εἰκός, ὥστε τὸν τοιοῦτον τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγειν ἢ πράττειν ἢ ἀναγκαῖον ἢ εἰκὸς καὶ τοῦτο μετὰ τοῦτο γίνεσθαι ἢ ἀναγκαῖον ἢ εἰκός. φανερὸν οὖν ὅτι καὶ τὰς λύσεις τῶν μύθων ἐξ αὐτοῦ δεῖ τοῦ μύθου συμβαίνειν, καὶ μὴ ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ Μηδείᾳ ἀπὸ μη- 1454b1
χανῆς καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰλιάδι τὰ περὶ τὸν ἀνάπλουν. ἀλλὰ μηχανῇ χρηστέον ἐπὶ τὰ ἔξω τοῦ δράματος, ἢ ὅσα πρὸ τοῦ

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22 τὸ ΒΣ : τὰ Α : [Φ]   23 οὕτως ci. Vahlen : οὐτῶ Β : ⁎⁎τῶι Α : *aut* Lat. : οὐδὲ τῷ ut intell. Ar.   24 τὸ]-᾽ Β   25 ὡς προείρηται Β[2] (προ ex περ ut vid., acc. fec. ex spir. len.), Σ : ὥσπερ εἴρηται Ξ   26 τέταρτον] τέτ̣----ν̣ Β   ὁμαλόν] ὁμ--ʹν Β   27 μίμησιν παρέχων] μί--σιν̣παρέχ--Β   ὑποτεθῇ ΒΣ : ὑποτιθεὶς Π   ὅμως Ξ : ὁμοίως Σ   28 ἀνώμαλον δεῖ εἶναι] ἀνώμα——— Β   δεῖ] *autem* Lat. (= δέ)   29 ἤθους] ---υς Β   ἀναγκαίας ci. Vorlaender, Thurot : ἀναγκαῖον Ω : ἀναγκαίου Marc. 215, Bywater   μενέλαος Ξ : μὲν ἔλεος ut intell. Syr.   ὁ ἐν Π : ἐν Β, Σ ut vid. nisi om.   31 ῥῆσις] *series* Lat.   32 ἱκετεύουσα] *ministrans* Lat. (= οἰκετεύουσα? ci. Minio)   33 ὁμοίως Kassel (ex Β) : ὁμοίως ὅτι Β : om. ΠΣ   34 ἀεὶ ΠΣ : om. Β   35 ὥστε … ἀναγκαῖον Ξ : om. Syr. vel Ar. ἢ ἀναγκαῖον ΑΒ : *sit* (= ᾖ) *necessarium* Lat.   36 καὶ … εἰκός ΠΣ : om. Β (ex homoioteleuton εἰκὸς … εἰκός)   **1454b1** μύθου Ξ : ἤθους Σ, et ci. Ueberweg   2 ἀνάπλουν Σ, Paris. 2038 : ἁπλοῦν Ξ : ἀπόπλουν rec. 3 ἐπὶ τὰ Β (= ἐ-᾽ τὰ) Σ, Paris. 2038 : ἔπειτα Π

γέγονεν ἃ οὐχ οἷόν τε ἄνθρωπον εἰδέναι, ἢ ὅσα ὕστερον, ἃ δεῖται προαγορεύσεως καὶ ἀγγελίας· ἅπαντα γὰρ ἀποδίδομεν τοῖς θεοῖς ὁρᾶν. ἄλογον δὲ μηδὲν εἶναι ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν, εἰ δὲ μή, ἔξω τῆς τραγῳδίας, οἷον τὸ ἐν τῷ Οἰδίποδι τῷ Σοφοκλέους. ἐπεὶ δὲ μίμησίς ἐστιν ἡ τραγῳδία βελτιόνων ἢ ἡμεῖς, δεῖ μιμεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς εἰκονογράφους· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι ἀποδιδόντες τὴν ἰδίαν μορφὴν ὁμοίους ποιοῦντες καλλίους γράφουσιν· οὕτω καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν μιμούμενον καὶ ὀργίλους καὶ ῥᾳθύμους καὶ τἆλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔχοντας ἐπὶ τῶν ἠθῶν τοιούτους ὄντας ἐπιεικεῖς ποιεῖν [παράδειγμα σκληρότητος] οἷον τὸν Ἀχιλλέα Ἀγάθων καὶ Ὅμηρος. ταῦτα δὴ διατηρεῖν, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τὰ παρὰ τὰς ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀκολουθούσας αἰσθήσεις τῇ ποιητικῇ· καὶ γὰρ κατ᾽ αὐτὰς ἔστιν ἁμαρτάνειν πολλάκις· εἴρηται δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐκδεδομένοις λόγοις ἱκανῶς.

Ἀναγνώρισις δὲ τί μέν ἐστιν, εἴρηται πρότερον· εἴδη 16
δὲ ἀναγνωρίσεως, πρώτη μὲν ἡ ἀτεχνοτάτη καὶ ᾗ πλείστη χρῶνται δι᾽ ἀπορίαν, ἡ διὰ τῶν σημείων. τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν σύμφυτα, οἷον «λόγχην ἣν φοροῦσι Γηγενεῖς» ἢ ἀστέρας οἵους ἐν τῷ Θυέστῃ Καρκίνος, τὰ δὲ ἐπίκτητα, καὶ τούτων

4 ἃ οὐχ Π : ἢ ὅσα οὐχ ΒΣ οἷόν τε ΒΦΣ : οἴονται Α 5 ἅπαντα Α : πάντα Β : [Φ] : [Σ] 6 μηδὲν εἶναι Π, B^{c} (ex μὴ εἰδέναι) : μηδὲν ⟨δεῖ⟩ εἶναι (ci. Gudeman) vel μὴ δεῖν εἶναι Σ 7 τὸ A^{c} (ex τω), ΦΣ : τὸν Β 9 ἢ ἡμεῖς Β : ἡμᾶς Π : ἢ ὡς Σ 10 ἰδίαν Π, Σ ut vid. : οἰκείαν Β 11 οὕτω καὶ] οὔτ---ὶ Β 11–12 μιμούμενον] μι (in fin. pag.) μένον Β 12 τοιαῦτα ΠΣ : τοιαῦτα ἤθη Β 14 παράδειγμα σκληρότητος Ω : post καὶ transp. Lobel : secl. Ritter ἀχιλλέα Π : ἀχιλλέα μὲν Β : [Σ] Ἀγάθων Φ, Paris. 2038, et unus cod. Victorii : ἀγαθῶν Α : ἀγαθὸν ΒΣ καὶ] de Ar. cf. Gutas ad loc. 15 δὴ διατηρεῖν Π : δὲ δεῖ τηρεῖν ΒΣ : δὴ δεῖ διατηρεῖν Paris. 2038 καὶ πρὸς τούτοις] om. Lat. 15–16 τὰ παρὰ τὰς rec. : τὰς παρὰ τὰς Π : τὰς πάντας ΒΣ 17 κατ᾽ αὐτὰς Π : κατὰ ταῦτα Β : [Σ] 18 ἐκδεδομένοις] *traditis* Lat. (= παραδεδομένοις? ci. Minio) 20 ᾗ πλείστη ΒΦ, Σ ut vid., sed ᾗ πλεῖστοι ut intell. Ar. : ἡ πλείστη Α 21 ἡ Φ, Paris. 2038 : ἢ ΑΒ : om. Ar. ut vid. 22 λόγχην] *lancea* Lat.

τὰ μὲν ἐν τῷ σώματι, οἷον οὐλαί, τὰ δὲ ἐκτός, οἷον τὰ περιδέραια καὶ οἷον ἐν τῇ Τυροῖ διὰ τῆς σκάφης. ἔστιν δὲ καὶ τούτοις χρῆσθαι ἢ βέλτιον ἢ χεῖρον, οἷον Ὀδυσσεὺς διὰ τῆς οὐλῆς ἄλλως ἀνεγνωρίσθη ὑπὸ τῆς τροφοῦ καὶ ἄλλως ὑπὸ τῶν συβοτῶν· εἰσὶ γὰρ αἱ μὲν πίστεως ἕνεκα ἀτεχνότεραι, καὶ αἱ τοιαῦται πᾶσαι, αἱ δὲ ἐκ περιπετείας, ὥσπερ ἡ ἐν τοῖς Νίπτροις, βελτίους. δεύτεραι δὲ αἱ πεποιημέναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ, διὸ ἄτεχνοι. οἷον Ὀρέστης ἐν τῇ Ἰφιγενείᾳ ἀνεγνώρισεν ὅτι Ὀρέστης· ἐκείνη μὲν γὰρ διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, ἐκεῖνος δὲ αὐτὸς λέγει ἃ βούλεται ὁ ποιητὴς ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ μῦθος· διό τι ἐγγὺς τῆς εἰρημένης ἁμαρτίας ἐστίν, ἐξῆν γὰρ ἂν ἔνια καὶ ἐνεγκεῖν. καὶ ἐν τῷ Σοφοκλέους Τηρεῖ ἡ τῆς κερκίδος φωνή. τρίτη δὲ ἡ διὰ μνήμης, τῷ αἰσθέσθαι τι ἰδόντα, ὥσπερ ἡ ἐν Κυπρίοις τοῖς Δικαιογένους, ἰδὼν γὰρ 1455a1
τὴν γραφὴν ἔκλαυσεν, καὶ ἡ ἐν Ἀλκίνου ἀπολόγῳ, ἀκούων γὰρ τοῦ κιθαριστοῦ καὶ μνησθεὶς ἐδάκρυσεν, ὅθεν ἀνεγνωρίσθησαν. τετάρτη δὲ ἡ ἐκ συλλογισμοῦ, οἷον ἐν Χοηφόροις, ὅτι ὅμοιός τις ἐλήλυθεν, ὅμοιος δὲ οὐθεὶς ἀλλ' ἢ Ὀρέστης, οὗτος ἄρα ἐλήλυθεν. καὶ ἡ Πολυίδου τοῦ σοφιστοῦ περὶ τῆς

24 οἷον[2] ΒΦΣ : om. A 24–25 περιδέραια ΒΦ : περιδέρρεα A : [Σ] 25 οἷον Paris. 2038 (ον add. s. l.) : οἷ A : οἷα B : *que* Lat. : [Σ] 27 ἄλλως (bis)] *alius* (bis) Lat. ἀνεγνωρίσθη Π : ἐγνωρίσθη B, fort. Σ 29 καὶ αἱ ΠΣ : καὶ B 30 ἡ ΑΣ : οἱ B : *qui* Lat. βελτίους] βε̣--́-υ̣ς B 31 τοῦ] -οῦ B ὀρέστης Π : om. ΒΣ 35 διό τι ἐγγὺς ci. Bywater : διότι ἐγγύς B : δι' ότι ἐγγὺς A : *quia prope* Lat. : διὸ ἐγγὺς (sed τι incertum) Σ : διὸ ἐγγύς τι ci. Vahlen 36 ἂν Π : om. B, Σ ut vid. 36–37 ἡ τῆς κερκίδος φωνή] *spate texentium vox* Lat. 37 τῆς ΑΣ : τῇ B τρίτη δὲ ἡ Σ : τρίτη ἡ Paris. 2038 : ἤτοι τῇ AB : *aut* Lat. : ἡ τρίτη ci. Spengel αἰσθέσθαι Paris. 2038 : αἴσθεσθαι AB : ἔσεσθαι Φ : ἄχθεσθαι ci. Gomperz : [Σ] **1455a1** τι ἰδόντα ΑΣ : *aliquid scientem* Lat. : ἢ εἰδόντα B ὥσπερ ΠΣ : om. B ἡ ΑΣ : ἢ B : *qui* Lat. τοῖς Σ, rec. : τῆς AB : *ipsius* Lat. 2 ἡ ΠΣ : om. B ἀπολόγῳ B : ἀπὸ λόγων ΑΣ : *apologon* Lat. 4 χοηφόροις ΒΣ, ci. Victorius : χλοηφόροις Π 5 ὀρέστης B : ὁ ὀρέστης A : [Φ] : [Σ] 6 οὗτος ΠΣ : οὕτω B πολυίδου ci. Tyrwhitt : πολυείδους Ξ, fort. Σ : πολυείδου rec.

Ἰφιγενείας· εἰκὸς γὰρ ἔφη τὸν Ὀρέστην συλλογίσασθαι ὅτι ἥ τ' ἀδελφὴ ἐτύθη καὶ αὐτῷ συμβαίνει θύεσθαι. καὶ ἐν τῷ Θεοδέκτου Τυδεῖ, ὅτι ἐλθὼν ὡς εὑρήσων τὸν υἱὸν αὐτὸς ἀπόλλυται. καὶ ἡ ἐν τοῖς Φινείδαις· ἰδοῦσαι γὰρ τὸν τόπον συνελογίσαντο τὴν εἱμαρμένην ὅτι ἐν τούτῳ εἵμαρτο ἀποθανεῖν αὐταῖς, καὶ γὰρ ἐξετέθησαν ἐνταῦθα. ἔστιν δέ τις καὶ συνθετὴ ἐκ παραλογισμοῦ τοῦ θεάτρου, οἷον ἐν τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ τῷ ψευδαγγέλῳ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ τὸ τόξον ἐντείνειν, ἄλλον δὲ μηδένα, πεποιημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ καὶ ὑπόθεσις, καὶ εἴ γε τὸ τόξον ἔφη γνώσεσθαι ὃ οὐχ ἑωράκει· τὸ δὲ ὡς δι' ἐκείνου ἀναγνωριοῦντος διὰ τούτου ποιῆσαι παραλογισμός. πασῶν δὲ βελτίστη ἀναγνώρισις ἡ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων, τῆς ἐκπλήξεως γιγνομένης δι' εἰκότων, οἷον ἐν τῷ Σοφοκλέους Οἰδίποδι καὶ τῇ Ἰφιγενείᾳ· εἰκὸς γὰρ βούλεσθαι ἐπιθεῖναι γράμματα. αἱ γὰρ τοιαῦται μόναι ἄνευ τῶν πεποιημένων σημείων καὶ περιδεραίων. δεύτεραι δὲ αἱ ἐκ συλλογισμοῦ.

Δεῖ δὲ τοὺς μύθους συνιστάναι καὶ τῇ λέξει συναπ- 17
εργάζεσθαι ὅτι μάλιστα πρὸ ὀμμάτων τιθέμενον· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἐναργέστατα [ὁ] ὁρῶν ὥσπερ παρ' αὐτοῖς γιγνόμενος τοῖς

7 ἔφη ΒΣ : om. Π 8 ἥ τ'] *si* Lat. συμβαίνει] *accidere* Lat. 9–10 Τυδεῖ … ἐν] om. Ar. ἀπόλλυται] *periit* Lat. 9 τὸν Β : om. Α : [Φ] 10 φινείδαις ci. Reiz : φινίδαις ΑΒ : *finides* Lat. : [Σ] 13 θεάτρου Ω : θατέρου ci. Hermann οἷον] ọἷọ- Β $14–14^{2}$ τὸ τόξον … τὸ τόξον ΒΣ : τὸ τόξον Π 14 τὸ^{1}] = Β ut vid. 14^{2} εἴ γε Β : fort. ἤ γε vel ἤδε Σ γνώσεσθαι ΑΣ : *cognoscere* Lat. : ἐντείνειν Β 16 παραλογισμός ΒΣ : παραλογισμόν Π πασῶν Α : πάντων ΒΣ : [Φ] δὲ ΠΣ : om. Β αὐτῶν non vert. Ar. 17 ἐκπλήξεως Φ, Paris. 2038 : πλήξεως ΑΒ : πράξεως Σ εἰκότων ΒΦ : εἰκόντων Α, fort. Σ (εἰκ⟨άζ⟩οντος vel εἰκον⟨ίζον⟩τος ut intell. Ar.) 18 ἐν ΒΣ : ὁ ἐν Α : *quod in* Lat. : τὸ ἐν ci. Bywater οἰδίποδι Π : οἰδίπω Β : [Σ] 19 ἐπιθεῖναι] *imponi* Lat. 20 σημείων Ξ : om. Ar. : ⟨καὶ⟩ σημείων ci. Spengel, qui secl. καὶ περιδεραίων : fort. delendum esse putat Kassel περιδεραίων ΒΦ : δέρεων Α, fort. Σ 22 δὲ] *enim* Lat. 24 ἂν Π : om. Β : [Σ] ἐναργέστατα Β : ἐνεργέστατα Π : om. Ar. ὁρῶν Φ, Paris. 2038 : ὁ ὁρῶν ΑΒΣ παρ' ΠΣ : γὰρ Β

πραττομένοις εὑρίσκοι τὸ πρέπον καὶ ἥκιστα ἂν λανθάνοι [τὸ] τὰ ὑπεναντία. σημεῖον δὲ τούτου ὃ ἐπετιμᾶτο Καρκίνῳ. ὁ γὰρ Ἀμφιάραος ἐξ ἱεροῦ ἀνῄει, ὃ μὴ ὁρῶντα τὸν θεατὴν ἐλάνθανεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς σκηνῆς ἐξέπεσεν δυσχερανάντων τοῦτο τῶν θεατῶν. ὅσα δὲ δυνατὸν καὶ τοῖς σχήμασιν συναπεργαζόμενον· πιθανώτατοι γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως οἱ ἐν τοῖς πάθεσίν εἰσιν, καὶ χειμαίνει ὁ χειμαζόμενος καὶ χαλεπαίνει ὁ ὀργιζόμενος ἀληθινώτατα. διὸ εὐφυοῦς ἡ ποιητική ἐστιν μᾶλλον ἢ μανικοῦ· τούτων γὰρ οἱ μὲν εὔπλαστοι οἱ δὲ ἐκστατικοί εἰσιν. τούς τε λόγους καὶ τοὺς πεποιημένους δεῖ καὶ αὐτὸν ποιοῦντα ἐκτίθεσθαι καθόλου, εἶθ' οὕτως ἐπεισ- 1455b1
οδιοῦν καὶ παρατείνειν. λέγω δὲ οὕτως ἂν θεωρεῖσθαι τὸ καθόλου, οἷον τῆς Ἰφιγενείας· τυθείσης τινὸς κόρης καὶ ἀφανισθείσης ἀδήλως τοῖς θύσασιν, ἱδρυνθείσης δὲ εἰς ἄλλην χώραν, ἐν ᾗ νόμος ἦν τοὺς ξένους θύειν τῇ θεῷ, ταύτην ἔσχε τὴν ἱερωσύνην· χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον τῷ ἀδελφῷ συνέβη ἐλθεῖν τῆς ἱερείας, τὸ δὲ ὅτι ἀνεῖλεν ὁ θεὸς διά τινα αἰτίαν [ἔξω τοῦ καθόλου] ἐλθεῖν ἐκεῖ καὶ ἐφ' ὅ τι δὲ ἔξω τοῦ μύθου· ἐλθὼν δὲ καὶ ληφθεὶς θύεσθαι μέλλων ἀνεγνώρισεν, εἴθ' ὡς Εὐριπίδης εἴθ' ὡς Πολύιδος ἐποίησεν, κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς εἰπὼν ὅτι

25–26 λανθάνοι rec. : λανθάνοιτο B, fort. Σ : λανθάνοι τὸ A : *latebunt* Lat. 26 ἐπετιμᾶτο Σ, rec. : ἐπιτιμᾷ τῷ AB : *increpat* Lat. 27 ἀνῄει ΒΣ : ἂν εἴη A : *utique erat* (*erit* ci. Lobel) Lat. ὁρῶντα Ω : ὁρῶντ' ἂν ci. Vahlen τὸν θεατὴν Ω : secl. Butcher, Kassel et alii 31 οἱ] *quales* Lat. (= οἷοι Φ? ci. Minio) 33 μᾶλλον ἢ Σ, ci. Gudeman ex Ar. : *quam* Lat. : ἢ AB 34 ἐκστατικοί B, Paccius in versione : ἐξεταστικοί Π : [Σ] τούς τε ΒΣ : τούτους τε Π πεποιημένους Ξ : πεποιημένους μύθους ut interpr. Syr. **1455b1–3** καθόλου … καθόλου] *universaliter* (i.e. καθόλου) Lat. 1–2 ἐπεισοδιοῦν ΒΣ : ἐπεισοδίου A 2 παρατείνειν B : περιτείνειν A : [Σ] 3 τυθείσης] *immolanda* Lat. 4 ἱδρυνθείσης A : ἱδρυθείσης B : *demorante* Lat. : [Σ] 5 τοὺς ξένους] *extraneis* Lat. 7 τὸ δὲ] *istud* Lat. (i.e. = τόδε ci. Minio) 7–8 διὰ … καθόλου Ω : secl. Christ : ἔξω τοῦ καθόλου secl. Duentzer 7 τινα] *quam* Lat. 9 ἀνεγνώρισεν Ξ : ἀνεγνώρισεν τὴν ἀδελφὴν Ar. : [Σ] 10 πολύιδος edd. : πολύειδος Ξ : [Σ]

οὐκ ἄρα μόνον τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν ἔδει τυθῆναι, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἡ σωτηρία. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἤδη ὑποθέντα τὰ ὀνόματα ἐπεισοδιοῦν· ὅπως δὲ ἔσται οἰκεῖα τὰ ἐπεισόδια, οἷον ἐν τῷ Ὀρέστῃ ἡ μανία δι' ἧς ἐλήφθη καὶ ἡ σωτηρία διὰ τῆς καθάρσεως. ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς δράμασι τὰ ἐπεισόδια σύντομα, ἡ δ' ἐποποιία τούτοις μηκύνεται. τῆς γὰρ Ὀδυσσείας οὐ μακρὸς ὁ λόγος ἐστίν· ἀποδημοῦντός τινος ἔτη πολλὰ καὶ παραφυλαττομένου ὑπὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ μόνου ὄντος, ἔτι δὲ τῶν οἴκοι οὕτως ἐχόντων ὥστε τὰ χρήματα ὑπὸ μνηστήρων ἀναλίσκεσθαι καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀφικνεῖται χειμασθείς, καὶ ἀναγνωρίσας ⟨εἰς⟩ τινὰς ἐπιθέμενος αὐτὸς μὲν ἐσώθη τοὺς δ' ἐχθροὺς διέφθειρε. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἴδιον τοῦτο, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἐπεισόδια.

Ἔστι δὲ πάσης τραγῳδίας τὸ μὲν δέσις τὸ δὲ λύσις, τὰ 18
μὲν ἔξωθεν καὶ ἔνια τῶν ἔσωθεν πολλάκις ἡ δέσις, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἡ λύσις· λέγω δὲ δέσιν μὲν εἶναι τὴν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μέχρι τούτου τοῦ μέρους ὃ ἔσχατόν ἐστιν ἐξ οὗ μεταβαίνει εἰς εὐτυχίαν ἢ εἰς ἀτυχίαν, λύσιν δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς μεταβάσεως μέχρι τέλους· ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ Λυγκεῖ τῷ Θεοδέκτου δέσις μὲν τά τε προπεπραγμένα καὶ ἡ τοῦ παιδίου λῆψις καὶ πάλιν ἡ αὐτῶν αἰτίασις, λύσις δ' ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς αἰτιάσεως τοῦ θανάτου

11 μόνον Π : μόνην B : om. Ar. 14 ἐν τῷ AB : *in* Lat. (τῷ [Φ]) : τῷ ci. Victorius, Σ ut vid. 15 δράμασι ΒΣ : ἅρμασιν Π 17 οὐ Σ, ci. Vulcanius : om. Ξ ἐστίν Π : om. B : [Σ] 19 ἔτι Σ, rec. : ἐπεὶ A : *in* Lat. (= ἐπὶ Φ ci. Minio) : πολλὰ (ex l. 18) B 20 ὑπὸ μνηστήρων ΦΣ, Paris. 2038 : ὑπομνηστήρων AB 21 δὲ ΠΣ : τὲ (sic) B : om. Paris. 2038 21–22 ἀναγνωρίσας ⟨εἰς⟩ τινὰς ci. Tarán : ἀναγνωρίσας τινὰς ΠΣ : ἀναγνωρισθεὶς B 22 ἐπιθέμενος αὐτὸς μὲν B : αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπιθέμενος Σ : αὐτὸς ἐπιθέμενος αὐτὸς μὲν Π 25 καὶ] non vert. Lat. 25–26 ἡ δέσις … λέγω δὲ om. Σ vel Ar. ex homoioteleuton 27 τούτου] non vert. Lat. μεταβαίνει ΦΣ, Paris. 2038 : μεταβαίνειν AB 28 ἢ εἰς ἀτυχίαν ΒΣ : om. Π post λύσιν δὲ Lat. add. *esse* 29 λυγκεῖ Paris. 2038 : λυκεῖ ΠΣ : γλυκεῖ B 30 μὲν] non vert. Lat. 31 αὐτῶν αἰτίασις, λύσις δ' ἡ Σ : αὐτῶν δὴ Ξ αἰτιάσεως Π : αἰτήσεως B : [Σ]

μέχρι τοῦ τέλους. τραγῳδίας δὲ εἴδη εἰσὶ τέσσαρα [τοσαῦτα γὰρ καὶ τὰ μέρη ἐλέχθη], ἡ μὲν πεπλεγμένη, ἧς τὸ ὅλον ἐστὶν περιπέτεια καὶ ἀναγνώρισις, ἡ δὲ παθητική, οἷον οἵ τε Αἴαντες καὶ οἱ Ἰξίονες, ἡ δὲ ἠθική, οἷον αἱ Φθιώτιδες καὶ ὁ 1456a1
Πηλεύς· τὸ δὲ τέταρτον ἡ ἁπλῆ, οἷον αἵ τε Φορκίδες καὶ ὁ Προμηθεὺς καὶ ὅσα ἐν ᾅδου. μάλιστα μὲν οὖν ἅπαντα δεῖ πειρᾶσθαι ἔχειν, εἰ δὲ μή, τὰ μέγιστα καὶ πλεῖστα, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὡς νῦν συκοφαντοῦσιν τοὺς ποιητάς· γεγονότων γὰρ καθ' ἕκαστον μέρος ἀγαθῶν ποιητῶν, ἑκάστου τοῦ ἰδίου ἀγαθοῦ ἀξιοῦσι τὸν ἕνα ὑπερβάλλειν. δίκαιον δὲ καὶ τραγῳδίαν ἄλλην καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν λέγειν οὐδενὶ ὡς τῷ μύθῳ· τοῦτο δέ, ὧν ἡ αὐτὴ πλοκὴ καὶ λύσις. πολλοὶ δὲ πλέξαντες εὖ λύουσι κακῶς· δεῖ δὲ ἀμφότερα ἀρτικροτεῖσθαι. χρὴ δὲ ὅπερ εἴρηται πολλάκις μεμνῆσθαι καὶ μὴ ποιεῖν ἐποποιικὸν σύστημα τραγῳδίαν—ἐποποιικὸν δὲ λέγω τὸ πολύμυθον—οἷον εἴ τις τὸν τῆς Ἰλιάδος ὅλον ποιοῖ μῦθον. ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τὸ μῆκος λαμβάνει τὰ μέρη τὸ πρέπον μέγεθος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς δράμασι πολὺ παρὰ τὴν ὑπόληψιν ἀποβαίνει. σημεῖον δέ, ὅσοι πέρσιν Ἰλίου ὅλην ἐποίησαν καὶ μὴ κατὰ μέρος ὥσπερ Εὐριπίδης, ⟨ἢ⟩ Νιόβην καὶ μὴ ὥσπερ Αἰσχύλος, ἢ ἐκπίπτουσιν ἢ κακῶς ἀγωνίζονται, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἀγάθων ἐξ-

32–33 τοσαῦτα … ἐλέχθη Ω : secl. Susemihl, ed. pr. 34-**1456a1** οἷον … οἷον] οἷον Σ vel Ar. 2 ἡ ἁπλῆ ci. Susemihl : ΟΗΣ B : όης A : spat. vac. in Lat. : non vert. Ar. : ὄψις ci. Bywater ὁ B : om. A : [Φ] : [Σ] 4 ἄλλως τε Φ, Paris. 2038 : ἄλλως γε B, fort. Σ : ἀλλ' ὥσγε (i.e. ὥς γε) A 6 ἑκάστου Paris. 2038 : ἕκαστον Ω ἰδίου ΑΣ : οἰκείου B : *in proprio* Lat. : [Φ] 8 οὐδενὶ ὡς ci. Zeller : οὐδὲν ἴσως AB : *nichil minus* Lat. (= οὐδὲν ἧσσον?) : οὐδὲν Σ (ἴσως non vert. Ar.) τοῦτο ΠΣ : τούτων B 10 ἀμφότερα ἀρτικροτεῖσθαι ci. Immisch : ἀμφότερα ἀντικροτεῖσθαι B : ἀμφότερα ἀντικρατεῖσθαι Σ : ἄμφω ἀεὶ κροτεῖσθαι A : *ambo semper coadiuvare* Lat. (*coadunare* ci. Lobel) : ἄμφω ἀεὶ κρατεῖσθαι ci. Vahlen 12 δὲ λέγω BΦ, Σ ut vid. : δὲ λέγω δὲ A 13 ποιοῖ] *facit* Lat. 15–16 σημεῖον δέ ΠΣ : om. B 16 ὅσοι πέρσιν ἰλίου ὅλην ΑΣ : ὅσοι πέρσιν ἰλιούπολιν B : *quicumque quidem Sinilii totam* (= ὅσοιπερ συνιλίου ὅλην Φ) 17 ἢ ci. Vahlen : om. Ω 18 Ἀγάθων A^{c}BΦ : ἀγαθῶν ΑΣ

ἔπεσεν ἐν τούτῳ μόνῳ. ἐν δὲ ταῖς περιπετείαις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἁπλοῖς πράγμασι στοχάζονται ὧν βούλονται θαυμαστῶς· τραγικὸν γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ φιλάνθρωπον. ἔστιν δὲ τοῦτο, ὅταν ὁ σοφὸς μὲν μετὰ πονηρίας ⟨δ'⟩ ἐξαπατηθῇ, ὥσπερ Σίσυφος, καὶ ὁ ἀνδρεῖος μὲν ἄδικος δὲ ἡττηθῇ. ἔστιν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ εἰκὸς ὥσπερ Ἀγάθων λέγει, εἰκὸς γὰρ γίνεσθαι πολλὰ καὶ παρὰ τὸ εἰκός. καὶ τὸν χορὸν δὲ ἕνα δεῖ ὑπολαμβάνειν τῶν ὑποκριτῶν, καὶ μόριον εἶναι τοῦ ὅλου καὶ συναγωνίζεσθαι μὴ ὥσπερ Εὐριπίδῃ ἀλλ' ὥσπερ Σοφοκλεῖ. τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς τὰ ᾀδόμενα οὐδὲν μᾶλλον τοῦ μύθου ἢ ἄλλης τραγῳδίας ἐστίν· διὸ ἐμβόλιμα ᾄδουσιν πρώτου ἄρξαντος Ἀγάθωνος τοῦ τοιούτου. καίτοι τί διαφέρει ἢ ἐμβόλιμα ᾄδειν ἢ εἰ ῥῆσιν ἐξ ἄλλου εἰς ἄλλο ἁρμόττοι ἢ ἐπεισόδιον ὅλον;

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἄλλων εἰδῶν εἴρηται, λοιπὸν δὲ περὶ 19
λέξεως καὶ διανοίας εἰπεῖν. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐν τοῖς περὶ ῥητορικῆς κείσθω· τοῦτο γὰρ ἴδιον μᾶλλον ἐκείνης τῆς μεθόδου. ἔστι δὲ κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν ταῦτα, ὅσα ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου δεῖ παρασκευασθῆναι. μέρη δὲ τούτων τό τε ἀποδεικνύναι καὶ τὸ λύειν καὶ τὸ πάθη παρασκευάζειν (οἷον

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19 τούτῳ μόνῳ ἐν] om. Σ vel Ar. ex homoioteleuton ταῖς ΑΣ : τοῖς Β : [Φ] 22 ὁ σοφὸς ΑΣ : *sapiens* Lat. : σαφὲς Β δ' rec. : om. Ξ et fort. Σ ὥσπερ ΠΣ : ὥσπερ γὰρ Β 23 ἀνδρεῖος] *Andreius* Lat. καὶ[2] ΒΣ : om. Π 25 χορὸν ΠΣ : χρόνον Β 25–26 ὑπολαμβάνειν ΒΦ : ὑπολαβεῖν Α : non vert. Ar. 26 τῶν ὑποκριτῶν] *ypocritas* Lat. (*ypocritarum* ci. Lobel) 28 λοιποῖς Ξ : πολλοῖς Σ et ci. Gomperz τὰ ᾀδόμενα Σ (sed τῶν ᾀδομένων ut intell. Ar.), ci. Madius : τὰ διδόμενα Ξ οὐδὲν Σ et ci. Vahlen : οὐ ci. Madius : om. Ξ 28–29 ἄλλης τραγῳδίας Π, Σ ut vid. : ἄλλως τραγῳδία Β 29 ᾄδουσιν] *ducunt* Lat. πρώτου] *ante* Lat. 30 τοῦ τοιούτου Α, Β sed ante Ἀγάθωνος et Σ ut vid. : *huius* Lat. O, *aut huius* Lat. T : del. Gudeman 31 εἰ Π (sed Α hab. εἰρῆσιν pro εἰ ῥῆσιν) : εἰς Β : [Σ] ῥῆσιν] *seriem* Lat. ἁρμόττοι] = ΑΒ : *coaptet* Lat. : [Σ, ἁρμόττοι vel ἁρμόττει] 31–32 ἢ ἐπεισόδιον ὅλον] om. Ar., secl. Gudeman 33 εἰδῶν ΒΣ : ἠδ' Α : *iam* Lat. 34 καὶ Σ, ci. Hermann : ἢ Ξ 37 τούτων ΠΣ : τούτου Β

ἔλεον ἢ φόβον ἢ ὀργὴν καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα) καὶ ἔτι μέγεθος 1456b1 καὶ μικρότητα. δῆλον δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἰδεῶν δεῖ χρῆσθαι ὅταν ἢ ἐλεεινὰ ἢ δεινὰ ἢ μεγάλα ἢ εἰκότα δέῃ παρασκευάζειν· πλὴν τοσοῦτον διαφέρει, ὅτι τὰ μὲν δεῖ φαίνεσθαι ἄνευ διδασκαλίας, τὰ δὲ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ λέγοντος παρασκευάζεσθαι καὶ παρὰ τὸν λόγον γίγνεσθαι. τί γὰρ ἂν εἴη τοῦ λέγοντος ἔργον, εἰ φαίνοιτο ᾗ δέοι καὶ μὴ διὰ τὸν λόγον; τῶν δὲ περὶ τὴν λέξιν ἓν μέν ἐστιν εἶδος θεωρίας τὰ σχήματα τῆς λέξεως, ἅ ἐστιν εἰδέναι τῆς ὑποκριτικῆς καὶ τοῦ τὴν τοιαύτην ἔχοντος ἀρχιτεκτονικήν, οἷον τί ἐντολὴ καὶ τί εὐχὴ καὶ διήγησις καὶ ἀπειλὴ καὶ ἐρώτησις καὶ ἀπόκρισις καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτον. παρὰ γὰρ τὴν τούτων γνῶσιν ἢ ἄγνοιαν οὐδὲν εἰς τὴν ποιητικὴν ἐπιτίμημα φέρεται ὅ τι καὶ ἄξιον σπουδῆς. τί γὰρ ἄν τις ὑπολάβοι ἡμαρτῆσθαι ἃ Πρωταγόρας ἐπιτιμᾷ, ὅτι εὔχεσθαι οἰόμενος ἐπιτάττει εἰπὼν «μῆνιν ἄειδε θεά»; τὸ γὰρ κελεῦσαι, φησίν, ποιεῖν τι ἢ μὴ ἐπίταξίς ἐστιν. διὸ παρείσθω ὡς ἄλλης καὶ οὐ τῆς ποιητικῆς ὂν θεώρημα.

Τῆς δὲ λέξεως ἁπάσης τάδ᾽ ἐστὶ τὰ μέρη, στοιχεῖον συλλαβὴ σύνδεσμος ἄρθρον ὄνομα ῥῆμα πτῶσις λόγος. στοιχεῖον μὲν οὖν ἐστιν φωνὴ ἀδιαίρετος, οὐ πᾶσα δὲ ἀλλ᾽ ἐξ ἧς πέφυκε συνθετὴ γίγνεσθαι φωνή· καὶ γὰρ τῶν

1456b1 καὶ[1] Ξ : ἢ Σ 2 μικρότητα ΦΣ, Paris. 2038 : μικρότητας AB 3 ἰδεῶν Σ : εἰδεῶν AB : *speciebus* Lat. 4 ἢ Ξ : ᾗ ut intell. Ar. δέῃ Paris. 2038 : δεῖ BΦ, Σ ut vid. : δ᾽ ᾖ A παρασκευάζειν] *exhibere* Lat. (= παρασχεῖν? ci. Minio) 5 ὅτι] = B[c] (ι ex corr.) 7 εἰ] om. Lat. 8 φαίνοιτο B et ci. Bigg : φανοῖτο A : [Φ] : [Σ] ᾗ δέοι ci. Vahlen : ἡδέα ΑΒΣ : *idea* Lat. : ἡ ἰδέα ci. Madius : ἤδη ci. Castelvetro 14 τι καὶ] *sit* Lat. 16–17 ἄειδε] *vide* Lat. (= ἰδέ? ci. Minio) 18 ἐστιν] ἐστὶ fec. B[2] : δ᾽ ἐστὶ B παρείσθω] = fec. B[2] (εις ex corr.) 20–1459a16 τῆς δὲ λέξεως … τὰ εἰρημένα. Cf. n. ad loc. 21 ἄρθρον ante ὄνομα Σ, et ci. Spengel : post ῥῆμα Ξ 22 ἐστιν] om. Lat. 23 συνθετὴ Σ, rec. : συνετὴ Ξ

θηρίων εἰσὶν ἀδιαίρετοι φωναί, ὧν οὐδεμίαν λέγω στοιχεῖον. ταύτης δὲ μέρη τό τε φωνῆεν καὶ τὸ ἡμίφωνον καὶ ἄφωνον. ἔστιν δὲ ταῦτα φωνῆεν μὲν τὸ ἄνευ προσβολῆς ἔχον φωνὴν ἀκουστήν, ἡμίφωνον δὲ τὸ μετὰ προσβολῆς ἔχον φωνὴν ἀκουστήν, οἷον τὸ Σ καὶ τὸ Ρ, ἄφωνον δὲ τὸ μετὰ προσβολῆς καθ' αὑτὸ μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἔχον φωνήν, μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἐχόντων τινὰ φωνὴν γινόμενον ἀκουστόν, οἷον τὸ Γ καὶ τὸ Δ. ταῦτα δὲ διαφέρει σχήμασίν τε τοῦ στόματος καὶ τόποις καὶ δασύτητι καὶ ψιλότητι καὶ μήκει καὶ βραχύτητι ἔτι δὲ ὀξύτητι καὶ βαρύτητι καὶ τῷ μέσῳ· περὶ ὧν καθ' ἕκαστον ἐν τοῖς μετρικοῖς προσήκει θεωρεῖν. συλλαβὴ δέ ἐστιν φωνὴ ἄσημος συνθετὴ ἐξ ἀφώνου καὶ φωνὴν ἔχοντος· καὶ γὰρ τὸ ΓΡ ἄνευ τοῦ Α συλλαβὴ καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Α, οἷον τὸ ΓΡΑ. ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων θεωρῆσαι τὰς διαφορὰς τῆς μετρικῆς ἐστιν. σύνδεσμος δέ ἐστιν φωνὴ ἄσημος ἣ οὔ- 1457a1 τε κωλύει οὔτε ποιεῖ φωνὴν μίαν σημαντικὴν ἐκ πλειόνων φωνῶν πεφυκυῖα συντίθεσθαι [καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μέσου], ἣν μὴ ἁρμόττει ἐν ἀρχῇ λόγου τιθέναι καθ' αὑτήν, οἷον μέν ἤτοι δέ. ἢ φωνὴ ἄσημος ἣ ἐκ πλειόνων μὲν φω-

24 θηρίων ΠΣ : θεωριῶν B 25 ταύτης ΠΣ : ταύταις B 26 ἄφωνον ΠΣ : ἄφωνα B ταῦτα B : om. ΠΣ τὸ Σ, ci. Reiz : om. AB : [Φ] προσβολῆς (hic et l. 29) ΠΣ : προβολῆς B : post προσβολῆς add. Ar. ⟨τῶν χειλῶν ἢ τῶν ὀδόντων⟩ ut glossema (Gudeman) 27–28 ἀκουστὴν … ἀκουστὴν ΠΣ : ἀκουστὴν B 28 ρ ΑΣ : β ΒΦ 32 ψιλότητι Π : ψιλότησι B : [Σ] μήκει ΠΣ : μεγέθει μήκει B 34 ἐν Ω : secl. Bernhardy, Spengel 36 τὸ] *ipsius* Lat. ἄνευ τοῦ] *sine ipso* Lat. συλλαβὴ καὶ Ξ : [Σ] 37 τὸ ΑΣ : om. B : [Φ] καὶ] non vertit Lat. 38-**1457a10** σύνδεσμος … μέσου] cf. n. ad loc.; de Ar. cf. Gutas ad loc. 38-**1457a3** ἣ … αὑτὴν] om. Ar. et Σ ut vid. 2 πεφυκυῖα B : πεφυκυῖαν Π : om. Ar. et Σ ut vid. συντίθεσθαι Ξ : τίθεσθαι fort. Ψ et ci. Winstanley : om. Ar. et Σ ut vid. 2–3 καὶ[1] … μέσου secl. Bywater 3–10 μέσου … μέσου] μέσου B 3 τιθέναι A : *poni* Lat. (= τεθῆναι? ci. Minio) : om. Ar. et Σ ut vid. αὑτὴν Φ, ci. Tyrwhitt : αὑτὸν A : om. Ar. et Σ ut vid. 4 ἤτοι edd. : ητοι A : *vel* Lat. : [Σ] : δή τοί ci. Bywater ἢ A : om. Lat. : ἡ γὰρ ut intell. Ar., fort. Σ ἣ edd. : ἡ ΑΣ : *aut* Lat.

νῶν μιᾶς σημαντικῶν δὲ ποιεῖν πέφυκεν μίαν σημαντικὴν φωνήν, ⟨οἷον τὸ ἀμφί καὶ τὸ περί καὶ τὰ ἄλλα⟩. ἄρθρον δ᾽ ἐστὶ φωνὴ ἄσημος ἣ λόγου ἀρχὴν ἢ τέλος ἢ διορισμὸν δηλοῖ [ἢ φωνὴ ἄσημος ἣ οὔτε κωλύει οὔτε ποιεῖ φωνὴν μίαν σημαντικὴν ἐκ πλειόνων φωνῶν] πεφυκυῖα τίθεσθαι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μέσου. ὄνομα δέ ἐστι φωνὴ συνθετὴ σημαντικὴ ἄνευ χρόνου ἧς μέρος οὐδέν ἐστι καθ᾽ αὑτὸ σημαντικόν· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς διπλοῖς οὐ χρώμεθα ὡς καὶ αὐτὸ καθ᾽ αὑτὸ σημαῖνον, οἷον ἐν τῷ Θεόδωρος τὸ δωρος οὐ σημαίνει. ῥῆμα δὲ φωνὴ συνθετὴ σημαντικὴ μετὰ χρόνου ἧς οὐδὲν μέρος σημαίνει καθ᾽ αὑτό, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ἢ λευκόν οὐ σημαίνει τὸ πότε, τὸ δὲ βαδίζει ἢ βεβάδικεν προσσημαίνει τὸ μὲν τὸν παρόντα χρόνον τὸ δὲ τὸν παρεληλυθότα. πτῶσις δ᾽ ἐστὶν ὀνόματος ἢ ῥήματος ἡ μὲν κατὰ τὸ τούτου ἢ τούτῳ σημαῖνον καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, ἡ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἑνὶ ἢ πολλοῖς, οἷον ἄνθρωποι ἢ ἄνθρωπος, ἡ δὲ κατὰ τὰ ὑποκριτικά, οἷον κατ᾽ ἐρώτησιν ἐπίταξιν· τὸ γὰρ ἐβάδισεν; ἢ βάδιζε πτῶσις ῥή-

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5 σημαντικῶν ci. Robortellus : σημαντικὸν A : σημαντικὴν Φ : σημαντικῶν vel σημαντικὴ Σ   δὲ ΑΣ : om. Lat.   6 οἷον … ἄλλα ci. Bywater (in codd. inv. post δηλοῖ in l. 8, cf. n. ad 1456b38–1457a10)   ἀμφί ci. Hartung : φ̄. μ̄. ῑ. ΠΣ : φημί ut intell. Syr.   περί Σ, edd. : π̄. ε̄. ρ̄. ῑ. Π   τὰ ἄλλα A : *alia* Lat. : τὸ ἀλλά ut intell. Ar.   7 ἢ edd. : ἢ ΠΣ   8–9 ἢ φωνὴ … φωνῶν interpolata esse ci. Bywater (cf. n. ad 1456b38–1457 a10)   8 ἣ Σ : ἡ A : non vert. Lat.   ἢ ΑΣ : ἡ Φ   9 πεφυκυῖα A : πεφυκυῖαν ΦΣ   11 συνθετὴ σημαντικὴ ΠΣ : σημαντικὴ σημαντικὴ B   11–12 καθ᾽ αὑτὸ] = B^{c} (ex κατ᾽ αὐτὸ)   13 θεόδωρος τὸ δωρος Σ et ci. Ritter : θεοδώρῳ τὸ δῶρον Ξ   17 πότε Ω : ποτέ ci. Spengel   βαδίζει ΦΣ, Paris. 2038 : βαδίζειν AB   προσσημαίνει Φ, Paris. 2038 : προσημαίνει AB : σημαίνει ut interpr. Ar. (προσ- non vert.)   18 ἐστὶν ΠΣ : om. B   19 κατὰ τὸ ci. Reiz : τὸ κατὰ ΑΒΣ : [Φ]   21 ἡ δὲ ΠΣ : ἢ B   22 ἐπίταξιν ΠΣ : ἢ ἐπίταξιν B   ἐβάδισεν Ω, interrogative Cooke, Tyrwhitt : ⟨ἆρ᾽⟩ ἐβάδισεν ci. Vahlen   βάδιζε rec., et fort. Σ (βαδίζει ut intell. Ar.) : ἐβάδιζεν Ξ   22–23 πτῶσις … ἐστίν] *casus … sunt* Lat.

ματος κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ εἴδη ἐστίν. λόγος δέ ἐστι φωνὴ συνθετὴ σημαντικὴ ἧς ἔνια μέρη καθ' αὑτὰ σημαίνει τι (οὐ γὰρ ἅπας λόγος ἐκ ῥημάτων καὶ ὀνομάτων σύγκειται, οἷον ὁ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁρισμός, ἀλλ' ἐνδέχεται ἄνευ ῥημάτων εἶναι λόγον, μέρος μέντοι ἀεί τι σημαῖνον ἕξει) οἷον ἐν τῷ βαδίζει Κλέων ὁ Κλέων. εἷς δέ ἐστι λόγος διχῶς, ἢ γὰρ ὁ ἓν σημαίνων, ἢ ὁ ἐκ πλειόνων συνδέσμῳ, οἷον ἡ Ἰλιὰς μὲν συνδέσμῳ εἷς, ὁ δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τῷ ἓν σημαίνειν.

21

Ὀνόματος δὲ εἴδη τὸ μὲν ἁπλοῦν, ἁπλοῦν δὲ λέγω ὃ μὴ ἐκ σημαινόντων σύγκειται, οἷον γῆ, τὸ δὲ διπλοῦν· τούτου δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐκ σημαίνοντος καὶ ἀσήμου, πλὴν οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι σημαίνοντος καὶ ἀσήμου, τὸ δὲ ἐκ σημαινόντων σύγκειται. εἴη δ' ἂν καὶ τριπλοῦν καὶ τετραπλοῦν ὄνομα καὶ πολλαπλοῦν, οἷον τὰ πολλὰ τῶν μεγαλειωτῶν, Ἑρμοκαϊ-
1457b1 κόξανθος ⁎⁎ . ἅπαν δὲ ὄνομά ἐστιν ἢ κύριον ἢ γλῶττα ἢ μεταφορὰ ἢ κόσμος ἢ πεποιημένον ἢ ἐπεκτεταμένον ἢ ἀφῃρημένον ἢ ἐξηλλαγμένον. λέγω δὲ κύριον μὲν ᾧ χρῶνται ἕκαστοι, γλῶτταν δὲ ᾧ ἕτεροι· ὥστε φανερὸν ὅτι καὶ γλῶτταν καὶ κύριον εἶναι δυνατὸν τὸ αὐτό, μὴ τοῖς αὐτοῖς δέ·

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23 δέ ἐστι ΒΣ, Lat. O : δὲ A, Lat. T 24 μέρη] *quidem* Lat. (= μὲν ci. Minio) 27 τι Φ, Paris. 2038 : τί ΑΣ : om. B 27–28 βαδίζει ΦΣ, Paris. 2038 : βαδίζειν AB 28 κλέων ὁ κλέων] cf. n. ad loc. εἷς ΠΣ : ἑξῆς B 29 σημαίνων ΠΣ : σημαῖνον B συνδέσμῳ rec. : *coniunctionibus* Lat. (etiam in l. 30) : συνδέσμων ΑΒΣ 30 ἀνθρώπου (sc. λόγος) ΑΒΣ : ἀνθρώπου ὁρισμὸς (ex l. 26) Φ τῷ ΦΣ, Paris. 2038 : τὸ AB 31 εἴδη] = A^c (ει in ras.) 32 σημαινόντων ΠΣ : συμβαινόντων B 33–33^1 καὶ ἀσήμου … καὶ ἀσήμου] *et non significante* Lat. (= καὶ ἀσήμου) 33^1 ὀνόματι Σ, ci. Spengel : ὀνόματος A : ὀνόματο (sic) B καὶ ἀσήμου] om. Ar. 34 καὶ^1] non vert. Lat. καὶ τετραπλοῦν] om. Ar. 34–35 ὄνομα καὶ πολλαπλοῦν Π : καὶ πολλαπλοῦν ὄνομα B : [Σ] 35 τὰ AB : [Φ] : [Σ] : del. Hardy μεγαλειωτῶν ci. Bywater : μεγαλιωτῶν Ξ : μεσαλιωτῶν Σ : μασσαλιωτῶν ci. Diels ex Ar. **1457b1** ⁎⁎ lac. unius verbi explenda ex Ar. 2–3 ἀφῃρημένον Σ, ci. Spengel ex 1458a1–4 (cf. pap. Theophr. 79) : ὑφῃρημένον Ξ 3 ἐξηλλαγμένον ΠΣ : ἐξεληλαγμένον (sic) B

τὸ γὰρ σίγυνον Κυπρίοις μὲν κύριον, ἡμῖν δὲ γλῶττα. μεταφορὰ δέ ἐστιν ὀνόματος ἀλλοτρίου ἐπιφορὰ ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους ἐπὶ εἶδος ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ εἴδους ἐπὶ τὸ γένος ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ εἴδους ἐπὶ εἶδος ἢ κατὰ τὸ ἀνάλογον. λέγω δὲ ἀπὸ γένους μὲν ἐπὶ εἶδος οἷον «νηῦς δέ μοι ἥδ᾿ ἕστηκεν»· τὸ γὰρ ὁρμεῖν ἐστιν ἑστάναι τι. ἀπ᾿ εἴδους δὲ ἐπὶ γένος «ἦ δὴ μυρί᾿ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐσθλὰ ἔοργεν»· τὸ γὰρ μυρίον πολύ ἐστιν, ᾧ νῦν ἀντὶ τοῦ πολλοῦ κέχρηται. ἀπ᾿ εἴδους δὲ ἐπὶ εἶδος οἷον «χαλκῷ ἀπὸ ψυχὴν ἀρύσας» καὶ «τεμὼν ταναήκεϊ χαλκῷ»· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἀρύσαι ταμεῖν, τὸ δὲ ταμεῖν ἀρύσαι εἴρηκεν· ἄμφω γὰρ ἀφελεῖν τί ἐστιν. τὸ δὲ ἀνάλογον λέγω, ὅταν ὁμοίως ἔχῃ τὸ δεύτερον πρὸς τὸ πρῶτον καὶ τὸ τέταρτον πρὸς τὸ τρίτον· ἐρεῖ γὰρ ἀντὶ τοῦ δευτέρου τὸ τέταρτον ἢ ἀντὶ τοῦ τετάρτου τὸ δεύτερον. καὶ ἐνίοτε προστιθέασιν ἀνθ᾿ οὗ λέγει πρὸς ὅ ἐστι. λέγω δὲ οἷον ὁμοίως ἔχει φιάλη πρὸς Διόνυσον καὶ ἀσπὶς πρὸς Ἄρη· ἐρεῖ τοίνυν τὴν φιάλην ἀσπίδα

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6 σίγυνον ΠΣ : σίγυλλον B γλῶττα Π : γλῶτταν B : γλῶττα τὸ δὲ δόρυ ἡμῖν μὲν κύριον ⟨Κυπρίοις⟩ δὲ γλῶττα Σ (sed Κυπρίοις om. Ar.) 6–9 μεταφορὰ … γένους] de Ar. cf. Gutas ad 1457b7 7 ἀπὸ ΠΣ : κατὰ B 8–9 ἐπὶ εἶδος … ἐπὶ εἶδος] *ad speciem* Lat. (= ἐπὶ εἶδος) 8 ἀπὸ[1] A : κατὰ B : om. Ar. τὸ A : om. BΣ 9 ἐπὶ εἶδος ἢ A : ἐπὶ τὸ εἶδος B : ἐπὶ εἶδος Σ : [Φ] κατὰ] non vert. Lat. 10–13 εἶδος … εἶδος] εἶδος B 10 δέ μοι A : *autem mea* Lat. (= δ᾿ ἐμὴ Φ? ci. Minio) : [Σ] 10–11 τὸ … τι] non vert. Ar. 10 ὁρμεῖν Paris. 2038 : ὁρμῖν (-ιν in ras.) A[c] : *in portum ferri* Lat. : om. Ar. 11–12 ἦ δὴ μυρί᾿ Ὀδυσσεὺς Paris. 2038 : ἤδημυρι ὀδυσσεὺς A, fort. Σ : *iam decem milia Odysseus* Lat. 12 ἐσθλὰ ΑΣ : *premia* (= ἆθλα? ci. Minio) Lat. τὸ γὰρ A : τὸ μὲν γὰρ Φ : [Σ] μυρίον edd. : μύριον A : *myrion* Lat. : [Σ] 14 ἀρύσας καὶ τεμὼν ci. Tyrwhitt (ἀρύσας rec., καὶ rec. al.) : ἐρύσασκε τεμὼν BΣ : ἀερύσασκε τεμῶν A : *exsecuit secans* Lat. ταναήκεϊ ci. Margoliouth (ταναηκέι), fort. Σ : τανακέϊ B : ατηρει A : *duro* Lat. (= ἀτειρέι? ci. Kassel) 16 τὸ … ὅταν] om. Ar. 17 ὁμοίως ΠΣ : ὁμοίως ὅτι B καὶ ΠΣ : om. B 18–19 ἐρεῖ … δεύτερον] deturbata in Ar., cf. Gutas ad 1457b18 18 δευτέρου Π : δεύτερον B : [Σ] 19 προστιθέασιν ΠΣ : προτιθέασιν B 20 λέγει] *dicere* Lat. ὁμοίως ΠΣ : ὅτι B ἔχει] *inquit* (= ἔφη? ci. Minio) Lat. 21 ἄρη A : ἄρην B : [Φ] : [Σ] (*aris* Ar.)

Διονύσου καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα φιάλην Ἄρεως. ἢ ὃ γῆρας πρὸς βίον, καὶ ἑσπέρα πρὸς ἡμέραν· ἐρεῖ τοίνυν τὴν ἑσπέραν γῆρας ἡμέρας ἢ ὥσπερ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, καὶ τὸ γῆρας ἑσπέραν βίου ἢ δυσμὰς βίου. ἐνίοις δ᾽ οὐκ ἔστιν ὄνομα κείμενον τῶν ἀνάλογον, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲν ἧττον ὁμοίως λεχθήσεται· οἷον τὸ τὸν καρπὸν μὲν ἀφιέναι σπείρειν, τὸ δὲ τὴν φλόγα ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνώνυμον· ἀλλ᾽ ὁμοίως ἔχει τοῦτο πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὸ σπείρειν πρὸς τὸν καρπόν, διὸ εἴρηται «σπείρων θεοκτίσταν φλόγα». ἔστι δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ τῆς μεταφορᾶς χρῆσθαι καὶ ἄλλως, προσαγορεύσαντα τὸ ἀλλότριον ἀποφῆσαι τῶν οἰκείων τι, οἷον εἰ τὴν ἀσπίδα εἴποι φιάλην μὴ Ἄρεως ἀλλ᾽ ἄοινον. ⟨**⟩ πεποιημένον δ᾽ ἐστὶν ὃ ὅλως μὴ καλούμενον ὑπὸ τινῶν αὐτὸς τίθεται ὁ ποιητής, δοκεῖ γὰρ ἔνια εἶναι τοιαῦτα, οἷον τὰ κέρατα ἐρνύγας καὶ τὸν ἱερέα ἀρητῆρα. ἐπεκτεταμένον
1458a1 δέ ἐστιν ἢ ἀφῃρημένον τὸ μὲν ἐὰν φωνήεντι μακροτέρῳ κεχρημένον ᾖ τοῦ οἰκείου ἢ συλλαβῇ ἐμβεβλημένῃ, τὸ δὲ ἂν ἀφῃρημένον τι ᾖ αὐτοῦ, ἐπεκτεταμένον μὲν οἷον τὸ πόλεως πόληος καὶ τὸ Πηλείδου Πηληιάδεω, ἀφῃρημένον δὲ οἷον τὸ κρῖ καὶ τὸ δῶ καὶ «μία γίνεται ἀμφοτέρων ὄψ». ἐξηλλαγμένον δ᾽ ἐστὶν ὅταν τοῦ ὀνομαζομένου τὸ μὲν καταλείπῃ τὸ δὲ ποιῇ, οἷον τὸ «δεξιτερὸν κατὰ μαζόν» ἀντὶ τοῦ δεξιόν.

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24 ἢ Ξ : om. Σ, del. M. Schmidt 25 ἐνίοις ΠΣ : ἐνίων B κείμενον ΠΣ : om. B 26 ὁμοίως Π, B[2] (in marg.), Σ : ὅτι B 27 ἐπὶ ci. M. Schmidt : ἀπὸ Ω 28 ὁμοίως ΠΣ : ὅτι B 32–33 ἀλλ᾽ ἄοινον ci. Victorius : ἀλλὰ οἴνου Ω 33 ⟨**⟩ lac. ci. Madius : non habet Ω 35 ἐρνύγας A : ἔρνυγας ci. Victorius : *ernykas* Lat. : ἐρινύγας B : [Σ] **1458a1** ἢ Ξ : καὶ Σ 1–3 ἀφῃρημένον … ἀφῃρημένον] ἀφῃρημένον B 1 ἀφῃρημένον] *sublatum* Lat. (= ὑφῃρημένον? ci. Minio) 2 ᾖ ΦΣ : ἢ A τοῦ οἰκείου non vert. Ar. συλλαβῇ ἐμβεβλημένῃ ΦΣ, Paris. 2038 : συλλαβὴ ἐμβεβλημένη A 3 ἀφῃρημένον τι ᾖ Φ (ἀφῃρημένον ᾖ τι Paris. 2038) : (ἀφῃρημένον, cf. ad 1458a1–3 supra) τι ἢ B : ἀφήρη μὲν ὄντι A : [Σ] 3–5 exempla non vert. Ar. 3 πόλεως B : πόλεος Π 4 πηλείδου Paris. 2038 : πηλέος Π : πηλέως B 5 ὄψ ci. Victorius : ὀης A : ὀης B : spat. vac. in Lat. 5–6 ἐξηλλαγμένον] [Σ] 6 ὀνομαζομένου Ω : νομιζομένου ci. Snell ex pap. Theophr. 93 7 δεξιόν] ----όν B

αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ὀνομάτων τὰ μὲν ἄρρενα τὰ δὲ θήλεα τὰ δὲ μεταξύ, ἄρρενα μὲν ὅσα τελευτᾷ εἰς τὸ Ν καὶ Ρ καὶ Σ καὶ ὅσα ἐκ τούτου σύγκειται (ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶν δύο, Ψ καὶ Ξ), θήλεα δὲ ὅσα ἐκ τῶν φωνηέντων εἴς τε τὰ ἀεὶ μακρά, οἷον εἰς Η καὶ Ω, καὶ τῶν ἐπεκτεινομένων εἰς Α· ὥστε ἴσα συμβαίνει πλήθει εἰς ὅσα τὰ ἄρρενα καὶ τὰ θήλεα· τὸ γὰρ Ψ καὶ τὸ Ξ σύνθετά ἐστιν. εἰς δὲ ἄφωνον οὐδὲν ὄνομα τελευτᾷ, οὐδὲ εἰς φωνῆεν βραχύ. εἰς δὲ τὸ Ι τρία μόνον, μέλι κόμμι πέπερι. εἰς δὲ τὸ Υ πέντε ** . τὰ δὲ μεταξὺ εἰς ταῦτα ⟨καὶ Α⟩ καὶ Ν ⟨καὶ Ρ⟩ καὶ Σ.

22 Λέξεως δὲ ἀρετὴ σαφῆ καὶ μὴ ταπεινὴν εἶναι. σαφεστάτη μὲν οὖν ἐστιν ἡ ἐκ τῶν κυρίων ὀνομάτων, ἀλλὰ ταπεινή· παράδειγμα δὲ ἡ Κλεοφῶντος ποίησις καὶ ἡ Σθενέλου. σεμνὴ δὲ καὶ ἐξαλλάττουσα τὸ ἰδιωτικὸν ἡ τοῖς ξενικοῖς κεχρημένη· ξενικὸν δὲ λέγω γλῶτταν καὶ μεταφορὰν καὶ ἐπέκτασιν καὶ πᾶν τὸ παρὰ τὸ κύριον. ἀλλ' ἄν τις ἅπαντα τοιαῦτα ποιήσῃ, ἢ αἴνιγμα ἔσται ἢ βαρβαρισμός· ἂν μὲν οὖν ἐκ μεταφορῶν, αἴνιγμα, ἐὰν δὲ ἐκ γλωττῶν, βαρβαρισμός. αἰνίγματός τε γὰρ ἰδέα αὕτη ἐστί, τὸ λέγοντα ὑπάρχοντα ἀδύνατα συνάψαι· κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν τῶν

9 μὲν] non vert. Lat. καὶ σ Σ, rec. : om. Ξ 10 ψ] = B^{c} (ex ξ) 11 τε] non vert. Lat. ἀεὶ non vert. Ar. 13 πλήθει B^{c} (ει ex corr.), Σ : πλήθη Ξ 14 σύνθετα Σ : ταὐτά Φ, Paris. 2038 : ταῦτα AB 15–17 εἰς … Σ] cf. n. ad loc. 15 μόνον] *partes* Lat. (= μόρια? ci. Minio) κόμμι B : κόμι Π : [Σ] 16 lac. post πέντε ci. edd. ex Ar. : πέντε Ξ : πέντε, δόρυ πῶυ νᾶπυ γόνυ** Σ ut vid. Cf. n. ad 1458a16 ταῦτα καὶ Α καὶ] om. Σ καὶ Α ci. Morelius : om. Ξ 17 Ν] - B καὶ Ρ ci. Morelius : non habet Ω post καὶ Σ add. Ar. οἷον ἄρθρον εἰς Ν καὶ πάθος εἰς Σ : non habet Ξ 18 λέξεως] λ----- B 19 οὖν ΠΣ : om. B 21 τὸ ἰδιωτικὸν ἡ τοῖς Π, Σ ut vid. : τῷ ἰδιωτικῷ ἢ τῷ B 22–23 μεταφορὰν] = B ut vid. 24 ἅπαντα B : ἂν ἅπαντα Π : [Σ] ποιήσῃ Φ, Paris. 2038 : ποιῆσαι AB : [Σ] ἔσται Π : ἔστιν B : [Σ] 25 ἐὰν A : ἂν B : *si* Lat. : [Σ] 26 γλωττῶν] = A^{c} (γ add. s. l.) 27 λέγοντα Φ, Paris. 2038 : λέγον τὰ A : λέγοντα τὰ B : [Σ]

ἄλλων ὀνομάτων σύνθεσιν οὐχ οἷόν τε τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν μεταφορῶν ἐνδέχεται, οἷον «ἄνδρ᾽ εἶδον πυρὶ χαλκὸν ἐπ᾽ ἀνέρι κολλήσαντα», καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν γλωττῶν βαρβαρισμός. δεῖ ἄρα κεκρᾶσθαί πως τούτοις· τὸ μὲν γὰρ τὸ μὴ ἰδιωτικὸν ποιήσει μηδὲ ταπεινόν, οἷον ἡ γλῶττα καὶ ἡ μεταφορὰ καὶ ὁ κόσμος καὶ τἆλλα τὰ εἰρημένα εἴδη, τὸ δὲ κύριον τὴν σαφήνειαν. οὐκ ἐλάχιστον δὲ μέρος συμβάλλεται εἰς τὸ σαφὲς τῆς λέξεως καὶ μὴ ἰδιωτικὸν αἱ ἐπεκτάσεις καὶ ἀποκοπαὶ καὶ ἐξαλλαγαὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων· διὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἄλλως ἔχειν ἢ ὡς τὸ κύριον παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς γιγνόμενον τὸ μὴ ἰδιωτικὸν ποιήσει, διὰ δὲ τὸ κοινωνεῖν τοῦ εἰωθότος τὸ σαφὲς ἔσται. ὥστε οὐκ ὀρθῶς ψέγουσιν οἱ ἐπιτιμῶντες τῷ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ τῆς διαλέκτου καὶ διακωμῳδοῦντες τὸν ποιητήν, οἷον Εὐκλείδης ὁ ἀρχαῖος, ὡς ῥᾴδιον ὂν ποιεῖν εἴ τις δώσει ἐκτείνειν ἐφ᾽ ὁπόσον βούλεται, ἰαμβοποιήσας ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ λέξει «᾽Επιχάρην εἶδον Μαραθῶνάδε βαδίζοντα», καὶ «οὐκ ἂν γ᾽ ἐράμενος τὸν ἐκείνου ἐλ-

28 ἄλλων Σ, ci. Twining ex Piccolominii versione : om. Ξ σύνθεσιν] om. Ar. οὐχ οἷόν τε ΒΦΣ : οὐχοίονται A 29 δὲ ΠΣ : om. B μεταφορῶν ci. Bywater : μεταφορὰν Ω οἷον] οἷ-- B ἄνδρ᾽ εἶδον edd. : ἄνδρ᾽ ἴδον A : ἄνδρες εἶδον B : *virilem* Lat. : [Σ] πυρὶ χαλκὸν Σ, ci. Robortellus : πυρίχαλκον Ξ 30 τὰ δὲ B : om. ΠΣ 31 βαρβαρισμός Π : βαρβαρός B : [Σ] post βαρβαρισμός Lat. habet *autem* + lac. fere viginti litt. δεῖ Ξ : δ᾽ εἰ ut intell. Syr. κεκρᾶσθαι ΒΣ : κεκρίσθαι A : *discretionem factam esse* Lat. τὸ A, Σ ut vid. : τότε vel τό γε B (sed o non ext.) : *hoc* Lat. : τὰ ci. Sykutris 32 τὸ B : om. A : [Φ] : [Σ] **1458b2** καὶ[1] Π : αἱ B : [Σ] 3 τὸ[2]] -᾽- B 4 ποιήσει] ποιή--- B 4–5 τὸ κοινωνεῖν] τ-᾽κ̣---ωνεῖν B 6 ἐπιτιμῶντες B : ἐπιτιμοῦντες A : [Φ] : [Σ] 6–7 διακωμῳδοῦντες ΠΣ : διακωμῳδοῦντος B 8 ὂν ΒΣ : om. Π τις … ἐκτείνειν] *quid … extendens* Lat. 9 ᾽Επιχάρην ci. Bursian : ἢ ἐπιχαρην (sic) B : ἢ ἐπὶ χάριν Σ : ἤτει χάριν Π : ᾽Ηπιχάρην ci. Tyrwhitt εἶδον ΒΣ : ἴδον A : *videns* Lat. 9–10 μαραθῶνάδε edd. : μαραθῶνα δὲ ΑΒΣ : *Marathonem* Lat. 10 ἄν γ᾽ ἐράμενος rec. : ἄν γεράμενος A : ἄν γε ἀράμενος B : *utique* (= ἂν) + spat. vac. Lat. : [Σ]

λέβορον». τὸ μὲν οὖν φαίνεσθαί πως χρώμενον τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ γελοῖον· τὸ δὲ μέτρον κοινὸν ἁπάντων ἐστὶ τῶν μερῶν· καὶ γὰρ μεταφοραῖς καὶ γλώτταις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις εἴδεσι χρώμενος ἀπρεπῶς καὶ ἐπίτηδες ἐπὶ τὰ γελοῖα τὸ αὐτὸ ἂν ἀπεργάσαιτο. τὸ δὲ ἁρμόττον ὅσον διαφέρει ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπῶν θεωρείσθω ἐντιθεμένων τῶν ὀνομάτων εἰς τὸ μέτρον. καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γλώττης δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν μεταφορῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἰδεῶν μετατιθεὶς ἄν τις τὰ κύρια ὀνόματα κατίδοι ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγομεν· οἷον τὸ αὐτὸ ποιήσαντος ἰαμβεῖον Αἰσχύλου καὶ Εὐριπίδου, ἓν δὲ μόνον ὄνομα μεταθέντος, ἀντὶ κυρίου εἰωθότος γλῶτταν, τὸ μὲν φαίνεται καλὸν τὸ δ᾽ εὐτελές. Αἰσχύλος μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ Φιλοκτήτῃ ἐποίησε

φαγέδαιναν ἥ μου σάρκας ἐσθίει ποδός,

ὁ δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐσθίει τὸ θοινᾶται μετέθηκεν. καὶ

νῦν δέ μ᾽ ἐὼν ὀλίγος τε καὶ οὐτιδανὸς καὶ ἀεικής,

εἴ τις λέγοι τὰ κύρια μετατιθεὶς

νῦν δέ μ᾽ ἐὼν μικρός τε καὶ ἀσθενικὸς καὶ ἀειδής·

καὶ

δίφρον ἀεικέλιον καταθεὶς ὀλίγην τε τράπεζαν,
δίφρον μοχθηρὸν καταθεὶς μικράν τε τράπεζαν·

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11 πως B : πῶς ΠΣ 12 μέτρον Ω : μέτριον ci. Spengel 14 ἐπὶ τὰ ΒΣ : *ad* Lat. (i.e. ἐπὶ; τὰ [Φ]) : ἔπειτα A 15 ἁρμόττον Φ, Paris. 2038 : ἁρμόττον vel ἁρμόττοντος Σ : ἁρμόττοντος A : ἁρμόττον πως B 17 καὶ[1] Π : om. B, Ar. ἐπὶ τῆς γλώττης δὲ] om. Ar. 18 ἰδεῶν edd. : εἰδέων ΑΒΣ : *speciebus* Lat. 20–21 μεταθέντος B : μετατιθέντος A : [Φ] : [Σ] 23 φαγέδαιναν ci. Hermann (-α rec.) : φαγάδαινα≡ B (post να lac. unius litt. in charta) : φαγάδενα A : *infirmitas lupus* Lat. : [Σ] 24 ἐσθίει] *esthiein* Lat. 25 δέ μ᾽ ἐὼν Φ, Paris. 2038 : δὲ μεὼν AB (μέων B) : [Σ] ὀλίγος Π, Σ ut vid. : ὀλιγοστός B ἀεικής B[c] (κ ex corr.), Σ : ἀειδής Π 26 λέγοι A : λέγει ΒΦ : [Σ] μετατιθεὶς A : μεταθεὶς B : [Φ] : [Σ] 27 μ᾽ ἐὼν Φ, Paris. 2038 : μεὼν AB (μέων B cf. l. 25) : [Σ] τε ΒΦΣ : δὲ A ἀειδής] = B[c] (ει ex corr.) 29 δίφρον B (ut vid.), Φ : δίφρον τε (una litt. eras. post ε) A, Σ ut vid. ὀλίγην] ²---ῃν B 30 δίφρον … τράπεζαν] non vert. Lat.

καὶ τὸ «ἠιόνες βοόωσιν», ἠιόνες κράζουσιν. ἔτι δὲ Ἀριφράδης τοὺς τραγῳδοὺς ἐκωμῴδει ὅτι ἃ οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴπειεν ἐν τῇ διαλέκτῳ τούτοις χρῶνται, οἷον τὸ δωμάτων ἄπο ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀπὸ δωμάτων, καὶ τὸ σέθεν καὶ τὸ ἐγὼ δέ νιν καὶ τὸ
1459a1 Ἀχιλλέως πέρι ἀλλὰ μὴ περὶ Ἀχιλλέως, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα. διὰ γὰρ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἐν τοῖς κυρίοις ποιεῖ τὸ μὴ ἰδιωτικὸν ἐν τῇ λέξει ἅπαντα τὰ τοιαῦτα· ἐκεῖνος δὲ τοῦτο ἠγνόει. ἔστιν δὲ μέγα μὲν τὸ ἑκάστῳ τῶν εἰρημένων πρεπόντως χρῆσθαι, καὶ διπλοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ γλώτταις, πολὺ δὲ μέγιστον τὸ μεταφορικὸν εἶναι. μόνον γὰρ τοῦτο οὔτε παρ' ἄλλου ἔστι λαβεῖν εὐφυΐας τε σημεῖόν ἐστι· τὸ γὰρ εὖ μεταφέρειν τὸ τὸ ὅμοιον θεωρεῖν ἐστιν. τῶν δ' ὀνομάτων τὰ μὲν διπλᾶ μάλιστα ἁρμόττει τοῖς διθυράμβοις, αἱ δὲ γλῶτται τοῖς ἡρωικοῖς, αἱ δὲ μεταφοραὶ τοῖς ἰαμβείοις. καὶ ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἡρωικοῖς ἅπαντα χρήσιμα τὰ εἰρημένα, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἰαμβείοις διὰ τὸ ὅτι μάλιστα λέξιν μιμεῖσθαι ταῦτα ἁρμόττει τῶν ὀνομάτων ὅσοις κἂν ἐν λόγοις τις χρήσαιτο· ἔστι δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα τὸ κύριον καὶ μεταφορὰ καὶ κόσμος. περὶ μὲν οὖν τραγῳδίας καὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ πράττειν μιμήσεως ἔστω ἡμῖν ἱκανὰ τὰ εἰρημένα.

Περὶ δὲ τῆς διηγηματικῆς καὶ ἐν μέτρῳ μιμητικῆς, 23
ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς μύθους καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς τραγῳδίαις συνιστάναι δραματικοὺς καὶ περὶ μίαν πρᾶξιν ὅλην καὶ τελείαν ἔχου-

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31 ἠιόνες (bis) B : ἴωνες (bis) ΠΣ (sed pro ἴωνες[2] Π et Σ hab. ἢ ἴωνες) ἀριφράδης ΒΦ, Σ ut vid. (ἀριφραδεῖς ut intell. Ar.) : ἀρειφράδης A 32 τραγῳδοὺς ΠΣ : κραμοδοὺς B[c] (α et μ ex corr.) εἴπειεν ἐν edd. : εἴπῃ ἐν Π : εἴπειεν B : εἴπ——? ἐν Σ **1459a3** τοιαῦτα] = B[c] (τα ex corr.) 4 τὸ ΒΣ : τῷ A : [Φ] 4–5 πρεπόντως ΠΣ : πρεπόντων B 5 διπλοῖς ΠΣ : δι' ἁπλοῖς B 6 μέγιστον] *maius* Lat. 11 ἅπαντα ΑΣ : ἅπαντα τὰ B : [Φ] 13 ὅσοις κἂν (καὶ Paris. 2038) ἐν λόγοις edd. : ὅσοις κἂν εὐλόγως ΒΣ : ὅσοις καὶ ἐν ὅσοις λόγοις Π τις ΒΣ : τι Φ : τί A 14 τὸ κύριον καὶ μεταφορὰ ΠΣ : κύρια καὶ μεταφοραὶ B 17 καὶ ἐν μέτρῳ Π : καὶ ἐμμέτρου B, Σ ut vid. 19 μίαν] μ--- B 19–20 ἔχουσαν] = B ut vid.

σαν ἀρχὴν καὶ μέσα καὶ τέλος, ἵν᾽ ὥσπερ ζῷον ἓν ὅλον ποιῇ τὴν οἰκείαν ἡδονήν, δῆλον, καὶ μὴ ὁμοίας ἱστορίαις τὰς συνθέσεις εἶναι, ἐν αἷς ἀνάγκη οὐχὶ μιᾶς πράξεως ποιεῖσθαι δήλωσιν ἀλλ᾽ ἑνὸς χρόνου, ὅσα ἐν τούτῳ συνέβη περὶ ἕνα ἢ πλείους, ὧν ἕκαστον ὡς ἔτυχεν ἔχει πρὸς ἄλληλα. ὥσπερ γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ἥ τ᾽ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ἐγένετο ναυμαχία καὶ ἡ ἐν Σικελίᾳ Καρχηδονίων μάχη οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸ αὐτὸ συντείνουσαι τέλος, οὕτω καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐφεξῆς χρόνοις ἐνίοτε γίνεται θάτερον μετὰ θάτερον, ἐξ ὧν ἓν οὐδὲν γίνεται τέλος. σχεδὸν δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ποιητῶν τοῦτο δρῶσι. διὸ ὥσπερ εἴπομεν ἤδη καὶ ταύτῃ θεσπέσιος ἂν φανείη Ὅμηρος παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους, τῷ μηδὲ τὸν πόλεμον καίπερ ἔχοντα ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος ἐπιχειρῆσαι ποιεῖν ὅλον· λίαν γὰρ ἂν μέγας καὶ οὐκ εὐσύνοπτος ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι ὁ μῦθος, ἢ τῷ μεγέθει μετριάζοντα καταπεπλεγμένον τῇ ποικιλίᾳ. νῦν δ᾽ ἓν μέρος ἀπολαβὼν ἐπεισοδίοις κέχρηται αὐτῶν πολλοῖς, οἷον νεῶν καταλόγῳ καὶ ἄλλοις ἐπεισοδίοις [δὶς] διαλαμβάνει τὴν ποίησιν. οἱ δ᾽ ἄλλοι περὶ ἕνα ποιοῦσι

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20 μέσα Ξ : μέσον ut intell. Ar. 20–21 ἵνα … ποιῇ B : ἵν᾽ … ποιεῖ A : *que … facit* Lat. : ὥσπερ ζῷον ποιεῖ ut intell. Ar. (om. ἵν᾽ et ἓν ὅλον) 21–22 ἱστορίαις τὰς συνθέσεις ci. Sophianus, Dacier, fort. Σ (ἱστορίας Σ vel ut intell. Syr.) : ἱστορίαις τὰς συνθήσεις B (sic) : ἱστορίας τὰς συνήθεις Π 23 συνέβη] *accidunt* Lat. περὶ ΠΣ : ἢ περὶ B 25 σαλαμῖνι B : σαλαμίνη A (sic) : *salamina* Lat. : [Σ] 26 ναυμαχία BΦ, Σ ut vid. (ναυμαχίαι ut interpr. Ar.) : ναύμαχος A Καρχηδονίων]= καρχηδονίων B (duo spat. inter ω et ν, ex def. chart.?) μάχη] *bellum* Lat. 27 οὕτω ΠΣ : οὔτε B (duo spat. vac. inter υ et τ, ex def. chart.?) 28 μετὰ θάτερον Paris. 2038 : μετὰ θατέρου Ξ : [Σ] 31 τῷ ΦΣ, rec. : τὸ AB 33 ἂν Π (ἂν habet A) et fort. Σ (fort. ἦν ut intell. Ar.) : αὖ B μέγας B, A^2 (σ add. s. l.), Σ ut vid. : μέγα Π 33–34 ὁ μῦθος ἢ B : ὁ μῦθος ᾖ ut interpr. Ar. : ἢ A : spat. vac. in Lat. 35 αὐτῶν AB : *ipsi* Lat. O : *ipsis* Lat. T : αὐτοῦ ut intell. Ar. ut vid. 36–37 πολλοῖς … ποίησιν] om. Ar. ut vid. 36 νεῶν] non vert. Lat. ἄλλοις Π : ἄλλως B : om. Ar. δὶς om. B et Ar., erasum in A : *bis bis* Lat. : οἷς rec.

1459b1 καὶ περὶ ἕνα χρόνον καὶ μίαν πρᾶξιν πολυμερῆ, οἷον ὁ τὰ Κύπρια ποιήσας καὶ τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα. τοιγαροῦν ἐκ μὲν Ἰλιάδος καὶ Ὀδυσσείας μία τραγῳδία ποιεῖται ἑκατέρας ἢ δύο μόναι, ἐκ δὲ Κυπρίων πολλαὶ καὶ τῆς μικρᾶς Ἰλιάδος [πλέον ὀκτώ, οἷον ὅπλων κρίσις, Φιλοκτήτης, Νεοπτόλεμος, Εὐρύπυλος, πτωχεία, Λάκαιναι, Ἰλίου πέρσις καὶ ἀπόπλους καὶ Σίνων καὶ Τρῳάδες]. ἔτι δὲ 24
τὰ εἴδη ταὐτὰ δεῖ ἔχειν τὴν ἐποποιίαν τῇ τραγῳδίᾳ, ἢ γὰρ ἁπλῆν ἢ πεπλεγμένην ἢ ἠθικὴν ἢ παθητικήν· καὶ τὰ μέρη ἔξω μελοποιίας καὶ ὄψεως ταὐτά· καὶ γὰρ περιπετειῶν δεῖ καὶ ἀναγνωρίσεων καὶ παθημάτων· ἔτι τὰς διανοίας καὶ τὴν λέξιν ἔχειν καλῶς. οἷς ἅπασιν Ὅμηρος κέχρηται καὶ πρῶτος καὶ ἱκανῶς. καὶ γὰρ τῶν ποιημάτων ἑκάτερον συνέστηκεν ἡ μὲν Ἰλιὰς ἁπλοῦν καὶ παθητικόν, ἡ δὲ Ὀδύσσεια πεπλεγμένον (ἀναγνώρισις γὰρ διόλου) καὶ ἠθική· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις λέξει καὶ διανοίᾳ πάντα ὑπερβέβληκεν.

Διαφέρει δὲ κατά τε τῆς συστάσεως τὸ μῆκος ἡ ἐποποιία καὶ τὸ μέτρον. τοῦ μὲν οὖν μήκους ὅρος ἱκανὸς ὁ

1459b1 καὶ μίαν πρᾶξιν Ξ : μῦθον ut interpr. Ar., et fort. Σ ut glossema 2 Κύπρια ci. Castelvetro, Reiz : κυπρικὰ Ξ : [Σ] Ἰλιάδα] *Nileidem* Lat. 4 μόναι A[2] (αι supra ασ), Paris. 2038 : μόνας Ξ : μόλις Σ καὶ] *et ex* Lat. 5–7 πλέον … Τρῳάδες Ξ : secl. Else, Kassel : de Ar. et alia cf. n. ad loc. 5 πλέον ὀκτώ, οἷον A : πλέον ἢ ὀκτώ, οἷον B : [Φ] : ὀκτὼ καὶ πλέον ἐξ ὧν vel similia ut intell. Ar. ὅπλων ΠΣ : ἁπλῶς B 5–7 φιλοκτήτης … τρῳάδες Ξ : νεοπτόλεμος, φιλοκτήτης, πτωχεία, Ἰλίου πέρσις, ἀπόπλους, σίνων καὶ τρῳάδες Σ 6 λάκαιναι A : λάκαινα BΦ : om. Ar. 7 τρῳάδες A[2] (τ supra π), BΣ : πρωϊάδες Π ἔτι δὲ] bis in A (fin. et init. lin.) 8 τὰ εἴδη ταὐτὰ Π : ταῦτα τὰ εἴδη BΣ δεῖ BΦ : ἀεὶ Σ : δὴ A 10 ταὐτά Π : ταῦτα BΣ 13 καὶ[1] ΠΣ : om. B ἱκανῶς BΦΣ : ἱκανός A καὶ γὰρ BΦΣ : καὶ γὰρ καὶ A ποιημάτων B (vel B[c]?, uno spat. inter ι et η), Σ : πονημάτων Π ἑκάτερον ΠΣ : ἑκάτερον σῶτερ B 15 γὰρ Π : om. B : [Σ] ἠθική Ω : ἠθικὸν A[2] (ὸν s. l.) 16 δὲ Σ, Paris. 2038 : γὰρ Ξ πάντα ΠΣ : πάντας B 17 κατά τε τῆς συστάσεως τὸ μῆκος Π (sed Φ fort. om. τε) : κατὰ τὸ μῆκος τῆς συστάσεως B, et fort. Σ

εἰρημένος· δύνασθαι γὰρ δεῖ συνορᾶσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ τέλος. εἴη δ᾽ ἂν τοῦτο, εἰ τῶν μὲν ἀρχαίων ἐλάττους αἱ συστάσεις εἶεν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τραγῳδιῶν τῶν εἰς μίαν ἀκρόασιν τιθεμένων παρήκοιεν. ἔχει δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἐπεκτείνεσθαι τὸ μέγεθος πολύ τι ἡ ἐποποιία ἴδιον διὰ τὸ ἐν μὲν τῇ τραγῳδίᾳ μὴ ἐνδέχεσθαι ἅμα πραττόμενα πολλὰ μέρη μιμεῖσθαι ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν μέρος μόνον· ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐποποιίᾳ διὰ τὸ διήγησιν εἶναι ἔστι πολλὰ μέρη ἅμα ποιεῖν περαινόμενα, ὑφ᾽ ὧν οἰκείων ὄντων αὔξεται ὁ τοῦ ποιήματος ὄγκος. ὥστε τοῦτ᾽ ἔχει τὸ ἀγαθὸν εἰς μεγαλοπρέπειαν καὶ τὸ μεταβάλλειν τὸν ἀκούοντα καὶ ἐπεισοδιοῦν ἀνομοίοις ἐπεισοδίοις· τὸ γὰρ ὅμοιον ταχὺ πληροῦν ἐκπίπτειν ποιεῖ τὰς τραγῳδίας. τὸ δὲ μέτρον τὸ ἡρωικὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πείρας ἥρμοκεν. εἰ γάρ τις ἐν ἄλλῳ τινὶ μέτρῳ διηγηματικὴν μίμησιν ποιοῖτο ἢ ἐν πολλοῖς, ἀπρεπὲς ἂν φαίνοιτο· τὸ γὰρ ἡρωικὸν στασιμώτατον καὶ ὀγκωδέστατον τῶν μέτρων ἐστίν (διὸ καὶ γλώττας καὶ μεταφορὰς δέχεται μάλιστα· περιττὴ γὰρ καὶ ἡ διηγηματικὴ μίμησις τῶν ἄλλων), τὸ δὲ ἰαμβεῖον καὶ τετράμετρον κινητικὰ καὶ τὸ μὲν ὀρχηστικὸν τὸ δὲ πρακτικόν. ἔτι δὲ ἀτοπώτερον εἰ μιγνύοι τις αὐτά, ὥσπερ Χαιρήμων. διὸ οὐδεὶς μακρὰν σύστασιν ἐν ἄλλῳ πεποίηκεν ἢ τῷ ἡρῴῳ, ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ εἴπομεν αὐτὴ ἡ φύσις διδάσκει τὸ ἁρμόττον αὐτῇ

19 δεῖ] non vert. Lat. 21 εἶεν] *aut* Lat. πρὸς δὲ ΒΣ : πρόσθε Π 23 πολύ] non vert. Lat. 24 πραττόμενα ΠΣ : πραττομένοις Β 26 τὸ] τ- Β 27–28 ἔστι … αὔξεται] om. Ar. 31 τὰς τραγῳδίας ΠΣ : τὴν τραγῳδίαν Β 33 διηγηματικὴν Β : διηγητικὴν Α : [Φ] : [Σ] 34 στασιμώτατον Π : στασιμώτερον Β : [Σ] 36 γὰρ καὶ Ξ, Σ ut vid. : δὲ καὶ ci. Else : γὰρ καὶ ⟨ταύτῃ⟩ ci. Twining 37 μίμησις ΒΣ : κίνησις Π καὶ Π : καὶ τὸ Β : om. Ar. **1460a1** κινητικὰ καὶ B^c : κινητικὰ Φ, Σ ut vid. : κινητικαὶ Α 2 μιγνύοι Paris. 2038 : μιγνοίη Β : μὴ γνοίη ut intell. Syr. : μιγνύη (ex μὴ γνύῃ ; alt. η in ras.) A^c : *misceat* Lat. τις αὐτά] om. Ar. 3 τῷ ΒΣ : τὸ Α : [Φ] 4 αὐτῇ ΒΦΣ : αὐτὴ Α

αἱρεῖσθαι. Ὅμηρος δὲ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἄξιος ἐπαινεῖσθαι καὶ δὴ καὶ ὅτι μόνος τῶν ποιητῶν οὐκ ἀγνοεῖ ὃ δεῖ ποιεῖν αὐτόν. αὐτὸν γὰρ δεῖ τὸν ποιητὴν ἐλάχιστα λέγειν· οὐ γάρ ἐστι κατὰ ταῦτα μιμητής. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι αὐτοὶ μὲν δι᾽ ὅλου ἀγωνίζονται, μιμοῦνται δὲ ὀλίγα καὶ ὀλιγάκις· ὁ δὲ ὀλίγα φροιμιασάμενος εὐθὺς εἰσάγει ἄνδρα ἢ γυναῖκα ἢ ἄλλο τι ἦθος, καὶ οὐδέν᾽ ἀήθη ἀλλ᾽ ἔχοντα ἦθος. δεῖ μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς τραγῳδίαις ποιεῖν τὸ θαυμαστόν, μᾶλλον δ᾽ ἐνδέχεται ἐν τῇ ἐποποιίᾳ τὸ ἄλογον, δι᾽ ὃ συμβαίνει μάλιστα τὸ θαυμαστόν, διὰ τὸ μὴ ὁρᾶν εἰς τὸν πράττοντα· ἐπεὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἕκτορος δίωξιν ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ὄντα γελοῖα ἂν φανείη, οἱ μὲν ἑστῶτες καὶ οὐ διώκοντες, ὁ δὲ ἀνανεύων, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔπεσιν λανθάνει. τὸ δὲ θαυμαστὸν ἡδύ· σημεῖον δέ, πάντες γὰρ προστιθέντες ἀπαγγέλλουσιν ὡς χαριζόμενοι. δεδίδαχεν δὲ μάλιστα Ὅμηρος καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ψευδῆ λέγειν ὡς δεῖ. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο παραλογισμός. οἴονται γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ὅταν τουδὶ ὄντος τοδὶ ᾖ ἢ γινομένου γίνηται, εἰ τὸ ὕστερον ἔστιν, καὶ τὸ πρότερον εἶναι ἢ γίνεσθαι· τοῦτο δέ ἐστι ψεῦδος. διὸ δεῖ, ἂν τὸ πρῶτον ψεῦδος, ἄλλο δὲ τούτου ὄντος ἀνάγκη εἶναι

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5 αἱρεῖσθαι ΦΣ, ci. Bonitz : διαιρεῖσθαι AB   ἄλλα τε] *alias* Lat. (= ἄλλοτε? ci. Minio)   6 δὴ ΠΣ : δεῖ B   καὶ] non vert. Lat.   7 αὐτὸν γὰρ δεῖ A : *ipsum enim utique* Lat. : δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν B, fort. Σ   λέγειν] *prologizare* Lat.   8 μὲν δι᾽ Π : μὲν οὖν δι᾽ B : [Σ]   11 οὐδέν᾽ ἀήθη ci. Victorius : οὐδένα ἀήθη BΣ : οὐδένα ἤθη A : *neque unum morem* Lat.   ἦθος² B : ἤθη Π : [Σ]   13 ἄλογον ci. Victorius : ἀνάλογον Ω   δι᾽ ὃ Φ, Paris. 2038 : διὸ AB : [Σ]   συμβαίνει μάλιστα] συμβ--́ ̣νει μάλ̣ι--- B   13–14 θαυμαστόν, διὰ] θαυμα--̀----̀ B   14 ἐπεὶ τὰ B : ἔπειτα Σ : ἔπειτα τὰ Π   16 μὲν Π, Σ ut vid. : μὲν οὖν B   οὐ ΠΣ : οἱ B   1460a17–1461a7 ἡδὺ … πρὸς] deest Ar.   18 γὰρ] om. Lat.   19 δεῖ AB : om. in lac. Lat.   20 οἱ B : om. A : [Φ]   21 τουδὶ ὄντος fec. A², Φ : τοῦ διόντος AB   τοδὶ ᾖ ἢ γινομένου rec. : τοδι (vel το δι) η ἢ γιγνομένου B : τὸ δὶ ἢν γινομένου A ut vid. sed τὸ δὶ ἦι fec. Aᶜ vel A² ut vid. : *aut fiente hoc* Lat.   εἰ BΦ, A² in marg. : ἢ A   22 εἶναι Π : ἢ εἶναι B   23 δεῖ B : δὴ Π   ἂν] *et si* Lat. (= κἄν? ci. Minio)   ψεῦδος Π : ψεῦδος εἰ τὸ ὕστερον ἔστιν B (ex l. 21)   ἄλλο δὲ codices (?) Robortelli : ἄλλου δὲ A : ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ B, fec. A², Φ   ἀνάγκη (bis) B

ἢ γενέσθαι ᾖ, προσθεῖναι· διὰ γὰρ τὸ τοῦτο εἰδέναι ἀληθὲς ὂν παραλογίζεται ἡμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ὡς ὄν. παράδειγμα δὲ τούτου τὸ ἐκ τῶν Νίπτρων. προαιρεῖσθαί τε δεῖ ἀδύνατα εἰκότα μᾶλλον ἢ δυνατὰ ἀπίθανα· τούς τε λόγους μὴ συνίστασθαι ἐκ μερῶν ἀλόγων, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν μηδὲν ἔχειν ἄλογον, εἰ δὲ μή, ἔξω τοῦ μυθεύματος, ὥσπερ Οἰδίπους τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι πῶς ὁ Λάιος ἀπέθανεν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐν τῷ δράματι, ὥσπερ ἐν Ἠλέκτρᾳ οἱ τὰ Πύθια ἀπαγγέλλοντες ἢ ἐν Μυσοῖς ὁ ἄφωνος ἐκ Τεγέας εἰς τὴν Μυσίαν ἥκων. ὥστε τὸ λέγειν ὅτι ἀνῄρητο ἂν ὁ μῦθος γελοῖον· ἐξ ἀρχῆς γὰρ οὐ δεῖ συνίστασθαι τοιούτους, ἂν δὲ θῇ καὶ φαίνηται εὐλογωτέρως ἐνδέχεσθαι, καὶ ἄτοπον· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ὀδυσσείᾳ ἄλογα τὰ περὶ τὴν ἔκθεσιν ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἦν ἀνεκτὰ δῆλον ἂν γένοιτο, εἰ αὐτὰ φαῦλος ποιητὴς ποιήσειε· νῦν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς ὁ ποιητὴς ἀφανίζει ἡδύνων τὸ ἄτοπον. τῇ δὲ λέξει δεῖ διαπονεῖν ἐν τοῖς ἀργοῖς μέρεσιν καὶ μήτε ἠθικοῖς μήτε διανοητικοῖς· ἀποκρύπτει γὰρ πάλιν ἡ λίαν λαμπρὰ λέξις τά τε ἤθη καὶ τὰς διανοίας.

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24 ᾖ ci. Jortin, Vahlen : ἢ Ξ : del. Ellebodius, Bonitz προσθεῖναι] *apponi* Lat. (= προστεθῆναι? ci. Minio) τὸ A : om. B : [Φ] 25 ὂν[1] B, A[2] in ras. : *quibus* Lat. (= ὧν? ci. Minio) ὡς] non vert. Lat. 26 τούτου τὸ B : τοῦτο A : *huic* Lat. νίπτρων B : νίπτρω Π τε δεῖ] *hoc* Lat. (= τόδε? ci. Minio) 27 ἀδύνατα εἰκότα Π : εἰκότα ἀδύνατα B ἀπίθανα B[c] (ἀ add. s. l.) : ἀπείθανα A : *improbabilia* Lat. τε Π : δὲ B 30 ὁ Λάιος rec. : ὀϊόλαος A : τὸν (τὸ fec. B[c]) ἰόλαος B : ἰόλαος Φ 32 τεγέας A : *terra* (sic) Lat. : τεγαίας B 33 ὥστε B, A[2] (ut vid.), Φ : οστε A τὸ A : τῷ B : [Φ] ἀνῄρητο B : ἀνήρειτο A : *interimetur* Lat. 34 ἂν δὲ θῇ BA[2] : *si autem ponatur* Lat. (*ponatur* = τεθῇ? ci. Minio) : ἂν δεθῇ A : ἂν δὲ τεθῇ codex Robortelli 35 ἐνδέχεσθαι Ξ : ἀποδέχεσθαι rec. καὶ ἄτοπον Π : vac. in spat. ca. 9–10 litt. B τὰ Π : om. B 35–36 Ὀδυσσείᾳ] ------σεία B 36 τὰ] -ˋ B τὴν] τˋ- B ἦν Π : ἠ- B **1460b1** αὐτὰ Π : ταῦτα B ποιήσειε B : ποιήσει A : [Φ] 5 τε BΦ : δὲ A

Περὶ δὲ προβλημάτων καὶ λύσεων, ἐκ πόσων τε καὶ ποίων εἰδῶν ἐστιν, ὧδ᾽ ἂν θεωροῦσιν γένοιτ᾽ ἂν φανερόν. ἐπεὶ γάρ ἐστι μιμητὴς ὁ ποιητὴς ὡσπερανεὶ ζωγράφος ἤ τις ἄλλος εἰκονοποιός, ἀνάγκη μιμεῖσθαι τριῶν ὄντων τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἕν τι ἀεί, ἢ γὰρ οἷα ἦν ἢ ἔστιν, ἢ οἷά φασιν καὶ δοκεῖ, ἢ οἷα εἶναι δεῖ. ταῦτα δ᾽ ἐξαγγέλλεται λέξει ἐν ᾗ καὶ γλῶτται καὶ μεταφοραὶ καὶ πολλὰ πάθη τῆς λέξεώς ἐστι· δίδομεν γὰρ ταῦτα τοῖς ποιηταῖς. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὐχ ἡ αὐτὴ ὀρθότης ἐστὶν τῆς πολιτικῆς καὶ τῆς ποιητικῆς οὐδὲ ἄλλης τέχνης καὶ ποιητικῆς. αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς ποιητικῆς διττὴ ἁμαρτία, ἡ μὲν γὰρ καθ᾽ αὑτήν, ἡ δὲ κατὰ συμβεβηκός. εἰ μὲν γὰρ προείλετο μιμήσασθαι ⟨**⟩ ἀδυναμίαν, αὐτῆς ἡ ἁμαρτία· εἰ δὲ τῷ προελέσθαι μὴ ὀρθῶς, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἵππον ἄμφω τὰ δεξιὰ προβεβληκότα, ἢ τὸ καθ᾽ ἑκάστην τέχνην ἁμάρτημα (οἷον τὸ κατ᾽ ἰατρικὴν ἢ ἄλλην τέχνην) ἢ ἀδύνατα πεποίηται ὁποῖ᾽ ἂν οὖν, οὐ καθ᾽ ἑαυτήν. ὥστε δεῖ τὰ ἐπιτιμήματα ἐν τοῖς προβλήμασιν ἐκ τούτων ἐπισκοποῦντα λύειν. πρῶτον μὲν ⟨εἰ⟩ τὰ

7 ποίων B : ποίων ἂν Π ὧδ᾽ ἂν AB : *sic* Lat. γένοιτ᾽ ἂν φανερόν Π : φανερὸν γένοιτο B 8 ὡσπερανεὶ fec. A^{2} : ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ AB : *sicut* Lat. ζωγράφος Π : τις ζωγράφος B ἤ BΦ, A^{2} (s. l.) : εἰ A 9–10 τὸν ἀριθμὸν B : *numero* Lat. : τῶν ἀριθμῶν A 10 ἀεί] non vert. Lat. ἢ γὰρ Π : ἡ γὰρ B ἦν ἢ non vert. Lat. καὶ Π : ἢ καὶ B 11 ἢ B : om. Π δεῖ A (ut vid.), ΦB : δεῖν fec. A^{2} ἐν ᾗ B : ἢ Π 12 γλῶτται καὶ μεταφοραὶ ci. Menardos : γλῶττα καὶ μεταφορὰ B : γλώτταις καὶ μεταφοραῖς Π 14–15 τῆς πολιτικῆς … δὲ] om. B : habet Π, et Σ (apud Avic.) 15 διττὴ ἁμαρτία Π, Σ (apud Avic.) : om. B 16 εἰ Φ, A^{2} s. l., Paris. 2038 : ἡ A, Σ ut vid. (apud Avic.) : ἢ εἰ B 17 ⟨**⟩ lac. ci. Vahlen, cf. n. ad loc. ἀδυναμίαν Π : ἀδυναμία B ἡ A : om. B : [Φ] εἰ Φ, Paris. 2038 : ἡ AB, Σ ut vid. (apud Avic.) 18 τῷ προελέσθαι Paris. 2038 : τὸ προελέσθαι A : προελέσθαι B : *preeligebat* Lat. ἄμφω Ξ : ⟨ἄμ᾽⟩ ἄμφω ci. Vahlen 20 ἄλλην Π : κατὰ ἄλλην B ἢ ἀδύνατα πεποίηται AB : secl. Duentzer : ἢ ἀδύνατα non vert. Lat. 20–23 πεποίηται … πεποίηται] πεποίηται B 21 ὁποῖ᾽ ἂν οὖν ci. Bywater : ὁποίαν οὖν A : *qualemcumque* (ante et post πεποίηται) Lat. 22 μὲν A : μὲν οὖν Φ εἰ supra τ fec. A^{2} : non habet Π

πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν τέχνην ἀδύνατα πεποίηται, ἡμάρτηται· ἀλλ᾽ ὀρθῶς ἔχει, εἰ τυγχάνει τοῦ τέλους τοῦ αὐτῆς (τὸ γὰρ τέλος εἴρηται), εἰ οὕτως ἐκπληκτικώτερον ἢ αὐτὸ ἢ ἄλλο ποιεῖ μέρος. παράδειγμα ἡ τοῦ Ἕκτορος δίωξις. εἰ μέντοι τὸ τέλος ἢ μᾶλλον ἢ ⟨μὴ⟩ ἧττον ἐνεδέχετο ὑπάρχειν καὶ κατὰ τὴν περὶ τούτων τέχνην, [ἡμαρτῆσθαι] οὐκ ὀρθῶς· δεῖ γὰρ εἰ ἐνδέχεται ὅλως μηδαμῇ ἡμαρτῆσθαι. ἔτι ποτέρων ἐστὶ τὸ ἁμάρτημα, τῶν κατὰ τὴν τέχνην ἢ κατ᾽ ἄλλο συμβεβηκός; ἔλαττον γὰρ εἰ μὴ ᾔδει ὅτι ἔλαφος θήλεια κέρατα οὐκ ἔχει ἢ εἰ ἀμιμήτως ἔγραψεν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐὰν ἐπιτιμᾶται ὅτι οὐκ ἀληθῆ, ἀλλ᾽ ἴσως ⟨ὡς⟩ δεῖ, οἷον καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἔφη αὐτὸς μὲν οἵους δεῖ ποιεῖν, Εὐριπίδην δὲ οἷοι εἰσίν, ταύτῃ λυτέον. εἰ δὲ μηδετέρως, ὅτι οὕτω φασίν, οἷον τὰ περὶ θεῶν· ἴσως γὰρ οὔτε βέλτιον οὕτω λέγειν οὔτ᾽ ἀληθῆ, ἀλλ᾽ εἰ ἔτυχεν ὥσπερ Ξενοφάνει· ἀλλ᾽ οὖν φασι. τὰ δὲ ἴσως οὐ βέλτιον 1461a1 μέν, ἀλλ᾽ οὕτως εἶχεν, οἷον τὰ περὶ τῶν ὅπλων, «ἔγχεα δέ σφιν ὄρθ᾽ ἐπὶ σαυρωτῆρος»· οὕτω γὰρ τότ᾽ ἐνόμιζον, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν Ἰλλυριοί. περὶ δὲ τοῦ καλῶς ἢ μὴ καλῶς

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23 ἀδύνατα Π : εἰ ἀδύνατα Paris. 2038, ci. Vahlen 24 εἰ A : ἢ B : *que* Lat. αὐτῆς Φ, Paris. 2038 : αὐτῆς AB γὰρ Π : δὲ B 25 εἰ οὕτως Π : ἢ οὐ κατὰ B ἢ[1]] *sit* Lat. 26 εἰ AB : lac. in Lat. 27 ἢ μᾶλλον ἢ μὴ ἧττον ci. Ueberweg : ἢ μᾶλλον ἂν ἢ ἧττον B : ἢ μᾶλλον ἧττον A : alt. ἢ post μᾶλλον add. A^2 s. l. : *aut minus* Lat. (= ἢ ἧττον, om. ἢ μᾶλλον) 28 ἡμαρτῆσθαι fec. A^2, ἡ add. s. l. : *peccare* Lat. : τῆμαρτῆσθαι B : del. Ussing, Bywater 29 ποτέρων] *utrum* Lat. : πότερον, ci. Hermann 30 τῶν Π : πότερον τῶν B 31 μὴ Π : vac. B in spat. 2–3 litt. ᾔδει B, fec. A^2 (ᾔ add. s. l.) : εἴδει A : *sciat* Lat. 32 οὐκ] fec. B^c (in lin. ex corr.) ἢ εἰ BΦ, fec. A^2 : η η A 33 ἴσως] οἵους A^2 vel A^3 in marg. ὡς ci. Vahlen : om. Ξ δεῖ] *utique* Lat. 34 Εὐριπίδην ci. Heinsius : εὐριπίδης Ξ 35 μηδετέρως Π : μὴ ἑτέρως B 36 οὕτω rec. : οὔτε Ξ : om. Paris. 2038 36-**1461a1** εἰ ἔτυχεν ὥσπερ Ξενοφάνει B, ci. Vahlen : ἔτυχεν ὥσπερ ξενοφάνη Π 1 οὖν ci. Tyrwhitt : οὔ Ξ : οὕτω ci. Spengel τὰ δὲ B : τάδε Π 3 τότ᾽ ἐνόμιζον edd. : τότε ἐνόμιζον BΦ, fec. A^2 : τότε νόμιζον A 4 καὶ] non vert. Lat.

εἰ εἴρηταί τινι ἢ πέπρακται, οὐ μόνον σκεπτέον εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ πεπραγμένον ἢ εἰρημένον βλέποντα εἰ σπουδαῖον ἢ φαῦλον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸν πράττοντα ἢ λέγοντα πρὸς ὃν ἢ ὅτε ἢ ὅτῳ ἢ οὗ ἕνεκεν, οἷον εἰ μείζονος ἀγαθοῦ, ἵνα γένηται, ἢ μείζονος κακοῦ, ἵνα ἀπογένηται. τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν λέξιν ὁρῶντα δεῖ διαλύειν, οἷον γλώττῃ τὸ «οὐρῆας μὲν πρῶτον»· ἴσως γὰρ οὐ τοὺς ἡμιόνους λέγει ἀλλὰ τοὺς φύλακας· καὶ τὸν Δόλωνα, «ὅς ῥ᾽ ἦ τοι εἶδος μὲν ἔην κακός», οὐ τὸ σῶμα ἀσύμμετρον ἀλλὰ τὸ πρόσωπον αἰσχρόν, τὸ γὰρ εὐειδὲς οἱ Κρῆτες τὸ εὐπρόσωπον καλοῦσι· καὶ τὸ «ζωρότερον δὲ κέραιε» οὐ τὸ ἄκρατον ὡς οἰνόφλυξιν ἀλλὰ τὸ θᾶττον. τὸ δὲ κατὰ μεταφορὰν εἴρηται, οἷον «πάντες μέν ῥα θεοί τε καὶ ἀνέρες ἱπποκορυσταὶ εὗδον παννύχιοι»· ἅμα δέ φησιν «ἦ τοι ὅτ᾽ ἐς πεδίον τὸ Τρωικὸν ἀθρήσειεν, αὐλῶν συρίγγων τε ὅμαδον»· τὸ γὰρ πάντες ἀντὶ τοῦ πολλοί κατὰ μεταφορὰν εἴρηται, τὸ γὰρ πᾶν πολύ τι. καὶ τὸ «οἴη δ᾽ ἄμμο-

5 εἰ ci. Vulcanius, Spengel : ἢ Π : om. B εἰς A : ἐπ᾽ B : [Φ] 6 εἰ BΦ : ἡ A 7 πρὸς Π : ἢ πρὸς B ὃν κτλ. praesto est Ar., cf. ad 1460a17–1461a7 8 ἢ οὗ ἕνεκεν] om. Ar. οὗ ἕνεκεν BΦ : οὖν ἔκεν A εἰ Φ : ἢ AB : ᾗ Σ ut vid. 9 ἢ BΦ, A[2] (add. s. l.) : om. A, Σ ut vid. 10 οἷον] = B[c] τὸ BΣ : om. A : [Φ] 12 ὅς ῥ᾽ ἦ τοι ci. Vahlen : ὅς ῥ᾽ ἤτοι B : ὡς ῥῆτοι A (ῥ᾽ fec. A[2]) : post *ut* (= ὡς) spat. vac. in Lat. : [Σ] ἔην B, Σ ut vid. : εἰ ἦν Π 14 Κρῆτες τὸ εὐπρόσωπον καλοῦσι] Κ--ṭ---πρόσωπọṿ---οῦ-- B τὸ[1] ci. Bywater : ṭ-B : om. AΣ : [Φ] 14–15 καὶ τὸ … ὡς] non vert. Ar. 14 τὸ[2] Π : --B 14–15 ζωρότερον] = B ut vid. 15 κέραιε οὐ B, fec. A[2] : *miscebat non* Lat. : κέραι έου A 15–16 ἀλλὰ τὸ θᾶττον Ξ : non vert. Ar. 16 τὸ δὲ Ξ : τὰ δὲ Σ, ci. Spengel κατὰ μεταφορὰν ΠΣ : καταφορὰν B (cf. infra ll. 19–20) πάντες ci. Graefenhan : ἄλλοι Ω 17 ἀνέρες ἱπποκορυσταὶ ΦΣ : ἀνέρες AB 18 ἦ τοι edd. : ἤττοι AB : *aut* Lat. : [Σ] ἐς] non vert. Lat. ἀθρήσειεν A : ἀθροίσειε BΣ : *vidit* Lat. 19 τὸ A, Σ ut vid. : τό τε vel τότε B : [Φ] πάντες et πολλοί] *omne* et *multum* Lat. τοῦ B : om. A : [Φ] : [Σ] 19–20 κατὰ μεταφορὰν] = fec. B[2] (μετα add. s. l.) : καταφορὰν B (cf. l. 16 supra) 20–22 τὸ γὰρ … προσῳδίαν] non vert. Ar. 20 οἴη BΦ : οἴη fec. A[2] ut vid. : οιη A

ρος» κατὰ μεταφοράν, τὸ γὰρ γνωριμώτατον μόνον. κατὰ δὲ προσῳδίαν, ὥσπερ Ἱππίας ἔλυεν ὁ Θάσιος, τὸ «δίδομεν δέ οἱ εὖχος ἀρέσθαι» καὶ «τὸ μὲν οὗ καταπύθεται ὄμβρῳ». τὰ δὲ διαιρέσει, οἷον Ἐμπεδοκλῆς «αἶψα δὲ θνήτ᾽ ἐφύοντο τὰ πρὶν μάθον ἀθάνατ᾽ εἶναι ζωρά τε πρὶν κέκρητο». τὰ δὲ ἀμφιβολίᾳ, «παρῴχηκεν δὲ πλέω νύξ»· τὸ γὰρ πλείω ἀμφίβολόν ἐστιν. τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῆς λέξεως. τὸν κεκραμένον οἶνόν φασιν εἶναι, ὅθεν πεποίηται «κνημὶς νεοτεύκτου κασσιτέροιο»· καὶ χαλκέας τοὺς τὸν σίδηρον ἐργαζομένους, ὅθεν εἴρηται ὁ Γανυμήδης Διὶ οἰνοχοεύειν, οὐ πινόντων οἶνον. εἴη δ᾽ ἂν τοῦτό γε καὶ κατὰ μεταφοράν. δεῖ δὲ καὶ ὅταν ὄνομά τι ὑπεναντίωμά τι δοκῇ σημαίνειν, ἐπισκοπεῖν ποσαχῶς ἂν σημήνειε τοῦτο ἐν τῷ εἰρημένῳ, οἷον τῷ «τῇ ῥ᾽ ἔσχετο χάλκεον ἔγχος» τὸ ταύτῃ κωλυθῆναι ποσαχῶς ἐνδέχεται, ὡδὶ ἢ ὡδί, ὡς μάλιστ᾽ ἄν τις ὑπολάβοι κατὰ τὴν καταντικρὺ ἢ

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21 γνωριμώτατον Π : γνωριμώτερον B 22 Ἱππίας Ξ : ἵππους ut intell. Ar. δίδομεν δέ οἱ fec. B², Σ : δίδομεν δέοι A : διδόμενον δέ ịọ δέοι B (ut vid.) : *damus autem ipsi* Lat. 23 εὖχος ἀρέσθαι BΣ : om. Π οὗ A : οὐ BΦΣ 24 θνήτ᾽ ci. Morelius : θνητὰ AB : [Φ] : [Σ] 25 μάθον Ξ : μένον vel similia ut intell. Ar. ἀθάνατ᾽ B : ἀθάνατα A : [Φ] : [Σ] εἶναι B : om. Π : [Σ] ζωρά ci. Victorius : ζῷά Ξ, fort. Σ (ζωή ut intell. Ar.) τε Ω : τε ἃ ci. Gomperz κέκρητο A : κέκριτο BΦΣ, A² (ι supra η) : ἔκρητο ci. Diels 27 τὰ δὲ ΠΣ : τὸ δὲ B τὸ A : om. B : [Φ] : [Σ] τὸν κεκραμένον BΣ : τῶν κεκραμένων Π φασιν Π : φησιν Σ : φασιν vel φησιν B 30 ὁ A, Σ ut vid. : om. B : [Φ] οἰνοχοεύειν B : οἰνοχοεύει Π, Σ ut vid. πινόντων A² (ι supra ει), B : πίνων τὸν ut intell. Ar. : πεινόντων A : *bibenti* Lat. 31 γε καὶ κατὰ Σ, ci. Heinsius : γε κατὰ A : κατά γε B : κατὰ Φ 31–32 ὄνομά τι ὑπεναντίωμά τι Paris. 2038 : ὀνόματι ὑπεναντιώματι (acc. supra pr. ι eras.) A^c : ὄνομα ὑπερεναντίωμά τι BΣ : *nomen aliquid* Lat. 32 δοκῇ B : δοκεῖ Π : [Σ] σημαίνειν ἐπισκοπεῖν ΠΣ : ἐπισκοπεῖν σημαίνειν B 33 σημήνειε B : σημαίνοιε A : *significet* Lat. : [Σ] οἷον τῷ ci. Bywater : οἷον τὸ ABΣ : [Φ] τῇ ῥ᾽ fec. A² : τὴρ AB : *longam* Lat. : non vert. Ar. 34–35 ὡδὶ ἢ ὡδὶ ὡς B, ci. Vahlen : ὠδὶ ἢ ὧς A (sic) : *sic aut sic* Lat. : ὡς Σ 35 τις] *quid* Lat. κατὰ τὴν καταντικρὺ ἢ] *secundum eam que secundum econtrarietatem* Lat.

1461b1 ὡς Γλαύκων λέγει, ὅτι ἔνιοι ἀλόγως προϋπολαμβάνουσί τι καὶ αὐτοὶ καταψηφισάμενοι συλλογίζονται, καὶ ὡς εἰρηκότος ὅ τι δοκεῖ ἐπιτιμῶσιν, ἂν ὑπεναντίον ᾖ τῇ αὐτῶν οἰήσει. τοῦτο δὲ πέπονθε τὰ περὶ Ἰκάριον. οἴονται γὰρ αὐτὸν Λάκωνα εἶναι· ἄτοπον οὖν τὸ μὴ ἐντυχεῖν τὸν Τηλέμαχον αὐτῷ εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐλθόντα. τὸ δ' ἴσως ἔχει ὥσπερ οἱ Κεφαλλῆνές φασι· παρ' αὐτῶν γὰρ γῆμαι λέγουσι τὸν Ὀδυσσέα καὶ εἶναι Ἰκάδιον ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἰκάριον· δι' ἁμάρτημα δὲ τὸ πρόβλημα εἰκός ἐστιν. ὅλως δὲ τὸ ἀδύνατον μὲν πρὸς τὴν ποίησιν ἢ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον ἢ πρὸς τὴν δόξαν δεῖ ἀνάγειν. πρός τε γὰρ τὴν ποίησιν αἱρετώτερον πιθανὸν ἀδύνατον ἢ ἀπίθανον καὶ δυνατόν. ἴσως γὰρ ἀδύνατον τοιούτους εἶναι οἷον Ζεῦξις ἔγραφεν, ἀλλὰ βέλτιον· τὸ γὰρ παράδειγμα δεῖ ὑπερέχειν. πρὸς ἅ φασιν τἄλογα· οὕτω τε καὶ ὅτι ποτὲ οὐκ ἄλογόν ἐστιν· εἰκὸς γὰρ καὶ παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς γίνεσθαι. τὰ δ' ὑπεναντίως εἰρημένα οὕτω σκοπεῖν ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἔλεγχοι εἰ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ πρὸς τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ὡσαύτως, ὥστε

1461b1 ὅτι A^2 vel A^3 (in marg.), Paris. 2038 : τί AB : *quid* Lat. : ἔτι Σ   ἔνιοι Σ, codex (?) Victorii : ἔνια Ξ   τι B : om. ΠΣ   2 καταψηφισάμενοι συλλογίζονται] κατα-----́μενοι ----------ται B   καὶ ὡς] *et ac si* Lat.   εἰρηκότος B : εἰρηκότες ΑΣ : *dixissent* Lat.   2–3 ὅ τι] *quia* (= ὅτι)   1461b3–1462a18 ἐπιτιμῶσιν … τέλος] om. B   3 ἐπιτιμῶσιν A^2 (ι supra ει), ΦΣ : ἐπειτιμῶσιν A (ει in ras. ut vid.)   ᾖ fec. A^2, ΦΣ : ἤ A   αὐτῶν Φ, Paris. 2038 : αὐτῶν A, Σ ut vid. (αὐτοῦ ut interpr. Ar.)   4 περὶ ἰκάριον fec. A^2 ut vid., Paris. 2038 : περ ἰκάριον A ut vid. : *circa Karium* Lat. : [Σ]   6–7 κεφαλλῆνες Paris. 2038, ci. Tyrwhitt : κεφαλῆνες Π : [Σ]   7 αὐτῶν Σ, rec. : αὐτῶν A : *ipsum* Lat.   γῆμαι ΑΣ : lac. tredecim litt. Lat.   8 εἶναι et ἰκάριον non vert. Ar.   δι' ἁμάρτημα ΦΣ, ci. Madius : διαμάρτημα A   8–9 τὸ πρόβλημα … ὅλως δὲ] om. Ar.   11 πιθανὸν Paris. 2038 : πειθανὸν ΑΣ : *probabile* Lat.   11–12 ἢ ἀπίθανον καὶ δυνατὸν om. Ar.   12 ἴσως γὰρ ἀδύνατον Σ, ci. Diels : om. Π : lac. ci. Vahlen   οἷον ΠΣ : οἵους Paris. 2038   13 ὑπερέχειν ΑΣ : *existere* (= ὑπάρχειν ci. Minio) Lat.   15–16 ὑπεναντίως Σ, ci. Twining : ὑπεναντία ὡς Π   16 οὕτω ΑΣ : non vert. Lat.   16–17 τοῖς λόγοις ἔλεγχοι] *hiis que in* Lat.   17 εἰ A : non vert. Lat. ut vid. : εἰς (vel ἐν? cf. Tkatsch I, 197b) ut intell. Ar.   17–18 καὶ ὡσαύτως … πρὸς ἃ αὐτὸς] om. Ar.

καὶ αὐτὸν ἢ πρὸς ἃ αὐτὸς λέγει ἢ ὃ ἂν φρόνιμος ὑποθῆται. ὀρθὴ δ᾿ ἐπιτίμησις καὶ ἀλογίᾳ καὶ μοχθηρίᾳ, ὅταν μὴ ἀνάγκης οὔσης μηθὲν χρήσηται τῷ ἀλόγῳ, ὥσπερ Εὐριπίδης τῷ Αἰγεῖ, ἢ τῇ πονηρίᾳ, ὥσπερ ἐν Ὀρέστῃ τῇ τοῦ Μενελάου. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐπιτιμήματα ἐκ πέντε εἰδῶν φέρουσιν· ἢ γὰρ ὡς ἀδύνατα ἢ ὡς ἄλογα ἢ ὡς βλαβερὰ ἢ ὡς ὑπεναντία ἢ ὡς παρὰ τὴν ὀρθότητα τὴν κατὰ τέχνην. αἱ δὲ λύσεις ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀριθμῶν σκεπτέαι. εἰσὶν δὲ δώδεκα.

26 Πότερον δὲ βελτίων ἡ ἐποποιικὴ μίμησις ἢ ἡ τραγική, διαπορήσειεν ἄν τις. εἰ γὰρ ἡ ἧττον φορτικὴ βελτίων, τοιαύτη δ᾿ ἡ πρὸς βελτίους θεατάς ἐστιν ἀεί, λίαν δῆλον ὅτι ἡ ἅπαντα μιμουμένη φορτική· ὡς γὰρ οὐκ αἰσθανομένων ἂν μὴ αὐτὸς προσθῇ, πολλὴν κίνησιν κινοῦνται, οἷον οἱ φαῦλοι αὐληταὶ κυλιόμενοι ἂν δίσκον δέῃ μιμεῖσθαι, καὶ ἕλκοντες τὸν κορυφαῖον ἂν Σκύλλαν αὐλῶσιν. ἡ μὲν οὖν τραγῳδία τοιαύτη ἐστίν, ὡς καὶ οἱ πρότερον τοὺς ὑστέρους αὐτῶν ᾤοντο ὑποκριτάς· ὡς λίαν γὰρ ὑπερβάλλοντα πίθηκον ὁ Μυννίσκος τὸν Καλλιππίδην ἐκάλει, τοιαύτη δὲ δόξα καὶ περὶ Πινδάρου ἦν· ὡς δ᾿ οὗτοι ἔχουσι πρὸς αὐτούς, ἡ ὅλη τέχνη 1462a1
πρὸς τὴν ἐποποιίαν ἔχει. τὴν μὲν οὖν πρὸς θεατὰς ἐπιεικεῖς φασιν εἶναι οἳ οὐδὲν δέονται τῶν σχημάτων, τὴν δὲ τραγι-

18 φρόνιμος Paris 2038 : φρόνιμον A[2] (ι add. s. l.) : φρόνημον A : *prudentiale* Lat. : [Σ] 19 ἀλογίᾳ καὶ μοχθηρίᾳ ci. Vahlen : ἀλογία καὶ μοχθηρία Π : ἀλογία Σ, καὶ μοχθηρία om. Ar. ut vid. 21 Αἰγεῖ ἢ τῇ ci. Victorius : αἰγειήτη A : *egieti* Lat. : [Σ] τῇ[2] Σ, ci. Vahlen : om. A : [Φ] 25 σκεπτέαι Φ : σκεπταίαι A : [Σ] εἰσὶν δὲ δώδεκα ΠΣ : secl.Tucker 26 βελτίων Φ, Paris. 2038 : βελτίον A : [Σ] 28 δ᾿ ἡ Σ, Paris. 2038 : *autem* Lat. T, om. Lat. O : δὴ A ἀεί, λίαν ci. Vahlen : δει|λίαν A : spat. vac. in Lat. : non vert. Ar. 29 αἰσθανομένων] *sentientem* Lat. 30 κινοῦνται Σ, Paris. 2038 : κινοῦντα Π 32 τὸν κορυφαῖον] *verticalem* Lat. 34 πίθηκον] cf. n. ad loc. **1462a1** δ᾿ οὗτοι Φ, rec. : δ᾿ οὗτοι δ᾿ A : [Σ] αὐτούς A : αὑτοὺς Φ, edd. : [Σ] 3 οἳ Σ, ci. Victorius : om. Π σχημάτων τὴν Σ, fort. A, Paris. 2038 : σχημάτων Φ (τὴν [Φ]) : σχήματα αὐτὴν fec. A[2] (τα et αὐ fec. m. rec. in loco macula deformato) δὲ A : non vert. Lat. et Ar.

κὴν πρὸς φαύλους· εἰ οὖν φορτική, χείρων δῆλον ὅτι ἂν εἴη. πρῶτον μὲν οὐ τῆς ποιητικῆς ἡ κατηγορία ἀλλὰ τῆς ὑποκριτικῆς, ἐπεὶ ἔστι περιεργάζεσθαι τοῖς σημείοις καὶ ῥαψῳδοῦντα, ὅπερ ἐποίει Σωσίστρατος, καὶ διᾴδοντα, ὅπερ ἐποίει Μνασίθεος ὁ Ὀπούντιος. εἶτα οὐδὲ κίνησις ἅπασα ἀποδοκιμαστέα, εἴπερ μηδ᾽ ὄρχησις, ἀλλ᾽ ἡ φαύλων, ὅπερ καὶ Καλλιππίδῃ ἐπετιμᾶτο καὶ νῦν ἄλλοις ὡς οὐκ ἐλευθέρας γυναῖκας μιμουμένων. ἔτι ἡ τραγῳδία καὶ ἄνευ κινήσεως ποιεῖ τὸ αὑτῆς, ὥσπερ ἡ ἐποποιία· διὰ γὰρ τοῦ ἀναγινώσκειν φανερὰ ὁποία τίς ἐστιν· εἰ οὖν ἐστι τά γ᾽ ἄλλα κρείττων, τοῦτό γε οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον αὐτῇ ὑπάρχειν. ἔπειτα διότι πάντ᾽ ἔχει ὅσαπερ ἡ ἐποποιία (καὶ γὰρ τῷ μέτρῳ ἔξεστι χρῆσθαι), καὶ ἔτι οὐ μικρὸν μέρος τὴν μουσικὴν καὶ τὰς ὄψεις, δι᾽ ἧς αἱ ἡδοναὶ συνίστανται ἐναργέστατα· εἶτα καὶ τὸ ἐναργὲς ἔχει καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀναγνώσει καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων· ἔτι τῷ ἐν ἐλάττονι μήκει τὸ τέλος
1462b1 τῆς μιμήσεως εἶναι (τὸ γὰρ ἀθροώτερον ἥδιον ἢ πολλῷ κεκραμένον τῷ χρόνῳ, λέγω δ᾽ οἷον εἴ τις τὸν Οἰδίπουν θείη

4 εἰ Paris. 2038 : ἡ ΠΣ 7 ἐποίει Σ, Paris. 2038, ci. Gudeman ex Ar. : ἐστὶ Π : secl. Duentzer καὶ διᾴδοντα Σ, Paris. 2038 : καὶ διαδόντα A : *et etiam cantantem* Lat. : καὶ ᾄδοντα ci. Spengel 8 ὁ ὀπούντιος Paris. 2038 : ὁ πούντιος A : *pontius* Lat. : [Σ] 9 μηδ᾽ ΦΣ : μὴ δ᾽ A 10 ἐπετιμᾶτο fec. A^{2} : ἐπιτιμᾶτο A : *increpabant* Lat. : [Σ] 11 καὶ ΑΣ : non vert. Lat. αὑτῆς ΦΣ, Paris. 2038 : αὐτῆς A 12 ὁποία Σ ut vid., Paris. 2038 : ὁποῖα A : *qualis* Lat. 13 τά γ᾽ ἄλλα Σ : τὰ γάλλα A : *quantum ad alia* Lat. τοῦτό γε A : *hocque* Lat. : [Σ] 14 αὐτῇ Φ, Paris. 2038 : αὐτὴ A : om. Ar. 16 καὶ τὰς ὄψεις ΠΣ : secl. Spengel 17 ἐναργέστατα Π : ἐνεργέστατα Σ vel Syr. ἐναργὲς Π : ἐνεργὲς Σ vel Syr. 17–18 ἀναγνώσει ci. Madius (e codd. quibusdam?) : ἀναγνωρίσει ΠΣ 18 τῷ Π : τὸ Σ ut vid., ci. Jortin, Winstanley ἐν ἐλάττονι Π (ω pro ο A) : ἐναλλάτον(τ)ι ut intell. Ar. **1462b1** ff. rursus praesto est B 1 τῆς μιμήσεως ΑΣ : *imitationis* Lat. : ἐκ μιμήσεως B τὸ] -- B ἥδιον ἢ ci. Madius : ἴδιον ἢ ΒΣ : ἡδονὴ Π 1–2 κεκραμένον] *mixto* Lat. 2 οἰδίπουν θείη ΒΦΣ, A^{2} (οἰ add. s. l., alt. θείη punct. notav.) : δίπουν θείη θείη A

τὸν Σοφοκλέους ἐν ἔπεσιν ὅσοις ἡ Ἰλιάς)· ἔτι ἧττον μία ἡ μίμησις ἡ τῶν ἐποποιῶν (σημεῖον δέ, ἐκ γὰρ ὁποιασοῦν μιμήσεως πλείους τραγῳδίαι γίνονται), ὥστε ἐὰν μὲν ἕνα μῦθον ποιῶσιν, ἢ βραχέως δεικνύμενον μύουρον φαίνεσθαι, ἢ ἀκολουθοῦντα τῷ τοῦ μέτρου μήκει ὑδαρῆ· λέγω δὲ οἷον ἐὰν ἐκ πλειόνων πράξεων ᾖ συγκειμένη, ὥσπερ ἡ Ἰλιὰς ἔχει πολλὰ τοιαῦτα μέρη καὶ ἡ Ὀδύσσεια ⟨ἃ⟩ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὰ ἔχει μέγεθος· καίτοι ταῦτα τὰ ποιήματα συνέστηκεν ὡς ἐνδέχεται ἄριστα καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα μιᾶς πράξεως μίμησις. εἰ οὖν τούτοις τε διαφέρει πᾶσιν καὶ ἔτι τῷ τῆς τέχνης ἔργῳ (δεῖ γὰρ οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἡδονὴν ποιεῖν αὐτὰς ἀλλὰ τὴν εἰρημένην), φανερὸν ὅτι κρείττων ἂν εἴη μᾶλλον τοῦ τέλους τυγχάνουσα τῆς ἐποποιίας.

περὶ μὲν οὖν τραγῳδίας καὶ ἐποποιίας, καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν εἰδῶν καὶ τῶν μερῶν, καὶ πόσα καὶ τί διαφέρει, καὶ τοῦ εὖ ἢ μὴ τίνες αἰτίαι, καὶ περὶ ἐπιτιμήσεων καὶ λύσεων, εἰρήσθω τοσαῦτα.

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3 τὸν fec. A² (ν add. s. l.), Φ : τὸ AB, Σ ut vid.   ἐν ἔπεσιν] -----σιν B   ἡ Ἰλιάς Σ, rec. : ἢ ἰλίας A² : ἢ ἰδίας AB : *aut propriis* Lat.   ἔτι … ἡ] om. Ar.   μία ἡ ci. Spengel : ἡ μία AB : *una* Lat.   4–5 μίμησις … γίνονται] de arab. cf. Gutas ad 1462b5   4 μίμησις ἡ τῶν ἐποποιῶν] μί--σ̣ι-η̣ ——— B   5 μιμήσεως Ξ : ἐποποιίας ut interpr. Ar.   πλείους] π̣——— B   post γίνονται deficit Ar.   6 ἢ] - B   μύουρον A : μείουρον B : *gratiosum* Lat.   8 πλειόνων] ——— B   ἡ A : om. B : [Φ]   9 τοιαῦτα] -----τα B   ἃ Paris. 2038 : om. Ξ   ἑαυτὰ] αὑτ- B   10 μέγεθος] μέ̣----- B   καίτοι ταῦτα τὰ Paris. 2038 : καὶ τοιαῦτα ἄττα Π : --- τοιαῦτάττα B   11 ἄριστα] --ι̣σ̣--B   ὅτι] *quam* (= ὡς?) Lat.   13 ἔργῳ δεῖ] ——— B   14 κρείττων Π : κρεῖττον B   16–17 καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ Π : καὶ αὐτῶν B   17 μερῶν] = B ut vid.   18 τοῦ] — B   ἢ Φ, Paris. 2038 : εἰ AB   18 τίνες BΦ : τινὲς A   19 λύσεων] λύ̣---- B   τοσαῦτα Π : ταῦτα B   de vocc. post ταῦτα in B cf. n. ad 1462b19

NOTES TO THE TEXT

Introduction

I begin by restating what I said in Chapter One, p. 6: the main purpose of these *Notes to the Text* is to explain my editorial decisions and to discuss the views of other scholars. This section also includes supplementary material to the critical apparatus, which I consider an essential part of my edition. It is not a commentary on the *Poetics*, but of course the probable solutions to textual problems necessarily involve what the editor thinks Aristotle was trying to say. Thus, most of the "Notes" would actually be part of a scholarly commentary on the *Poetics*.

Concerning the principles and assumptions that have guided me in the selection and utilization of the material, I should state that these textual and interpretative notes are written from the point of view of what I take Aristotle to be trying to say. That is, I do not challenge his statements as to whether he is right or wrong, nor do I ask if he is consistent in his views or not, etc. Aristotle's famous definition of Tragedy in 6, 1449b24–28 serves as an example. It is probably the most discussed sentence of the *Poetics*, but the text is firmly established; there is only one error, the transmitted ἑκάστου must obviously be emended to ἑκάστῳ, as de' Pazzi and Reiz saw long ago. Hence my comment on this sentence is brief, for we can be reasonably certain that the text adopted here and by a majority of editors is as close as possible to what Aristotle wrote.

On the other hand, in many cases it is necessary to argue at length in order to try and be reasonably certain about what Aristotle wrote, going into matters of interpretation of what he was trying to say. One example of this is my long note on 1, 1447a28–b29, where, in order to recover the right text, one must discuss the question of Aristotle's purposes, assumptions, etc. But even in such cases I try to limit my comments to the minimum essential.

We must also consider that the systematic interpretation of the *Poetics* began in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and following centuries when its text was in a state of flux. Even now that its four sources are known and we have Kassel's edition, there are numerous places where the text and the

interpretation that depends on it are unsettled. I have therefore added comments on passages that seem to me to be sound, and I explain why emendation is unnecessary.

Finally, my notes are more detailed at the beginning, because some of them are given as examples of similar phenomena which occur later in the text. As for Aristotle's "style" in the *Poetics* cf. Chapter One, pp. 21–22.

Title. Properly speaking, ancient Greek books had no real titles in our sense of the word. Generally, the papyrus roll, after having been copied or read, was not rolled back until someone wanted to read it. Hence the custom arose of either stating the name of the author and the contents of the work at the end of the book or, perhaps more frequently in big libraries, of attaching to the roll a tag of parchment or of papyrus with the necessary information. In the case of a work such as the *Poetics*, which begins with περὶ ποιητικῆς αὐτῆς κτλ., the first few words would be taken to represent the book's contents, usually preceded or followed by the author's name in the genitive case. And so the *Poetics*' title as reproduced by **A**, Ἀριστοτέλους περὶ ποιητικῆς, is approximately how this work would have been known. The other three primary witnesses do not provide us with any reliable information about the title. The two MSS which have preserved Moerbeke's translation may point to a title somewhat similar to that of **A**, but unfortunately they are divided. While the *Toletanus* has "*Incipit Poetica*," O omits it. And whereas the latter MS at the end has, "*Primus Aristotilis de arte Poetica liber explicit*," T omits it. **B** unfortunately has lost the beginning of the *Poetics* (the text now starts at 3, 1449a28, τινες κτλ.). In the Syro-Arabic tradition the "title" most frequently attested is "On the art of the poets" rather than "On the art of poetry," as Gutas points out in Chapter Two.

1447a8–13 Περὶ … πρώτων. I shall comment separately on textual matters and on interpretative points.

Lat. does not translate **ἕκαστον** in l. 9, so that the subject of ἔχει becomes "poetry itself." This is not satisfactory from Aristotle's point of view. Perhaps, then, the omission of ἕκαστον may go back to Φ, but Gallavotti is mistaken in thinking that Ar. too omitted ἕκαστον (cf. Gutas' note *ad loc.*). It is even harder to understand why he denies that **A** has ἕκαστον, for the word is clearly written there, with the final ν in small majuscule. He strangely asserts that **A** has ἑκάστοτι, which he emends to ἑκάστῳ! Perhaps Gallavotti did not himself collate **A** but got his information from a misreading of Vahlen's note *ad loc.*, who however says

"*ex* ἕκαστοτι *quod est in codice* ἕκαστόν τι *efficiendum putaui pro eo quod uulgabatur* ἕκαστον." I am unable to guess how Vahlen got this wrong. Cf. also Kassel (1971), p. 109, n. 41.

Minio tentatively suggests that in l. 10 Φ may have had μέλλοι because Lat. translates **εἰ μέλλει** as *si debeat*. However, the Latin subjunctive is probably used to render μέλλει because in Latin there is no equivalent verb to μέλλω. Minio-Paluello (1947), p. 54 had himself originally rejected, though for other reasons, Lobel's suggestion that Moerbeke's Greek exemplar had μέλλοι.

In l. 12, *pace* Gudeman and others, Ar. has not omitted **μεθόδου**, cf. Gutas *ad loc*. On Aristotle's use of μέθοδος cf. Waitz, *Aristotelis Organon* II, pp. 297–299.

In the same line 12, for **λέγωμεν**, the reading of Φ inferred from Lat.'s *dicamus*, both A and Σ have λέγομεν. But the subjunctive is formulaic, as the context requires and as the Aristotelian parallel passage cited below under 6) shows. Hence, *pace* Gudeman, λέγομεν is not a true variant but is probably due to the common scribal mistake of writing ο for ω.

As for **κατὰ φύσιν**, while omitted by *Parisinus Arabus* 2346, it is attested by Averroes, who had access to a copy of the same Arabic translation extant in *Parisinus Arabus* 2346. Therefore it was also the reading of Σ.

Six important interpretative points should be made:

1) The meaning of **δύναμιν** in l. 9, *pace* Janko, is totally unrelated to Aristotle's distinction between potentiality and actuality. Here δύναμις means the power of each species of poetry to affect the audience. (Cf. also 6, 1450b18–19: ἡ γὰρ τῆς τραγῳδίας δύναμις καὶ ἄνευ ἀγῶνος καὶ ὑποκριτῶν ἔστιν.) Aristotle sometimes uses the words of his technical vocabulary with their common meanings, cf. e.g. τὸ σύνολον in l. 16 *infra*: though it technically means "the composite particular of form and matter," here the sense is adverbial, "as a whole."

2) In connection with the meaning of δύναμις in l. 9, the **καί** in l. 9 does not mean "and," as most translators and interpreters take it, but "and so," "and therefore." For the two clauses, ἥν … ἔχει and καὶ … ποίησις, are not independent items in Aristotle's enumeration of the topics he plans to discuss in the *Poetics*; that would not explain why the plot is mentioned so early, since it is one of the qualitative parts of any poem to which Aristotle alludes with a general formula in ll. 10–11 (ἔτι δὲ ἐκ πόσων καὶ <u>ποίων</u> ἐστὶ μορίων). The two clauses in question mean, "what power (sc. to affect the audience) each species of poetry has, and so

(or therefore) how plots should be constructed if the poem is going to be good of its kind." Verdenius (1972), 440 has seen this, but he says that δύναμιν "denotes the power of affecting the audience achieved by *the various kinds of poetic techniques. This power largely depends on the quality of the plot*." (Italics are mine). He seems to have been misled by Bywater's note: "Each species of poetry has its special capacities, which enable it to do what the rest cannot do at all or cannot do so well and effectively." However, not only is the plot mentioned early but it is also the only qualitative part explicitly mentioned in 1447a8–13 at all. It is therefore clearly implied that each species of poetry has its own power to affect the audience, not that each species of poetry has several such powers. Thus the function of Tragedy is to raise in the audience the feelings of Fear and Pity (cf. chs. 6ff.). In ll. 8–10, Aristotle is implying that the plot is the essential element of each species of poetry. As he himself says in 6, 1450a38–39: ἀρχὴ μὲν οὖν καὶ οἷον ψυχὴ ὁ μῦθος τῆς τραγῳδίας.

3) The phrase **καλῶς ἕξειν** certainly has no ethical meaning, nor an aesthetic one either, *pace* Gudeman and others. As Bywater says, "As anything good of its kind may be said to be καλόν, so anything that is in the condition in which it ought to be is said to καλῶς ἔχειν."

4) As for **ἡ ποίησις** in l. 10, most interpreters have rightly taken it to mean "the poem." Else, followed by Verdenius, thinks that here ἡ ποίησις is active and means the act of composing or the poetic process. But the context shows that Aristotle is interested in the finished product, the poem, not in the creative process as such. The quality of the poem depends on the structure of the plot. Else's interpretation neglects the fact that in the next clause (ἔτι δὲ ἐκ πόσων καὶ ποίων ἐστὶ μορίων) ἡ ποίησις is naturally the subject of ἐστι, which could then hardly mean "composition." Cf. Lucas *ad loc.*

5) On the Arabic translation of **μεθόδου** in line 12, cf. the first paragraph of this note.

6) The closest parallel to ll. 12–13 **λέγωμεν … πρώτων** is *Soph. Elench.* 1, 164a20–22: περὶ δὲ τῶν σοφιστικῶν ἐλέγχων … λέγωμεν ἀρξάμενοι κατὰ φύσιν ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων. In ll. 12–13, πρῶτον only adds emphasis. The investigation begins with what for Aristotle is the *natural* order, by going from first principles down, i.e. from the more to the less general. Thus he considers Epic poetry, Tragedy, Comedy, Dithyramb, and most of aulos and cithara playing as a whole, "imitations" (1447a13–16), followed by

the subsequent division according to the means employed, the objects imitated, and the manner in which the imitation is effected (1447a16 ff.). Even from the context (1447a13–b29) it ought to be clear that Aristotle means "artistic imitations." Hence he assumes as already accomplished the preliminary task of induction by which we reach the universal concept "mimesis," and the subsequent division of it into two sub-genera: (*a*) artistic and (*b*) non-artistic imitations. In his discussion of 1447a12–13 Else unnecessarily brings in the four Aristotelian causes (material, formal, efficient, and final) and really fails to explain Aristotle's procedure.

1447a17 τῷ ἐν ἑτέροις μιμεῖσθαι. The reading ἐν is a conjecture. Π had γένει. Σ perhaps had ἐν or nothing at all, cf. Gutas *ad loc. Pace* Bywater, γένει yields no reasonable sense, nor does γ' ἐν, Lobel's conjecture accepted by Rostagni. As Forchhammer saw, ΤΩΙΕΝ was read as ΤΩΓΕΝ and then completed with ΕΙ to make sense. For a similar mistake cf. 7, 1451a17 τῷ ἑνὶ **Β**Σ : τῷ γένει Π. (The mistake is *similar*, not identical, but, *pace* Bywater, significant.) In the *Poetics* Aristotle frequently uses instrumental ἐν plus dative to denote the means of imitation, cf. 1447a22, b29; 3, 1448a20, 25, etc.

1447a18–19 ὥσπερ … ἀπεικάζοντες. The expression μιμοῦνται … ἀπεικάζοντες is the fullest way of saying that one imitates something by means of images or likenesses, cf. Xenophon, *Mem.* 3. 10. 1: σώματα διὰ τῶν χρωμάτων ἀπεικάζοντες ἐκμιμεῖσθε. Moerbeke's *quosdam* for τινες probably shows that he (or Φ, or its ultimate source?) failed to understand μιμοῦνται ἀπεικάζοντες, since he tried to supply an object for ἀπεικάζοντες.

1447a21–22 κἂν … ἁρμονίᾳ. κἂν is the reading of *Parisinus* 2038. It *may* come from a lost MS, but, just as well, it may be a palmary emendation. Moerbeke's *omnibus* instead of ἅπασαι, as if his Greek text had ἁπάσαις, may be due to the fact that Φ had καί instead of κἄν, which led him to misconstrue οὕτω … ἁρμονίᾳ (1447a21–22).

1447a24 μόνον. Here, as well as in l. 29, μόνον is adverbial. Lat. renders the first as *solo*, the second as *solum*. Minio suggests that in l. 24 Φ may have had μόνῳ, which is possible, but the context indicates that harmony and rhythm go together here. It is therefore hard to have μόνῳ agree only with the latter; but perhaps ῥυθμῷ led Moerbeke to the dative even if Φ had the adverbial accusative.

1447a25 τυγχάνωσιν οὖσαι τοιαῦται τὴν δύναμιν. The subjunctive τυγχάνωσιν should be retained as *lectio difficilior* and in accordance with Aristotle's usage. Cf. Vahlen, *Beiträge*, p. 241, *sub fin.* and Newman, *The Politics of Aristotle* II, pp. 227–228, on *Politics* 1260b31. The reading οὖσαι τοιαῦται is guaranteed by Σ and Lat.; that of *Parisinus* 2038 may come from a lost MS or be a conjecture. Lat. has *habentes talem potentiam.* I believe that its source, Φ, probably had the same reading as the lemma above. The problem arose because Moerbeke sometimes translates τυγχάνω with or without the participle by the verb *habere*. Having done so here, he changed τοιαῦται into an accusative object and connected it with τὴν δύναμιν. But in the Greek, τὴν δύναμιν is accusative of respect modifying τοιαῦται. Nevertheless, Lat. shows that Φ had τοιαῦται (or τοιαύτην?), the word that A omitted.

1447a26–27 [μιμοῦνται] ... ἡ τῶν ὀρχηστῶν. The interpolation of μιμοῦνται in Π was probably due to the fact that its scribe—or his source—failed to recognize that in ll. 27–28 καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι ... πράξεις is parenthetical. And so he—or his source—thought that in l. 26 the plural masculine article οἱ should be read instead of ἡ. (*Parisinus* 2038 has μιμεῖται; the reading of A was modified to make it agree with ἡ, which could have been conjectured from the context.) The reading ἡ here is guaranteed by ἡ τῶν συρίγγων in ll. 25–26 and by ἡ δέ in l. 28. As for οὗτοι in the parenthesis, it refers to τῶν ὀρχηστῶν. With ἡ here as well as in ll. 25 and 28 we should supply τέχνη, not μίμησις as Bywater proposed. His interpretation fails, among other things, because he keeps the impossible μιμοῦνται of Π. His objection to understanding τέχνη with ἡ τῶν συρίγγων is therefore not valid. In favor of understanding τέχνη cf. ll. 21–22 οὕτω κἀν ταῖς εἰρημέναις τέχναις ἅπασαι μὲν ποιοῦνται τὴν μίμησιν; l. 24 ἥ τε αὐλητικὴ καὶ ἡ κιθαριστική (sc. τέχνη in both cases, not μίμησις) and 1447b28–29 ταύτας μὲν οὖν λέγω τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν τεχνῶν ἐν οἷς ποιοῦνται τὴν μίμησιν. Finally, since Π had the reading οἱ τῶν ὀρχηστῶν we cannot infer from Lat.'s *saltatricum* that Φ omitted τῶν. For Lat. has no article and Moerbeke seldom, in cases like this, tries to replace it with an equivalent Latin expression. Cf. Chapter Three (*b*).

1447a28–b29 ἡ δὲ ... μίμησιν. In this instance textual and interpretative points should be discussed together. In l. 28 the word ἐποποιία, absent from Σ, must be excised because it yields no reasonable sense. Of course here "Epic" or "Epic poetry," the only sense in which Aristotle uses the word, is unacceptable since prose works are included in ll. 29 and b10–11.

Nor can it mean "word-poetry," as Bernays, 81–82 proposed, or "word-making," both unparalleled in Aristotle and in classical Greek. Cf. also Bywater. It is likely that in Π—or in its ultimate source—ἐποποιία was written in the margin as an explanation of εἴθ' ἑνί τινι γένει χρωμένη τῶν μέτρων (1447b8–9) and that the word was later interpolated into the text in the wrong place. This interpolation may help to explain the omission of ἀνώνυμος in the extant Greek tradition. Bernays (*op. cit.*), who correctly conjectured ἀνώνυμος, tried nevertheless to keep ἐποποιία.[1] The Syriac from which the Arabic translation depends leaves no doubt that ἀνώνυμος was present in the text of Σ (see the note on 1447b9).

Lobel, *CQ* 23 (1929), pp. 76–78, followed by Kassel and others, proposes to change ἤ in l. 29 into ⟨καὶ⟩ ἡ and to write τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι (Kassel reads τυγχάνουσι).[2] He claims that we need two anonymous classes, one for prose works and another for poems. Apart from the unwarranted emendation in line 29, Lobel's suggestion requires that we read the plural ἀνώνυμοι in 1447b9; but this plural, *pace* Lobel and Kassel, is *not* supported by the Syro-Arabic tradition (cf. note *ad loc.*). It is worse than unnecessary, because it spoils Aristotle's point that not meter but the plot is the essential element of the anonymous τέχνη which we call literature, but for which the ancients had no common name. This is one of the pillars on which Aristotle builds his theory of poetry against previous Greek views.[3] To prove his point he gives as examples two kinds of Greek prose works; on the one hand the Mimes of Sophron and Xenarchus, on the other the Socratic conversations. He claims that there is no common name to designate these two different kinds of imitations, Mimes being imitations of scenes of daily life, while the Socratic λόγοι or conversations were meant to illustrate Socrates' procedures in argument. Not even if one put such works into the same meter,[4] e.g. elegiacs, Aristotle says, would we have a common name, except for men's custom to call them by the name of the meter (in this case "elegiac"); for it is the kind of imitation and not the meter that determines the essence of

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[1] Cf. p. 63 *supra*.

[2] Cf. *contra* my note on 1447b9 τυγχάνει οὖσα.

[3] The other is his rejection of inspiration as a source of poetry. Cf. on 17, 1455a32–34 *infra*.

[4] Several interpreters have misunderstood the meaning of οὐδὲ εἰ, cf. Bywater *ad loc.* and also his paraphrase on his p. 5.

literary works. It is intelligible, then, why Aristotle includes prose works among literary imitations: a plot or story can be narrated in prose and not merely in meter. He is not proposing to extend the meaning of "poetry" so as to include in it prose imitations; he is claiming that there is an ἀνώνυμος τέχνη that comprises both poetic and prose imitative works. Of course in the *Poetics* as a whole Aristotle is not interested in prose works, but neither is he interested in lyric poetry as such; he is concerned only with Epic poetry, Tragedy, and Comedy. Yet this restriction does not diminish the importance of his discussion in ch. 1. For his conception of literature is new, and even though it had little effect in Antiquity, it exercised a great influence during the Renaissance.[5] Thus it is clear that I strongly disagree with Kassel's interpretation of Aristotle's classification in 1447a28 ff., as advanced in Kassel (1981), pp. 14–15 = (1991), pp. 111–113.

Bernays' conjecture ἀνώνυμος finds confirmation in the Syro-Arabic tradition.[6] There is also evidence that Aristotle's ἀνώνυμος τέχνη was known in Byzantine times as ἀνώνυμον γένος.[7] In fact both Plato and Aristotle sometimes recognize the existence of certain classes or subclasses that in Greek lack a proper name.[8]

Finally, a point of interpretation in l. 29 must be clarified, since it affects the question of Aristotle's classification of the literary arts. With τοῖς μέτροις there we have to understand the word ψιλοῖς from earlier in the line; this means then "bare meters."[9] Now Solmsen, *CQ* 29 (1935), p. 196 = *Kleine Schriften* II, p. 123, followed among others by Else, p. 67, thinks that in l. 29 the phrase τοῖς μέτροις (ψιλοῖς) means "meters alone" in the sense of employing only one of the three means of imitation mentioned in 1447a22, rhythm, λόγος (= language), and harmony. This interpretation is connected with the assumption that Aristotle's classification of the arts in 1447a21–b29 is dichotomic. To

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[5] Cf. Chapter One, section 5).

[6] Cf. on 1447b9 *infra*.

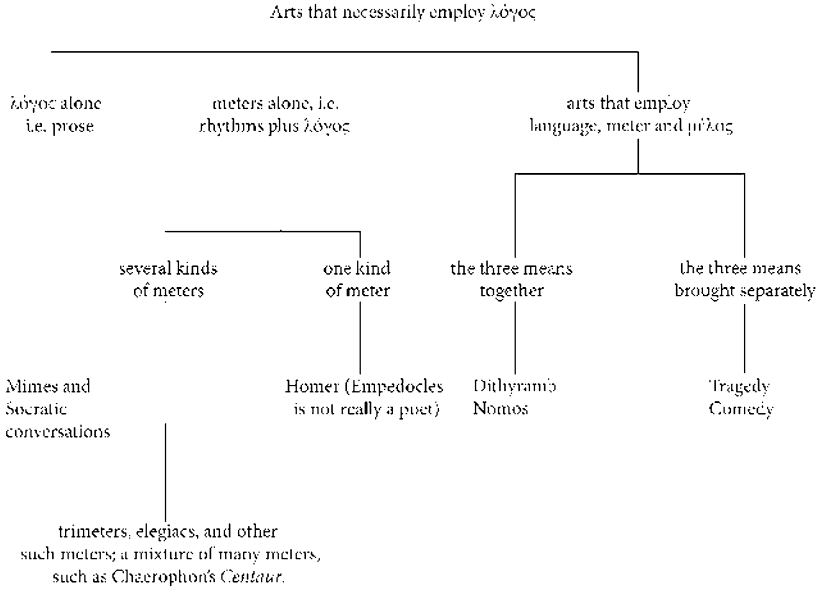
[7] Cf. Tzetzes' Στίχοι περὶ διαφορᾶς ποιητῶν, line 11 (Kaibel, *CGF*, p. 35): ποιητικόν τε πᾶν ἀνώνυμον γένος. Cf. also line 166 (Kaibel, p. 39).

[8] Plato and Aristotle sometimes notice that a certain class or idea does not have a name: cf. e.g. Plato, *Gorgias* 464 B 4–5; *Theaetetus* 156 B 6; *Sophist* 220 A 2, 257 A 9; Aristotle, *Met.* I. 5, 1056a24–25 καὶ τὸ μήτε ἀγαθὸν μήτε κακὸν ἀντίκειται ἀμφοῖν, ἀλλ' ἀνώνυμον; and especially *Anal. Post.* I. 5, 74a8–9 ἀλλ' ἀνώνυμον ᾖ ἐπὶ διαφόροις εἴδει πράγμασιν = "but without a name above the particulars which differ in species." Cf. Bonitz, *Index* 69b2–23.

[9] Cf. 2, 1448a11: καὶ τὴν ψιλομετρίαν, οἷον Ὅμηρος.

begin with, Aristotle is here not interested in the classification of all the arts mentioned in 1447a13–b29, nor even in all those mentioned in a21–b29; he offers no classification either of the different musical arts or of the arts of the dance. Secondly, the fact that he mentions the employment of the three means separately or in combination does not imply that he is primarily interested in them as such. He does mention music and dance because they share some means with the literary arts and also because music and dance are parts of some literary arts, e.g. Tragedy, Comedy, Dithyramb, etc.; moreover, dance may employ only one of the means alone, i.e. rhythm, just as bare words may also be used alone to produce artistic imitations in prose. In fact, Aristotle provides only a classification of literary imitations, that is of *imitative works that necessarily employ language*. Hence, by "meters alone" he must refer to language plus the special kinds of rhythms that constitute the several kinds of Greek meters, but excluding music. (Cf. 4, 1448b21–22 τὰ γὰρ μέτρα ὅτι μόρια τῶν ῥυθμῶν ἐστι φανερόν.) And it is noteworthy that in 2, 1448a11–14 Aristotle illustrates ψιλομετρία by the example of Homer and other poets, without even mentioning the meter they employ; that is, ψιλομετρίαν in 1448a11 signifies words plus meters, just as τοῖς μέτροις (ψιλοῖς) does in 1447a29. In addition, a few lines below in this first chapter, 1447b24–25, where Aristotle is explicitly referring to the three means mentioned in 1447a22 (ἐν ῥυθμῷ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἁρμονίᾳ), he calls them ῥυθμῷ καὶ μέλει καὶ μέτρῳ. Here, just as μέλος stands for ἁρμονία, "meter" must obviously include or stand for λόγος, as not meters but the species Dithyramb, Nomos, Tragedy, and Comedy are alone referred to. Moreover, "rhythm" is itself explicitly mentioned, cf. 1447b24–28. In short, the probable reason for the expression τοῖς μέτροις, sc. ψιλοῖς in a29 is that Aristotle wishes to emphasize the absence of music in the metrical works listed in 1447a29–b24. The addition of music with the word μέλος, i.e. μελοποιία, will permit him to include still another kind to the two different categories of works already mentioned in 1447a28–b24.

In view of what precedes we must infer that Aristotle's classifications are not always dichotomic. That of the literary arts in 1447a28–b28 is in its fundamental part a trichotomy, and it is not entirely complete, as not infrequently with him. I offer the following scheme for the sake of clarity:



1447b9 ἀνώνυμος. Gutas in his note on 1448a28–b9 shows that this was the reading of Σ. Lobel, Kassel, and others have been misled by an ambiguity peculiar to the Arabic translation, which did not exist in the Syriac from which the Arabic originates. The Syriac translator made a relative clause with ἀνώνυμος ("which is without a name"), in which any pronouns and participles were feminine singular to refer to the ἡ (τέχνη) of a28. This was rendered literally into Arabic, but because of the peculiarity of Arabic gender agreement, according to which feminine singular pronouns also refer to plural objects, the relative clause "which is without a name" can also be read to mean "which are without a name." In context, and after the plural μέτρων which the relative clause in Arabic now follows, it may be seen as modifying μέτρων rather than ἡ (τέχνη), hence the ambiguity between the singular and the plural, ἀνώνυμος-ἀνώνυμοι. However, even apart from the fact that this ambiguity did not exist in the Syriac, it would be absurd from Aristotle's point of view to take the Arabic plural as indicating the plural ἀνώνυμοι in 1447b9. On the implications of the singular ἀνώνυμος cf. my previous note.

τυγχάνει οὖσα. A, and, probably, Φ and Σ had the feminine participle τυγχάνουσα. However, I have accepted, as Bywater, Butcher, Rostagni

and others, Suckow's τυγχάνει οὖσα.[10] For I believe it highly improbable that, after such a long interval separating the predicate from its subject and, moreover, in such an important sentence, Aristotle would have used the bare participle; notice his τυγχάνω plus participle in 1447a15–16 and 1447a25. Such an omission of two letters (ΤΥΓΧΑΝΕΙΟΥΣΑ → ΤΥΓΧΑΝΟΥΣΑ) is not uncommon and may go back to the archetype.

1447b9–10 ἂν ἔχοιμεν. Lat. has *habemus*. This does not necessarily mean that Φ had ἔχομεν but probably that Moerbeke, as in several such cases, chose to use the present indicative rather than the subjunctive to render the Greek optative.

1447b14 ἐλεγειοποιοὺς. Janko surprisingly suggests the addition of τοὺς μὲν before ἐλεγειοποιούς, as some scribes of inferior MSS did long ago. As Bywater says, "There is no need to understand, still less to insert, τοὺς μὲν before ἐλεγειοποιούς." Cf. Vahlen's note *ad loc*. Bywater cites two additional Aristotelian passages and refers to Kühner-Gerth, II, 2, § 527, Anmerk. 4, on pp. 265–266.

1447b15 κατὰ τὴν μίμησιν ποιητὰς. For a parallel in language and thought cf. 9, 1451b28–29 ποιητὴς κατὰ τὴν μίμησίν ἐστιν. Here κατὰ τὴν is an obvious correction of some *recentiores*. There are other examples of such reversals in the primary MSS, or in some of them, cf. e.g. 1453a37, 1457a19.

1447b16 ἢ φυσικόν. The scribe of Π, or his ultimate source, wrote μουσικόν for φυσικόν. Irigoin, *Tradition et critique*, p. 176 says: "double lecture, la seconde fois erronée, de H⟩HM avec mélecture Φ/O." The latter proposal is acceptable, but not the first. The probability is that the scribe found or misread HOΥΣΙΚΟΝ and added M after H to make sense. This is more likely than that he read H as HM. Of course the correct reading is φυσικόν (already conjectured by Heinsius) which was the reading of Σ. N. b. that ll. 18–19 say that Empedocles should be called a φυσιολόγος rather than a poet.

1447b20–23 ὁμοίως … προσαγορευτέον. This clause has often been misunderstood and needlessly emended for two related reasons: (*a*) to what

[10] Cf. Suckow, p. 53. The conjecture dates from 1855.

does ὁμοίως refer and (*b*) what is the meaning of the apodosis καὶ ποιητὴν προσαγορευτέον. So far as the latter point is concerned, the καί before ποιητήν repeats the καί in the subordinate clause, here the protasis of the condition. Cf. 4, 1448b34–37: ὥσπερ δὲ καὶ τὰ σπουδαῖα μάλιστα ποιητὴς Ὅμηρος ἦν ..., οὕτως καὶ τὸ τῆς κωμῳδίας σχῆμα πρῶτος ὑπέδειξεν, κτλ.; cf. Plato, *Lysis* 211 A 4–5, *Gorgias* 458 A 1, and *Meno* 74 A 1–2 with Verdenius (1957), p. 290; Bonitz, *Index* 357b24–27; Denniston, *Gr. Partic.*, pp. 324–325;[11] Verdenius (1956), p. 67 and (1960), pp. 256–257. Moreover, *pace* Else, προσαγορευτέον here is nominative, not accusative.

As for ὁμοίως, Vahlen, followed by Bywater and others, suggested that we must supply οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν ἔχοιμεν ὀνομάσαι κοινόν from above (b9–10). But Aristotle's argument in b20–23 is no longer directly related to the absence of a common name. Rather, the apodosis καὶ ποιητὴν προσαγορευτέον, as e.g. Butcher and Verdenius saw, is related to the preceding διὸ τὸν μὲν (i.e. Homer) ποιητὴν δίκαιον καλεῖν, τὸν δὲ φυσιολόγον μᾶλλον ἢ ποιητήν (b18–20). His point is still directed, as it is in b16–20, against the received view that meter is the essential element in poetry. So he contends here that just as Homer must rightfully be called a poet because he is an imitator (whereas Empedocles is a φυσιολόγος rather than a poet), similarly if someone produces imitation mixing up all sorts of meters, as Chaeremon in his *Centaur*, a mixed rhapsody, he must still be called a poet. The implication is that it would be absurd to designate his poem by enumerating each one of the meters utilized.[12] Yet this would have to be done, if indeed it is meter that determined the essence of poems.

1447b24 αἵ. Here the MSS mistakenly wrote οἵ, probably by influence of καὶ ποιητὴν προσαγορευτέον in 1447b22–23. In 1447b29 the reverse mistake occurs: they have ἐν αἷς, whereas ἐν οἷς, Victorius' conjecture, is necessary, since Aristotle is referring to the means of imitation. Cf. *supra* 1447a17 with note *ad loc.*

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[11] Kassel in his critical apparatus refers to p. 585 of Denniston, but that page contains only an addendum to p. 524 which is irrelevant. This permitted Else (1966), p. 766 to dismiss Kassel's reference: "Denniston's off-hand suggestion of a special idiomatic use of καί does not solve the problems of this difficult sentence." The references given in the text show that the difficulties are Else's own.

[12] Of course ἅπαντα in ἅπαντα τὰ μέτρα μιγνύων is an exaggeration. It is a way of saying "many" or "very many." Cf. 25, 1461a19–20 τὸ γὰρ πάντες ἀντὶ τοῦ πολλοί κατὰ μεταφορὰν εἴρηται.

1447b28 οὖν. A has οὐ. For another such mistake in A cf. 1455b1–2.

1447b29 οἷς. Cf. note on 1447b24.

1448a1–6 Ἐπεὶ … εἴκαζεν. There is no serious problem with the transmitted text; yet this passage has been attacked and emended, most especially by Gudeman, de Montmollin, and Else. Let us first consider each of these scholars' objections, which are based on misinterpretation of the text; this long note is an example of the consequences of such hypercritical approaches to the paradosis. Gudeman (*ad loc.* and on p. 461) excises a3–4 (κακίᾳ γὰρ … πάντες) on the ground that it repeats the contents of the preceding γάρ-clause in a2–3 (τὰ γὰρ … μόνοις). De Montmollin believes that we have here a bizarre alternation between two divisions of characters. In agreement with his general theory about the *Poetics*, he considers lines a4–6 (ἤτοι … εἴκαζεν) a marginal clause referring to ἢ σπουδαίους ἢ φαύλους in a2. Else for his part advances two different kinds of objections: (*a*) He proposes to excise ἢ καὶ τούτους in a5, Διονύσιος δὲ ὁμοίους in a6, and Κλεοφῶν δὲ ὁμοίους in a12. (*b*) Else, like Gudeman, also excises a3–4 (κακίᾳ γὰρ … πάντες), but he condemns this clause because it introduces a generalization incompatible with Aristotle's notion that art is concerned with πράττοντες only, i.e. with πρᾶξις and not with θεωρία.

Else's first objection is arbitrary[13] and motivated by his prejudice that all Aristotelian classifications are dichotomic.[14] As for his and Gudeman's excision of κακίᾳ γὰρ καὶ ἀρετῇ τὰ ἤθη διαφέρουσι πάντες (a3–4), *pace* Else, *here* πάντες does not mean all men without restriction, but all men in so far as they are engaged in action: Else has fallen victim to what one may call the πάντες fallacy.[15] Moreover, according to Aristotle, the

[13] Arbitrary is Else's contention that τοιούτους and ὁμοίους cannot refer to the objects as represented, as βελτίους, χείρονας, and χείρους do, but only to the representation itself. Cf. also 13, 1453a5–6 where, in connection with the tragic emotions, it is stated φόβος δὲ περὶ τὸν ὅμοιον.

[14] This attitude was also responsible for his misunderstanding of 1447a28–b13, cf. note on 1447a28–b29.

[15] For a similar mistake in the case of Parmenides 28 B 6, 9 cf. Tarán, *Parmenides*, p. 67 (*sub finem*). There are statements in Greek where πάντες means all men without restriction (perhaps we should say "all normal men"), for example at the beginning of the *Metaphysics* (A. 1, 980a21) Aristotle says πάντες ἄνθρωποι τοῦ εἰδέναι ὀρέγονται φύσει. But there are also many uses of πάντες where from its context the word acquires a more restrictive meaning.

philosopher cannot always practice contemplation (θεωρία), cf. e.g. *Eth. Nic.* X. 6–8. esp. X. 8, 1178b20–32; hence he would have to be involved in practical action or πρᾶξις. Nor is Gudeman right in his contention that *κακίᾳ γὰρ καὶ ἀρετῇ τὰ ἤθη διαφέρουσι πάντες* is a repetition of *τὰ γὰρ ἤθη σχεδὸν ἀεὶ τούτοις ἀκολουθεῖ μόνοις*. For the second γάρ-clause (a3–4) makes it clear that ultimately the distinction between the *σπουδαῖοι* and the *φαῦλοι* depends on *ἀρετή* and *κακία*. In fact, behind Gudeman's excision lurks his prejudice that the *Poetics* has nothing to do with ethics but is a purely aesthetic work (cf. also his misinterpretation of *καλῶς ἕξειν* in 1, 1447a10 with note *ad* 1447a8–13).

As for de Montmollin's objection that ἤτοι … εἴκαζεν (a4–6) is a marginal gloss on *ἢ σπουδαίους ἢ φαύλους* in a2, it suffices to point out—as Verdenius (1956), p. 67 and others have interpreted—that the *σπουδαῖοι* and the *φαῦλοι* are not two kinds of personages but the criterion of division. It is to emphasize this that Aristotle added the two parenthetical γάρ clauses in a2–4.

In this passage, the only question that requires some discussion is where the apodosis begins. Given the fact that from a1 we must supply μιμοῦνται with ὥσπερ οἱ γραφεῖς, it ought to be clear that we must also supply it with ἤτοι … τοιούτους, which is predicative and not an apposition to *ἢ σπουδαίους ἢ φαύλους*. (Cf. also the following note.) For examples of supplying a verb in the main clause from the subordinate sentence cf., with Bywater, Kühner-Gerth, II, 2, p. 574, § 600. From Aristotle himself Vahlen cites *Met.* Δ. 7, 1017a13–16: τὸν γὰρ ἄνθρωπον ὅταν μουσικὸν λέγωμεν καὶ τὸν μουσικὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἢ τὸν λευκὸν μουσικὸν ἢ τοῦτον λευκόν, τὸ μὲν ὅτι ἄμφω τῷ αὐτῷ συμβεβήκασι, κτλ.

1448a7–9 δῆλον δὲ ὅτι καὶ … τρόπον. Some scholars (e.g. Tkatsch, II, pp. 42–44, Gudeman, Sykutris, de Montmollin, and Lucas) think that this sentence is the apodosis of 1448a1–6. In the previous note it was explained why the apodosis is to be found in ἤτοι … γραφεῖς in a4–5. Even apart from that, there are reasons to reject such an interpretation of 1448a7–9: (*a*) The connection of thought between the protasis and the apodosis would be rather weak; for the three *relative* possibilities in ἤτοι … τοιούτους would depend merely on the fact that painters had already portrayed these three kinds of men. The situation is different if, with Vahlen, Bywater, and many others, we supply—as I think we must for grammatical and stylistic reasons—μιμοῦνται with ἤτοι … τοιούτους. (*b*) The *καί* before *τῶν λεχθεισῶν* would be rather awkward, since the literary and the musical arts (cf. 1447a21–b29) have already been implicitly

mentioned in a1–5. This *καί* is due to the intervening clause in a5–6 (Πολύγνωτος … εἴκαζεν), where the distinction between the three kinds of men which can be imitated has been illustrated from painting.

1448a8 τῷ ἕτερα μιμεῖσθαι. That Φ had τῷ follows from Moerbeke's translation *per altera imitari*. The mistake in **A** and in Σ, τό instead of τῷ, may in part be due to the common scribal error of writing the simple for the compound vowel, but cf. the next note.

1448a10–11 καὶ [τὸ] περὶ. The τό in **A** (or in its source) *may* have been motivated by its reading τό for τῷ in a8. Yet following the implication of Minio's note, we must infer that Φ did not have τό, because in cases such as this Moerbeke would have translated the article, which is also absent from Σ.

1448a12 ὁ τὰς. The article ὁ after Θάσιος was in Σ, but it need be nothing more than a palmary conjecture of *Parisinus* 2038 or of its source. This ὁ and the one before Θάσιος are absent from Moerbeke's translation.

1448a15 [γᾶς]. It is best to deal first with the evidence of our three primary witnesses. The Arabic translation reads as if Σ had οὕτως instead of γᾶς. (For what immediately follows cf. Gutas' note *ad loc.*) This reading, even if it goes back to Σ (which is not certain), does not yield any reasonable sense in the context and seems to be an attempt to connect it with ὥσπερ. Even Margoliouth, who suggested οὕτως as the reading of Σ, proposed to emend it to οἱ τούς. I do not believe that οὕτως is in any way related to γᾶς, the reading of **A**. In other words, οὕτως is not a variant reading. If it goes back to Σ it was introduced in an attempt to relate it to ὥσπερ by a scribe who had difficulty construing 1448a14–16. Kassel has placed γᾶς between daggers, indicating he believes something is missing of which γᾶς was a part. I have suggested excising γᾶς for the following reasons: (*a*) There is no evidence for it in Moerbeke's translation. (*b*) When Moerbeke is unable to read something in his Greek exemplar Φ (which, as well as **A**, goes back to Π) he customarily leaves empty spaces, and here he does not. (*c*) Older scholars like Vahlen, Bywater, and others were influenced by their notion that **A** was the only primary source of the genuine Greek text of the *Poetics*, which is no longer the situation today. (Notice that **A** has wrongly accentuated Κύκλωπας as κυκλωπᾶς.) The absence of γᾶς from both Lat. and Ar. causes me to excise it. (I have ascribed this excision to *edd.* because I believe it likely that I am not the

first to adopt it.) Vahlen's conjecture of γάρ for γᾶς (originally published in 1897; now in Vahlen II (1923), pp. 481–486), accepted by Else and by Janko and mentioned by Kassel, seems a *lectio facilior*. Other scholars since the Renaissance have suggested changing γᾶς into a name or names of plays (cf. e.g. the critical apparatus in Bywater's, Butcher's, and Kassel's editions). If this were the case, Castelvetro's 'Αργᾶς would be the most likely reading, since there is no evidence, *pace* Bywater and others, that more than a few letters would be missing.

1448a16 ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ διαφορᾷ. This, the reading of Π, should be accepted as *lectio difficilior*. Vahlen took its meaning to be, *In ipsa quam dico differentia*. This is possible, but I believe we should give to the article its pronominal force and render, "In this very difference." The reading of Π is better than Victorius' conjecture, perhaps supported by Ar.'s interpretation.[16] For ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ δὲ διαφορᾷ = "In this same difference" gives a weaker meaning and is certainly a *lectio facilior*, and the same may be said of Casaubon's conjecture.

1448a20–24 καὶ γὰρ … τοὺς μιμουμένους. In these lines Aristotle deals with the third differentia of the literary arts, the mode or manner in which the imitation is effected. There are here some uncertainties about the transmitted text and about its interpretation; I limit my comments to the essential decisions behind my views. With a great majority of scholars I believe ll. 21–24 to be related to Plato, *Republic* 3, 392 D–394 D, where Socrates distinguishes three forms of narrative (διήγησις): 1) The poet narrates in his own name only, that is, without impersonating anyone; 2) The poet produces only impersonations, as in Tragedy and Comedy, that is, there is no overall narrator;[17] 3) A mixture of the two preceding manners of imitation, narrative plus impersonation, as in the case of Homer. In Plato all these three are forms of narrative, in each case the poet is visualized as narrating and/or impersonating the personages. Moreover, this Platonic classification is not motivated by critical ideas about literature; its purpose is purely pragmatic. Socrates is trying to determine which form of narrative is less likely to deceive the young, and he decides that it is the first, that is, when the poet narrates in his

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[16] It seems that in this case we cannot infer from the Arabic rendering the reading of Σ.

[17] There may be narration within a play by one of the personages, of course.

own name and does not impersonate anyone at all. Aristotle's purpose is different, for he will use his classification of the literary arts to put forward his view that Tragedy is superior to Epic. (Cf. esp. ch. 26.) Hence, though his classification here is related to that in the *Republic*, it is not identical with it. There are scholars (e.g. Bywater) who believe that Aristotle's classification in these lines is tripartite and basically the same as Plato's; yet in that case they have to emend lines 21–22 drastically.[18] Given Aristotle's conception of the superiority of Tragedy over Epic and the great emphasis he places on impersonation, I believe with some other scholars that we have in these lines a bipartite classification: 1) Narrative (*a*) with the poet sometimes becoming someone else,[19] as in Homer, or (*b*) with the narrator narrating throughout in his own name and not changing into someone else; 2) But at other times the imitators, i.e. the actors, imitate everything as men doing things and in activity. We need to emend the transmitted πάντας to πάντα, as Casaubon proposed, a change supported by the fact that the object of imitation is put in the neuter in l. 20 (τὰ αὐτά) and in l. 21 (ἕτερόν τι), a mistake easily explained by πάντα having been assimilated to the gender of the following participles. As for the ἤ of the MSS in l. 23, it either answers the ὁτὲ μέν of l. 21 or the text is corrupt, and we must change it to ὁτὲ δέ or (less likely) insert this phrase after it. Bonitz, *Index*, 538b22 qualifies the sequence ὁτὲ μέν followed by ἤ in 1448b21–23 as *insolentius*, cf. also Vahlen, *Beiträge*, pp. 246–247. Given the uncertainty of the restoration I have athetized ἤ: it probably goes back to the archetype and may have been partly occasioned by the careless repetition of ἤ from lines 21 and 22. (The καί of Ar. is probably a mistake for ἤ, cf. Gutas' note *ad loc.*) In any case the transmitted text must be emended. I do not believe that the solution is to excise τοὺς μιμουμένους (Butcher) or to consider it corrupt (Kassel), for I think that Aristotle does not envisage the drama as a form of narrative (cf. *infra*). Also, τοὺς μιμουμένους is in all probability middle active and not passive (cf. Bywater, p. 121); it refers to the actors, as E. Müller, *Die Theorie der Kunst bei den Alten*, II, p. 18 suggested, and so there is a radical change of subject.[20] This interpretation is in agreement with Aristotle's conception

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[18] For example, Bywater proposes to read ⟨ἢ⟩ ὁτὲ μὲν ἀπαγγέλλοντα ⟨ὁτὲ δὲ⟩ ἕτερόν τι γιγνόμενον. The purpose of such emendations is to make Aristotle agree with Plato.

[19] Aristotle uses the neuter ἕτερόν τι because the objects of imitation were put in the neuter in the previous line (τὰ αὐτά), cf. Vahlen, *Beiträge*, p. 247; Bywater *ad loc.*

[20] With ἀπαγγέλλοντα in line 21 we must supply τὸν μιμουμένον, that is the poet, as subject.

of Drama, especially of Tragedy: cf. 6, 1449b24–26: ἔστιν οὖν τραγῳδία μίμησις πράξεως σπουδαίας καὶ τελείας μέγεθος ἐχούσης, …, δρώντων καὶ οὐ δι᾽ ἀπαγγελίας; 31: ἐπεὶ δὲ πράττοντες ποιοῦνται τὴν μίμησιν; 1450a20–21: οὔκουν ὅπως τὰ ἤθη μιμήσωνται πράττουσιν. Bywater's objection (p. 120) that the bipartite interpretation is too wide a divergence from the *Republic* disregards the fact that there is an essential difference between Plato and Aristotle in the way they consider Tragedy and Epic: the former rejects Tragedy because it is all impersonation (i.e. imitation in the restricted sense of the term[21]), whereas for the latter this very fact ensures the superiority of Tragedy over Epic (cf. *supra*).

1448a21 ἀπαγγέλλοντα. Scribes sometimes confuse ἀπαγγέλλω with ἐπαγγέλλω, but there can be no doubt that the former verb is what is required here. ἐπαγγέλλω and ἐπαγγελία do not occur in the *Poetics*.

1448a25 ἐν οἷς τε ⟨καὶ ἃ⟩ καὶ ὥς. Π's omission of καὶ ἃ was prompted by the homoioteleuton καὶ ἃ καὶ ὡς. Its restitution in *Parisinus* 2038 is, *pace* Centanni, a conjecture. The three differentiae of the literary arts are mentioned in the previous line and in 1448a19 ff. Given the dative οἷς and the adverb ὥς, it follows that the object of imitation is ἅ. In any case, Σ probably had the whole text of the lemma. Cf. Gutas' note *ad loc.*

1448a33–34 ἐκεῖθεν … Μάγνητος. Some scholars have objected to ὁ ποιητής—because Epicharmus was a well-known poet—and to πολλῷ πρότερος—since, it is argued, Epicharmus was *not* much earlier than the two Athenian poets. However, the transmitted text should not be emended, even apart from the fact that the chronology of Epicharmus is not certain. We must keep in mind the following: (*a*) The authors of the Dorian claim are arguing and therefore perhaps exaggerating, as is not uncommon in such circumstances. (*b*) We need not assume that these Dorians know the chronology of Attic comedy, for it was not well-known: cf. 5, 1449a37–b5. (*c*) Aristotle tacitly rejects the Dorian claim to have originated Tragedy, cf. 4, 1448b24–26 and 1449a5–28. (*d*) He admits the priority of Sicily, and hence probably of Epicharmus as the author of comic plots (cf. 5, 1449b5–7), but the Comedy that interests him is the Attic (cf. 5, 1449a32–b9). (*e*) While he simply ignores the

[21] Both Plato and Aristotle use μίμησις in the general sense of "imitation"—all art is imitation—and in the more special sense of "impersonation."

alleged origin of Comedy from the Dorian κῶμαι, he asserts the priority of Homer (to whom he ascribes the *Margites*) in first revealing τὸ τῆς κωμῳδίας σχῆμα.

1448a35 αὐτοὶ. The archetype's reading οὗτοι (i.e. ΟΥΤΟΙ) cannot be right because Aristotle is reporting the argument of the Dorians. Spengel's αὐτοί has generally been accepted.

1448a36 Ἀθηναίους. For the reason given above, that Aristotle is reporting the Dorians' claim, the accusative—not the nominative—plural is necessary here.

1448b1–2 καὶ … προσαγορεύειν. Edzard-Köhnken (2006), pp. 238–240 have tried to support Gudeman's excision of these words on the basis, among other things, of their absence from the Arabic translation. Unfortunately they have failed to pay attention to the whole context, 1448a29–b1, which is a digression on Aristotle's part to report the Dorian claim of having originated Tragedy and Comedy. That claim is based on terminology and came to Aristotle's mind (or so he wishes us to believe) from the fact that plays were called δράματα (cf. 1448a26–29). Hence the statement in 1448b1–2 is necessary to the Dorian claim; otherwise it would be incomplete. It has really not been proved that δρᾶν is originally a Doric word, but even if it is, it was used in Athens in reference to plays many years before Aristotle who, as Bywater shows, disregards the distinction between πράττειν and δρᾶν in reference to plays. Cf. e.g. 1448a23–28, etc.

1448b4–19 Ἐοίκασι … αἰτίαν. In lines 5–9 Aristotle specifies what to him are the two *natural* causes of poetry: 1) our congenital power to imitate since childhood and to learn from these first imitations; 2) the fact that all men rejoice in seeing imitations. In lines 9–19 he offers an argument to support the second cause; we must assume that he considers it unnecessary to do so for our natural instinct to imitate and thus acquire τὰς μαθήσεις τὰς πρώτας. Though the two causes are not grammatically distinguished by μὲν … δέ or in any other way, it is clear that our instinct to imitate and thus to learn, and our rejoicing in seeing imitations, are two different things. This pleasure we experience when we *see* (ὁρῶμεν) imitations, is not the one we experience from art and literature but is only the pleasure we experience because we learn (cf. 1448b9–12 with 12–17). Of course our ability to imitate and to

learn since childhood includes not only sight but also music, rhythm, pictorial representations; but here Aristotle mentions only sight, because he wishes to call attention to the pleasure we experience when we learn later in life. In this way we eventually achieve the kind of knowledge that in the end gives us philosophy. In fact, αἴτιον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι μανθάνειν οὐ μόνον τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἥδιστον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁμοίως, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ βραχὺ κοινωνοῦσιν αὐτοῦ κτλ. is somewhat parallel to *Met.* A. 1, 980a21–24 and *De Partib. Animal.* 1. 5, 645a10–16.

1448b5 αὗται. This is the reading of *Parisinus* 2038. As the Syriac translation was made from a Greek MS written in majuscule, the αὐταί presupposed by the Arabic translation is probably a misinterpretation of the translator. Similarly, the αὐταί of Π and B was a misinterpretation of the AYTAI in Ξ, a MS also written in majuscules. αὗται is right but it is only a palmary conjecture.

1448b7–8 τὰς μαθήσεις. Most probably, as Minio says, Φ had τὰς μιμήσεις. I have mentioned in the critical apparatus the reading of Lat., *imitationes*, as an example of the fact that in such instances Moerbeke does not generally try to represent in Latin the Greek article. The mistake of writing μιμήσεις for μαθήσεις was probably prompted in Φ or in its ultimate source by the preceding μιμητικώτατόν ἐστι. Given his method of translation, it is unlikely that this mistake is Moerbeke's own.

1448b12–13 αἴτιον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι μανθάνειν. The phrase καὶ τοῦτο is emphatic, "the (or "a") reason is this additional fact, that to learn," etc. Cf. 13, 1453a17: σημεῖον δὲ καὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον. The agreement between A and Σ establishes the higher authority of the reading καὶ τοῦτο which is, moreover, the *lectio difficilior*.

1448b17 ἐπεὶ. Sometimes, as in this case, ἐπεί implies that there is an ellipse: "(I say this) because ...". In other words, ἐπεί here does not give the reason for the preceding statement, but rather the reason for making that statement. On such a use of ἐπεί, never concessive or adversative, cf. Shorey, *CP* 17 (1922), p. 155 = *idem*, *Selected Papers*, II, p. 242; Burnet's note on Plato, *Eutyphro* 4 C 3 (cf. also 9 B 5, *Apology* 19 E 1) and especially de Vries, *Mnemosyne* Ser. 4, 23 (1970), pp. 24–26, who refers to Plato, *Protagoras* 335 C 1–2, *Symposium* 187 A 3–4, and Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* IV. 3, 1121a16–20.

1448a18 οὐχ ἧ. A palmary emendation. The mistaken οὐχί was due to iotacism. For other examples of this cf. Bywater's note.

1448b20–24 κατὰ … αὐτοσχεδιασμάτων. Some scholars have seen in lines 20–22 the second cause of poetry Aristotle mentions in 1448b4–5, and so a change from δέ to δή in line 20 has been suggested. Such an interpretation seems untenable for two reasons: (*a*) the two causes of poetry have been specified in 1448b5–9 (cf. on 1448b4–19 *supra*); (*b*) A concessive genitive absolute is hardly appropriate to introduce a second cause. Nor is it the case, as some other scholars have suggested, that κατὰ φύσιν δὲ ὄντος ἡμῖν μιμεῖσθαι refers to the two causes of poetry given in 1448b5–9. Rather, Aristotle means in 1448b20–22 that our imitative nature (τό τε γὰρ μιμεῖσθαι σύμφυτον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐκ παίδων [1448b5–6]) includes imitation by means of melody and rhythm; and he utilizes this assumption to begin his developmental account of poetry. These lines are important because they imply that inspiration plays no role in the creation of poetry, just as it is ignored in the rest of the *Poetics*. On this cf. note on 1455a32–34.

1448b22 οἱ … πρὸς. The readings of **B** and Σ here show that the text of **A** or even of Π should not be considered more reliable than that of the other primary witnesses.

1448b29 ἀρξαμένοις. Gallavotti (1954b), pp. 325–327 and in his edition contends that ἀρξαμένοις is an emendation of **A** and that the ἀρξάμενος of **B**Φ**Σ**,[22] which was what the archetype originally had, is the correct reading. To support his interpretation he claims that ἀρξάμενος means τις τοιούτου ποιητής. However, ἀρξάμενος here cannot have such a meaning; in fact it cannot really be construed. The whole context -τῶν μὲν οὖν πρὸ Ὁμήρου οὐδενὸς ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν τοιοῦτον ποίημα, εἰκὸς δὲ εἶναι πολλούς, ἀπὸ δὲ Ὁμήρου ἀρξαμένοις (sc. ἡμῖν) ἔστιν, οἷον ἐκείνου ὁ Μαργίτης κτλ.— shows that Aristotle is talking from the point of view of a plural observer and about a poem (ποίημα) in the neuter gender. Gallavotti is also mistaken in tracing back ἀρξάμενος to the archetype, because ἀρξάμενος is *not* a significant mistake. The error of writing ΑΡΞΑΜΕΝΟΣ instead of ΑΡΞΑΜΕΝΟΙΣ can happen in two or more witnesses independently of one another.

[22] *Pace* Gallavotti, also Σ has ἀρξάμενος, cf. Gutas *ad loc.*

1448b30 Μαργίτης. Here, and in line 38, the word Μαργίτης cannot be made out in Ar.

τοιαῦτα. ἐν οἷς. For the true reading of **B** cf. Chapter Three (*d*).

1448b37 ὑπέδειξεν. **B**'s mistake ἀπέδειξεν is of a not unusual kind in this MS.

1449a6 μείζω καὶ ἐντιμότερα. The reading of *Parisinus* 2038 is a combination of those of **B** and of **A**. That of Φ may well have been the same but, as there is no certainty about its exact wording, I have merely transcribed the reading of Lat. On Σ cf. Gutas' note *ad loc.*

1449a7 εἰ ἄρ' ἔχει. Tkatsch's conjecture is practically the same reading as that of *Parisinus* 2038. It is preferable not only because it avoids the hiatus but also because it is based on the probable reading of Σ. It also better explains the other three, especially **A**'s παρέχει. Cf. Gutas' note *ad loc.*

1449a8–9 αὐτό … θέατρα. This clause complements the meaning of the previous one, cf. 6, 1450b3–4 and *De Anima* 427b14–16 cited by Bywater; κρῖναι was conjectured by Forchhammer and, independently, by Bywater. The latter (1874), p. 117 suggests that κρίνεται was corrected with the superscription ηναι, in order to restore κρῆναι = κρῖναι (because of iotacism). This would have given rise to κρίνεται εἶναι, as the superscript was taken for an addition ηναι = εἶναι. Whether this is the right explanation or not, κρῖναι is in all probability correct. For κρῖναι in Aristotle in this sense cf. Bonitz, *Index*, 409a55–b8.

1449a9 θέατρα. For θάτερα of Ar. cf. Gutas' note *ad loc.*

1449a9–13 γενομένης … ηὐξήθη. γενομένης is the reading of our four primary sources and should also be accepted as the *lectio difficilior*. Many editors have adopted γενομένη from some *recentiores*. So does Kassel, who would nevertheless keep αὐτοσχεδιαστικῆς. But even apart from emending the participle, such an interpretation runs against the difficulty of taking ἀρχὴ αὐτοσχεδιαστική = "an improvisational beginning," an unattested and improbable meaning. Aristotle here is going back in thought to 1448b20–24, i.e. to the beginning of his genetic account of poetry. Cf. esp. ll. 22–24: ἐξ ἀρχῆς οἱ πεφυκότες πρὸς αὐτὰ μάλιστα

κατὰ μικρὸν προάγοντες ἐγέννησαν τὴν ποίησιν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοσχεδιασμάτων κτλ. Thus, in 1449a9 we should take ἀπ' ἀρχῆς as adverbial (= ἐξ ἀρχῆς). Cf. *Politics* 7. 16, 1334b29; Plato, *Critias* 112 E 7. In 17, 1455b3 we find another example of Aristotle's use of the genitive absolute instead of the nominative. Cf. also Bonitz, *Index* 149b26–37; Kühner-Gerth, II, § 494a, p. 110. In short, γενομένης … αὐτοσχεδιαστικῆς is here equivalent to γενομένη δ' οὖν ἀπ' (= ἐξ) ἀρχῆς αὐτοσχεδιαστική, "(Tragedy) having in any case originally begun in improvisation." In this note I have followed Bywater's interpretation.

1449a11–12 τὰ φαλλικά. It seems that neither Ar. nor the Greek scribes understood this reference to the phallus songs. The reading of *Parisinus* 2038 need not be more than a conjecture, prompted by the fact that those of the MSS do not yield good sense. Cf. also note on 1449a20.

1449a15 ἐπεὶ ἔσχε τὴν. The reading of Lat. here (*super ultimam*) is evidence that A and Φ go back to two different transliterations of Π into minuscule writing. Cf. Chapter Three (*c*).

αὐτῆς. The reading of A and of B, αὐτῆς supports this form against the ἑαυτῆς of *Parisinus* 2038.

1449a18 πρωταγωνιστεῖν. This is the conjecture of Sophianus, who referred to *Polit.* VIII. 4, 1338b29–30 τὸ καλὸν ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ θηριῶδες δεῖ πρωταγωνιστεῖν. Kassel (1962), pp. 117–120 = *idem* (1991), pp. 329–332 has shown that Sophianus' conjecture must be accepted because the transmitted πρωταγωνιστήν is unlikely to be right: (*a*) the word πρωταγωνιστής refers to persons whereas here it refers to τὸν λόγον. (Kassel rightly excludes the exceptional metaphoric use of λόγος in Gorgias' *Helen*); (*b*) πρωταγωνιστήν here would render παρεσκεύασεν difficult to explain, since παρασκευάζειν does not mean the same as καθιστάναι.

1449a19–20 καὶ ⟨ἡ λέξις ἐκ⟩ λέξεως γελοίας. The reading transmitted by the Graeco-Latin tradition, ἔτι δὲ τὸ μέγεθος· ἐκ μικρῶν μύθων καὶ λέξεως γελοίας διά τὸ ἐκ σατυρικοῦ μεταβαλεῖν ὀψὲ ἀπεσεμνύνθη, while not grammatically impossible, is difficult and awkward. (*a*) The reason given for ὀψέ ἀπεσεμνύνθη refers only to the ridiculous language and not to the short plots, and so the joining of λέξεως γελοίας κτλ. with ἐκ μικρῶν μύθων would be awkward; (*b*) one would have expected at the very least that the preposition ἐκ be repeated before λέξεως γελοίας. Moreover, and

more importantly, Σ, the Greek MS to which the Syro-Arabic translation goes back, must have had something like ἤ which in Ar. is followed by a word that was not λέξις, though it cannot now be made out, and this word was followed by ἐκ. (On all questions on the Arabic text here cf. Gutas' detailed note *ad loc.*) For all these reasons I have adopted Christ's conjecture and punctuated accordingly.

1449a20 σατυρικοῦ. This, the correct reading, has been preserved by **B** only. Π evidently had ΣΑΤΥΡΙΑΚΟΥ. LSJ, *s.v.* σατυριακός II gives "disease in which the bones near the temple become prominent, like Satyrs' horns". Perhaps this meaning caused the confusion of the two words. Cf. also on 1449a11–12 *supra*.

1449a28–30. The reason why there is no line 29 is that Bekker in his edition mistakenly included from the Aldine text the words περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων τοσαῦτα before ἔσται.

1449a28 ἀλλ' ὡς. A palmary conjecture from ἄλλως (**AB**), a misinterpretation of Ξ's ΑΛΛΩΣ. The reading of Σ, ἄλλα ὡς, is practically the same as that of *recentiores*.

1449a34 τὸ γελοῖον … τὸ γὰρ γελοῖόν ἐστι. It is interesting that in the first instance Moerbeke translates τὸ γελοῖον as *quod risile*, whereas he does not translate the second article, *nam risile est*.

1449b3 οἱ λεγόμενοι αὐτῆς ποιηταὶ. A widespread prejudice that λεγόμενοι or καλούμενοι can mean only "so-called" has led many critics, e.g. Lucas, to take it so here and draw false inferences. It was probably for this reason that Kassel in his critical apparatus proposed γενόμενοι. But λεγόμενοι can mean either "so-called" or "so called", and here it certainly means the latter, cf. 4, 1449a4–5 where κωμῳδοποιοί is contrasted with τραγῳδοδιδάσκαλοι. For λεγόμενοι or καλούμενοι used to refer to words employed in their current designation cf. Cherniss, *Sel. Pap.*, pp. 424–425. On the notorious οἱ καλούμενοι Πυθαγόρειοι of *Metaphysics* A. 5, 985b23 (and several other passages) see Cherniss, *Aristotle's Crit. of Presocr. Philos.*, pp. 384–385. Instructive is *Politics* IV. 3, 1290b39–1291a1, where Aristotle, speaking of the "parts" (μέρη) or classes in the state says: ἓν (sc. μέρος) μὲν οὖν ἐστι τὸ περὶ τὴν τροφὴν πλῆθος, οἱ καλούμενοι γεωργοί, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ καλούμενον βάναυσον. See also Plato, *Republic* 545 B 6: ὄνομα γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω λεγόμενον ἄλλο = "I do not know any special name for it (sc. timo-

cracy) *in use*" (Shorey's translation; italics are mine); *Laws* 680 A 6–7: … τοῖς λεγομένοις πατρίοις νόμοις, the meaning of which comes out most clearly from comparison with *Laws* 793 A 9–B 1: … τὰ καλούμενα ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἄγραφα νόμιμα· καὶ οὓς πατρίους νόμους ἐπονομάζουσιν.

1449b6 [**Ἐπίχαρμος καὶ Φόρμις**]. These words cannot be construed and must be excised, as Susemihl saw, cf. Susemihl (1863), pp. 376–377 and in his edition. Despite many scholars' opinions to the contrary, they are absent from the Arabic translation, cf. Gutas *ad loc*. On the basis of the following passage, Themistius, *Or*. 27, 337 B: ἐπεὶ καὶ κωμῳδία τὸ παλαιὸν ἤρξατο μὲν ἐκ Σικελίας (ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ ἤστην Ἐπίχαρμος καὶ Φόρμος), κάλλιον δὲ Ἀθήναζε συνηυξήθη, Bywater and others have proposed to add (ἦσαν γὰρ Ἐπίχαρμος καὶ Φόρμις ἐκεῖθεν) after Σικελίας ἦλθε in l. 7. It is possible, though no more than that, that as Bywater says, Themistius had in mind our passage in the *Poetics*. But he is not quoting it, and he was himself capable of adding the parenthetical explanation or of being dependent on Aristotle's *On Poets*. Perhaps a reminiscence of what Themistius wrote led someone to write Ἐπίχαρμος καὶ Φόρμις in the margin; later a scribe inserted these words into the text in the wrong place, as often happens, cf. e.g. on 1447a28–b29.

1449b9–10 ἡ … ἠκολούθησεν. Before discussing the corrupt text transmitted by the MSS it is best to deal with a more general question. Aristotle describes what Epic has in common with Tragedy: they are both imitations of worthy men, and they both employ metrical language: ἠκολούθησεν here, opposed to ταύτῃ διαφέρουσιν in lines 11–12, means "agrees with," cf. Bonitz, *Index* 26a23–25 and especially Bywater's note. *Pace* Lucas, the aorist here is not "historical" but gnomic, as the very contrast with διαφέρουσιν shows.

The text of μέχρι … λόγου transmitted by the MSS is as follows:[23] μέχρι μόνου μέτρου μετὰ λόγου. The μέτρου μεγάλου of **A** probably presupposes the same reading as **B**'s in its ultimate source.[24] (ΜΕΤΑΛΟΓΟΥ misread as ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ, a not uncommon kind of mistake.) The expression μέχρι

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[23] For all questions concerning the readings of Ar. cf. Gutas' note *ad loc*., who believes that Σ probably had the same readings as **B**. Lat., after μέχρι, omitted the rest of lines 9–10, as well as τῷ δέ in line 11, without indicating a lacuna. It is therefore likely that these words were missing in Φ.

[24] Readers interested in seeing the consequence of considering the readings of **A** as sacrosanct should consult Butcher's text and his critical apparatus as well as the editions of Vahlen and of Bywater.

μόνου μέτρου referring to one of the items in which Epic agrees with Tragedy is worse than awkward. The reading μόνου may be explained paleographically (MENTOY was read as MONOY, cf. also *infra*) but may as well have been prompted by the desire to limit the metrical agreement between Epic and Tragedy. In any case, we need the genitive article to be able to construe the infinitive εἶναι; hence Tyrwhitt's emendation μὲν τοῦ for μόνου must be accepted;[25] cf., with Bywater, 7, 1451a10–11 μέχρι τοῦ σύνδηλος εἶναι and *Topics* VII. 1. 155b7–8. Tyrwhitt's further suggestion, to read μέτρῳ for the transmitted μέτρου, accepted by some scholars (e.g. Gudeman) is less convincing, since the MSS' μόνου μέτρου was probably prompted in part by the genitive μέτρου. It is more likely that μετά was displaced after μέτρου by the desire to have μέτρου follow immediately after (the mistaken) μόνου. Once we write μετὰ μέτρου, as Kassel and others have done, we have to decide how we connect λόγου with μετὰ μέτρου. Kassel suggested to write λόγῳ, which is possible and makes sense. However, if I am right in my conjecture about the reason for the displacement of μετά after μέτρου, it is more likely that the original text already had λόγου, so that μετὰ μέτρου ⟨καὶ⟩ λόγου[26] is probably correct. In any case, the corruption of this passage in all likelihood goes back to the archetype and may even be earlier than it.

1449b10–11 μέτρου … τῷ δὲ τὸ μέτρον. Minio believes that Lat. omitted from μέτρου to τῷ δέ. This is possible, though perhaps it is more likely that Lat.'s *solum metrum* translates μόνου μέτρου and that from there the scribe of Φ (or of his source) went to ἁπλοῦν. In either case we would have an omission by a kind of homoioteleuton μέτρου … μέτρον. Cf. the similar case in 1449b15–17 *infra*.

1449b15–17 τραγῳδίαις … τραγῳδίας. In this case too the words after τραγῳδίαις were omitted by the scribe of Φ (or by his ultimate source) because of a sort of homoioteleuton.

1449b16 ταὐτά. A palmary emendation.

1449b23 ἀναλαβόντες. Bernays' conjecture must be accepted since the ἀπολαβόντες of **ABΣ** does not yield the right meaning. On the reading of

[25] Tyrwhitt's emendation is in his *Animadversiones*, not in his text.

[26] Kassel's note "*non obstat Ar.*" is perhaps mistaken, if Gutas is right in thinking that Σ had μετὰ λόγου.

Σ cf. Gutas' note *ad loc*. However, Lat.'s *sumentes* probably translates Φ's ἀναλαβόντες (cf. Minio, p. 126). The verb *sumo* is also used to translate the simple λαμβάνω (cf. Moerbeke's translations of 1453b15 λάβωμεν = *sumamus* and of 1456a14 λαμβάνει = *sumunt* [the plural due to Latin grammar]). Hence, though it is likely that Moerbeke was translating Φ's ἀναλαβόντες, we cannot be absolutely certain of his Greek text here.

1449b24–1450a9 ἔστιν … τραγῳδία. This passage has been preserved in Syriac translation by Severus bar Shakko (d. 1241) in his work *The Book of Dialogues*. For the significance and import of this quotation cf. Gutas' account in Chapter Two, and Chapter Three (*f*).

1449b24–28 ἔστιν … κάθαρσιν. The text of the passage is not in dispute, though its interpretation is. In ll. 25–26 de' Pazzi's translation ("*separatim singulis generibus*") shows that he either knew the reading χωρὶς ἑκάστῳ or correctly emended the text. Much later Reiz also conjectured ἑκάστῳ. The transmitted reading ἑκάστου arose because the adverb χωρίς was mistakenly taken as preposition. The *Tractatus Coislinianus* (p. 50 [Kaibel]), whose author has based his definition of Comedy on Aristotle's definition of Tragedy in the *Poetics*, also has χωρὶς ἑκάστου. As for the reading of Π, μαθημάτων, it probably originated in majuscule writing where Π was read as M. The context and the agreement of **B** and Σ leave no doubt as to what Aristotle wrote. Pazzi's translation ("*per misericordiam vero atque terrorem perturbationes cuiusmodi purgans*") shows that he probably had access to the reading of **B**. Cf. also the note on 1455a34.

1449b26–27 ἀπαγγελίας. Cf. note on 1448a21.

1449b29 καὶ μέλος. *Pace* Tyrwhitt, Kassel, and others these words should not be excised, since καί is probably explanatory: μέλος specifies or defines ἁρμονία.

1449b31–34 ποιοῦνται τὴν μίμησιν … ποιοῦνται τὴν μίμησιν. The scribe of **B** first wrote ποιοῦνται τὴν μίμησιν· λέγω δὲ λέξιν μὲν αὐτὴν (line b34). Then, realizing that he had omitted more than two lines, he corrected the ν of αὐτὴν into the π of πρῶτον (line b31) and completed the text up to ποιοῦνται τὴν μίμησιν in line b34. Then he continued with λέγω δὲ λέξιν μὲν αὐτὴν κτλ. but did not cancel the first λέγω … αὐτὴν. Although this time the scribe corrected his original omission, we may conjecture that several of the omissions due to homoioteleuton in this MS are probably to be ascribed to him, and not to his exemplar.

1449b36 πᾶσαν. Madius' emendation πᾶσιν is an unnecessary *lectio facilior*.

1449b36–1450a3 ἐπεὶ … πάντες. This passage is typical of one of the traits of style in Aristotle's technical treatises, prolixity, which contrasts with those passages in which he is so compact and elliptic that it makes understanding his thought difficult. Here I believe it necessary to pay close attention to punctuation. I strongly disagree with Kassel's handling of the text and punctuation.

1450a1–2 πέφυκεν … ἦθος. These words should not be excised, as Else, followed by Kassel, proposed. πέφυκεν is impersonal and begins the apodosis; only there does Aristotle state that διάνοια and ἦθος are the two causes of action. For such a use of πέφυκεν cf. Vahlen, whom Bywater follows. He refers to *Politics* II. 2, 1261b6–7 (φανερὸν τοίνυν ἐκ τούτων ὡς οὔτε πέφυκε μίαν οὕτως εἶναι τὴν πόλιν), *ibid.*, IV. 12, 1296b26 (ἐνταῦθα πέφυκεν εἶναι δημοκρατίαν), and Demosthenes XIV, 30 (καὶ γὰρ τὰς κρήνας καὶ τὰ φρέατ' ἐπιλείπειν πέφυκεν). He points out the similar use of φύσιν ἔχει in Plato, cf. *Republic* 5, 473 A 1–2 (ἢ φύσιν ἔχει πρᾶξιν λέξεως ἧττον ἀληθείας ἐφάπτεσθαι) and 6, 489 B 6–7. On φύσιν ἔχει in Plato and others cf. Shorey, *Rep*. II, p. 25, n. *c*.

1450a2 ταύτας. Although **B** has ταῦτα, probably supported by Σ and Σ[q] (cf. Gutas' note *ad loc.*), the reading of Π, ταύτας, is right, for Aristotle is referring to πράξεις, not to διάνοια καὶ ἦθος. Cf. Bywater's note: for καὶ κατὰ ταύτας καὶ τυγχάνουσι καὶ ἀποτυγχάνουσι πάντες he refers to 1450a19–20 κατὰ δὲ τὰς πράξεις εὐδαίμονες ἢ τοὐναντίον.

1450a4 ἡ. This article, though only attested by **A**,[27] is necessary, since Aristotle's point is to establish the strict identity of the plot with *the* imitation of the action. And so when he says that a literary work should be judged according to the kind of imitation effected (cf. 1, 1447b15; 9, 1451b28–29, etc.), he means, according to its plot, which was from the very first considered the essential element of each species of poetry. Cf. 1, 1447a8–9 with 2) in the note on 1447a8–13. This suffices to reject Bywater's notion that something like τῶν δὲ πραττόντων τὰ ἤθη καὶ αἱ

[27] It seems that Σ[q] and Σ omitted this article, though this is not certain. Cf. Gutas *ad loc.*

διάνοιαι has dropped out or must be mentally supplied. For the primacy of the plot cf. 1450a15–b4.

τοῦτον. Anticipatory and = τοῦτο. For the assimilation Bywater refers to 22, 1458a26–27 (αἰνίγματός τε γὰρ ἰδέα αὕτη ἐστί, τὸ λέγοντα ὑπάρχοντα ἀδύνατα συνάψαι) and to Kühner-Gerth, I, § 369, 1, p. 74.

1450a7 ἀποδεικνύουσι. I have adopted the reading of **B** as the third person plural of this verb and not the ἀποδεικνύασιν of **A**, because in the three other instances Aristotle uses it—*Poetics* 1450b11, *Anal. Post.* 83a21, and *Met.* 1025b13–we find ἀποδεικνύουσι with no variant reading.

1450a12–13 τούτοις … εἴδεσιν. The text of this sentence has been variously emended (cf. e.g. Bywater's note and Butcher's text and critical apparatus). Kassel believes that οὐκ ὀλίγοι αὐτῶν is corrupt. For the problems presented by the Arabic translation cf. Gutas' note *ad loc.* I believe—like Vahlen in his edition and note, and others—that the text transmitted by Ξ (and probably also by Σ, as Gutas says) is sound. With αὐτῶν we must supply τῶν ποιητῶν (or ποιητῶν) from the preceding μιμοῦνται. The phrase οὐκ ὀλίγοι αὐτῶν is a strong and unusual litotes to say "many;" hence the qualifying expression ὡς εἰπεῖν. "In any case not a few poets, so to say, have used these forms."[28] Here εἴδη means the same thing as μέρη, cf. Bywater's note on 1449a7, especially *sub finem*.[29] Aristotle's meaning seems to be that the six parts are necessary to every Tragedy, but some poets are deficient in some parts, cf. e.g. 1450a23–38 and 18, 1456a3–7.

1450a13–14 καὶ γὰρ ὄψιν ἔχει πᾶν … ὡσαύτως. Kassel prints ὄψις, the reading of **AB**, and considers ὄψις … πᾶν corrupt. Evidently we need to emend to ὄψιν or ὄψεις as some *recentiores* do. If we choose the latter reading, the mistake was due to iotacism. For the plural cf. 1450b19–20 περὶ τὴν ἀπεργασίαν τῶν ὄψεων ἡ τοῦ σκευοποιοῦ τέχνη and especially 6, 1449b32–33 ὁ τῆς ὄψεως κόσμος with Bywater's note, which explains that the reference is "to the visible appearance of the *actors* when got up in character by the σκευοποιός or costumier." However, in this context, and

[28] In the *Poetics* and elsewhere Aristotle uses εἶδος in a great variety of meanings, cf. Bonitz, *Index* 217b58–219a59 and Wartelle's *Lexique*, s.v. εἶδος.

[29] Vahlen's suggestion of adding ὡς before τοῖς εἴδεσιν, mentioned by Kassel in his critical apparatus, on the basis of 12, 1452b14–15 (μέρη δὲ τραγῳδίας οἷς μὲν ὡς εἴδεσι δεῖ χρῆσθαι πρότερον εἴπομεν) is unnecessary *here*.

since in line a10 we have the singular ὄψις, I have preferred the reading ὄψιν. The mistake of writing the nominative instead of the accusative probably originated in a scribe's thinking that ἔχει needed a subject, though the subject is πᾶν.

1450a17–20 καὶ εὐδαιμονία … τοὐναντίον. This passage has been needlessly emended. Kassel excises it,[30] even though the thought is obviously Aristotelian, as the parallels cited below will show. Objection has been made to the fact that κακοδαιμονία is a *hapax* in the Aristotelian corpus; yet the word in the meaning required here occurs not only in Herodotus I, 87, 3 but also in Antiphon 5, 79 and Xenophon, *Mem.* I, 6, 3.

Aristotle is arguing for the preeminence of the plot, and he needs to support his statement that Tragedy is an imitation not of men but of "actions" and of life. Happiness and unhappiness depend on "action" (πρᾶξις), and the end or purpose of life (n.b. the important Aristotelian notion of τὸ τέλος) is a certain kind of πρᾶξις, not a quality (ποιότης) such as courage, etc. Men are of a certain quality according to their ἤθη, but it is according to their actions that they are happy or the opposite. Only now can he draw the inference οὔκουν … ἁπάντων (1450a20–23, where τὸ τέλος plays an essential role). As for εὐδαιμονία καὶ κακοδαιμονία, the reading of B should be accepted. The reading of Π is obviously mistaken: for one thing it is absurd to suppose Aristotle would have said that Tragedy is an imitation of happiness.

The following parallels cited by Bywater are noteworthy: for the thought that happiness and unhappiness depend on πρᾶξις, cf. Plato, *Rep.* 10, 603 C 4–6 πράττοντας, φαμέν, ἀνθρώπους μιμεῖται ἡ μιμητικὴ βιαίους ἢ ἑκουσίας πράξεις, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πράττειν ἢ εὖ οἰομένους ἢ κακῶς πεπραγέναι. Cf. also Aristotle, *Physics* II. 6 197b5, ἡ δ' εὐδαιμονία πρᾶξίς τις· εὐπραξία γάρ; *Polit.* VII. 3, 1325a32 ἡ γὰρ εὐδαιμονία πρᾶξίς ἐστιν. As for τὸ τέλος cf. 1450a22–23 ὥστε τὰ πράγματα καὶ ὁ μῦθος τέλος τῆς τραγῳδίας, τὸ δὲ τέλος μέγιστον ἁπάντων; *Eth. Nic.* I. 8, 1098b18–19 πράξεις τινὲς λέγονται καὶ ἐνέργειαι τὸ τέλος. As for οὐ ποιότης in 1450a18–19, the absence of which Centanni praises, cf. *Eth. Nic.* X. 2, 1173a14–15 οὐδὲ γὰρ αἱ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐνέργειαι ποιότητές εἰσιν, οὐδ' ἡ εὐδαιμονία.

[30] Reiz even included the preceding καὶ βίου in his excision.

1450a21 συμπεριλαμβάνουσιν. Sc. ἐν τῇ μιμήσει. It is not necessary to change this to the συμπαραλαμβάνουσιν of some late MSS. Cf. Bywater *ad loc.*

1450a29 ῥήσεις. Moerbeke's rendering this word as *series* is consistent throughout his translation of the *Poetics*. He translated ῥέσεις by *series* and not *sermones* probably because he envisaged a succession of speeches (n.b. both *sermo* and *series* derive from *sero*).

1450a29–30 καὶ λέξει καὶ διανοίᾳ. This, Vahlen's conjecture, is correct and has been generally accepted. The reading of the archetype, καὶ λέξεις καὶ διανοίας, is a typical mistake due to assimilation to the preceding ῥήσεις ἠθικάς.

1450a37 συνίστασθαι. Moerbeke's translation *scire* probably indicates that here Φ had a different reading. In all other occurrences of this verb in the *Poetics* (cf. Minio, p. 104) the translator has used a closer Latin equivalent.

1450b2 ὁμοίως. The reading of **B** (ὅτι) and perhaps also of Σ is an example of these alternative readings. For example, **B** sometimes has ὁμοίως ὅτι, cf. 1451b21.

1450b9–10 ἐν … φεύγει. These words are absent from Σ and Bekker rightly excised them. They are a needless and incomplete repetition of what follows, διόπερ … ὁ λέγων, and may originally have been a reader's marginal note later inserted in the text.

1450b12 [τῶν μὲν λόγων]. As it stands, this does not yield a reasonable sense. For one thing, the particle μέν, especially in its position between the article and its headword, defies explanation. (It cannot be ascertained whether Σ had μέν or not.) Similarly, the plural genitive τῶν λόγων causes difficulty; it is hard to take it as an objective genitive after ἡ λέξις, as has been suggested. Bywater emended to τῶν ἐν λόγῳ, on the ground that τὰ ἐν λόγῳ "is a comprehensive designation for the four literary elements, as distinct from the non literary elements (τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν, b15), the music and 'spectacle', with which the enumeration concludes." But is it the case that for Aristotle μελοποιία in Tragedy does not involve a language component? The words seem to be an interpolation, as δεύτερον δὲ τὰ ἤθη (1450a39), τρίτον δὲ ἡ διάνοια (1450b4) and τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἡ

μελοποιία κτλ. (1450b15–16) suggest. I believe the anonymous note in the Oxford 1760 edition, now in the Bodleian Library, has it right: "*videntur fuisse interpolata*."

1450b15 λοιπῶν. Here we have a good example of interpolation. Someone would have written in the margin or above the line the letter ε, and then another scribe, of Π or of its source, incorporated "five" into the text.

1450b20 ἡ τοῦ σκευοποιοῦ τέχνη. Given the context, this means "the art of (the technical) costumier." For σκευοποιός in this sense cf. Aristophanes, *Knights* 230–233 with Neil's note *ad loc.* and Bywater's note on our passage. Evidently Moerbeke's *ars vasificorum* fails to render the Greek. He seems to have misunderstood σκευοποιός, probably because he was not acquainted with certain aspects of Greek drama, taking σκεῦος as *vasum* and ποιέω as *facio*; we do not know whether Φ had genitive plural rather than the singular.

1450b23 δή. Since Aristotle is here referring to the definition of Tragedy given in 6, 1449b24–25, we must accept Bywater's emendation δή for Ξ's δέ.

1450b34 ἰδέαις. The readings of A and of Lat. here (εἰδέαις and *speciebus*) indicate that in this case (and in a few others in the *Poetics*) a mistake caused by iotacism eventually led scribes to confuse ἰδέα with εἶδος.

1450b39 ἀναισθήτου χρόνου. Bonitz' proposal to excise χρόνου seems to gain plausibility from the fact that Aristotle denies that there can be imperceptible atoms of time, cf. *De Sensu* 7, 448a21–b17, with the comments of G.R.T. Ross and those of Ross (1955). Thus in the *Post. Anal.* I. 34, 89b10–11 he can write ἡ δ᾽ ἀγχίνοιά ἐστιν εὐστοχία τις ἐν ἀσκέπτῳ χρόνῳ τοῦ μέσου. But he does not always speak in the strict philosophical sense; it is particularly the case here in the *Poetics* since he after all says: συγχεῖται γὰρ ἡ θεωρία ἐγγὺς τοῦ ἀναισθήτου χρόνου γινομένη. For the Arabic translation cf. Gutas' long note *ad loc.*

1451a3–4 ἐπὶ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ζῴων. Several scholars have proposed different ways to emend this. Bywater, for example, substitutes συστημάτων for σωμάτων and rejects Überweg's σχημάτων. Christ would excise καὶ ἐπί, whereas Kassel proposes to excise καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ζῴων altogether. We should of course keep in mind that in 1450b21–34 Aristo-

tle has tried to show that tragic plots must have an appropriate "size" and organic unity. The arguments Bywater advanced both in his (1874) paper and in his commentary will help clarify the alleged difficulties. They are as follows: He calls attention to Aristotle's preceding statement, 1450b34–1451a3, and especially to the words ἔτι δ' ἐπεὶ τὸ καλὸν καὶ ζῷον καὶ ἅπαν πρᾶγμα ὃ συνέστηκεν ἐκ τινῶν (1450b34–35) and claims that there would be no equivalent to the underlined words if we take τῶν σωμάτων as "living bodies." This is a valid objection against all those who take καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ζῴων as explanatory of ἐπί τῶν σωμάτων, including Christ's proposal to excise καὶ ἐπί, since it has the same purpose. But Bywater's second contention, against taking σωμάτων as "material substances," is not persuasive. He maintains that if we do that we would be forgetting that "beauty is in the τάξις or συμμετρία τῶν μερῶν, and, therefore, in the form, not in the matter of things."[31] However, the words underlined above show that in l. 3 σωμάτων is restricted to complex bodies made up of parts. There is no reason why some such bodies, e.g. a house, could not exhibit τάξις καὶ μέγεθος and, hence, be beautiful, and so we need not change the transmitted text.

1451a7–9 εἰ γὰρ … φασιν. The clause ποτὲ καὶ ἄλλοτέ φασιν has caused problems. Many scholars have taken this to mean that at some time past, the duration of tragic plays was measured by the water-clock. Thus Vahlen (1923), pp. 491–497 (originally published in 1897) translates, "wie man sagt, dass man auch sonst einmal aufgeführt habe." Butcher renders, "as indeed we are told was formerly done." But, as Bywater points out, such interpretations face two kinds of difficulties: 1) Grammatical: (*a*) ποτὲ καὶ ἄλλοτε, *pace* Vahlen, does not necessarily mean "once" or "formerly," but can also mean "at a certain other time or times," (cf. *infra*); (*b*) as Vahlen explicitly says, after φασιν one would have to supply the aorist infinitive ἀγωνίσασθαι from the previous imperfect, ἠγωνίζοντο. This is perhaps not impossible, but the natural thing (because the imperfect, like the present, is a continuous action tense) is to supply the present infinitive ἀγωνίζεσθαι. 2) Most importantly, there is no evidence whatever that there was a time when the performances of tragedies were measured by the water-clock. (More about this *infra*.)

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[31] Bywater's wording here is not in keeping with Aristotle's conceptions. For him σῶμα by itself implies matter plus form. Even his simple bodies—fire, air, water, earth—have form and matter. By itself, matter is not apprehensible by the senses.

This being so, two main views of the clause ὥσπερ … φασιν have been advanced. The first is to consider the whole or part of it corrupt. Thus, for example, Kassel (followed by A. Schmitt) places daggers before ὥσπερ and after φασιν, while Bywater places them before and after φασιν. The second, which has at least the merit of indicating a completely different interpretation, was advanced by M. Schmidt, who proposes to change φασιν into εἰώθασιν. In this way the ὥσπερ clause would mean, "as is regularly done at certain other times," i.e. by another kind of ἀγωνισταί, the pleaders in the law-courts: so Bywater who, however, rejects Schmidt's proposal as "perhaps too bold." With Schmidt's emendation the ὥσπερ clause would not refer to the performance of tragedies but to the employment of water-clocks in another kind of ἀγών, i.e. in judicial contests.[32] This interpretation may appear to gain plausibility from the Arabic translation, "as is our custom to say at some time and when," if this is ultimately based on a Σ reading such as ὥσπερ ποτὲ καὶ ἄλλοτε εἰώθαμεν λέγειν. (Gutas' note on 1451a9 convincingly argues against ascribing such a reading to Σ. This note should be consulted on all questions regarding the Arabic translation.) One serious difficulty with Schmidt's emendation and with such an Arabic translation is that it is not easy to explain how from either text the reading φασιν of Ξ came into being. Moreover, and most importantly, a satisfactory meaning can be obtained from the text transmitted in Ξ and perhaps also in Σ, as we shall see. In fact, the Arabic translation's rendering of the ὥσπερ … φασιν clause is "as is our custom to say at some time and when," and we may suppose that this was also the rendering into Syriac. This shows two things: (*a*) that the phrase ποτὲ καὶ ἄλλοτε was not correctly understood (it is split into two), and (*b*) that the verb was turned into the first person plural. Gutas believes that the first person plural may be due to the translator, so that we have only a translation *ad sensum*, and that therefore Σ had the same text as that of Ξ. Moreover, supplying such an infinitive as λέγειν is not what the context requires here, where Aristotle would be referring to the time alloted to speakers in Athenian lawcourts. Yet the Syriac and Arabic translators had probably no idea of such procedures: seeing in Σ the same text as in Ξ, i.e. with ὥσπερ and a verb of saying (φασιν), they offered the interpretation "as is our custom to say at some time and when." The change to the first person plural was probably

[32] On the use of water-clocks in judicial proceedings cf. Thalheim, *s.v.* Klepsydra 2), *R.E.* XI, 1, cols. 807–809.

due to the desire to include Aristotle in the subject, for keeping the indefinite "they" would increase the difficulty of knowing to what the clause refers.

I submit that the transmitted text, ὥσπερ ποτὲ καὶ ἄλλοτέ φασιν, is correct. In the first place, as Bywater says about the phrase ποτὲ καὶ ἄλλοτε, "with a verb in the present it may well refer to the indefinite present . . ., and have the sense of 'at certain other times.' "[33] Secondly, we should keep in mind that originally[34] the κλεψύδρα = "water lifter" or "pipette" was used, for example, for lifting wine from a mixing-bowl, i.e. for separating the wine from the water, etc.[35] Empedocles used it to account for respiration, a demonstration implying that air is a body and not empty space. Cf. Empedocles 31 B 100, cited and criticized by Aristotle in *De Respiratione* 7, 473a15–474a24; n.b. also [Aristotle], *Probl.* XVI. 8, 914b9–915a24 where the discovery by means of the "pipette" that air is a body is ascribed to Anaxagoras. Its use as a water-clock to measure judicial speeches is attested later. It is first mentioned in Aristophanes, cf.

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33 Given the difficulties that the phrase ποτὲ καὶ ἄλλοτε has caused to interpreters it seems best to quote Bywater's discussion of it. He says this about the two passages cited to justify the translation "once" or "formerly" (Xenophon, *Anab.* VI, 4, 12 and Lucian, *Hermot.* 24): "These, however, are not enough to show that ποτὲ καὶ ἄλλοτε can only refer to an indefinite past or future; with a verb in the present it may very well refer to the indefinite present also, and have the sense 'at certain other times,' just in the same way as ποτέ, with a present means 'at certain times' in *Soph. Elench.* 16, 175a27 συμβαίνει δέ ποτε καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς διαγράμμασιν, and in the familiar antithesis of ποτέ and ἀεί."

Janko has seen that ὥσπερ ποτὲ καὶ ἄλλοτέ φασιν does not refer to a past time when tragedies were performed against the clock, but nevertheless fails to understand its meaning and the thought. His translation is: "they would be performed 'against the clock,' as the saying goes!" Then in his note (p. 90) he translates literally "as they say now and then." He adds that "against the clock" is "simply a colloquial expression also found in comedy; Aristotle signals the joke by excusing himself for using it here." The following objections come to mind: 1) There is incompatibility between Janko's translation and the new translation given in his comment, for ὥσπερ . . . φασίν with a qualifying phrase in between can hardly refer to a proverb: it is not the same thing as ὥς φασιν. 2) *Pace* Janko, there is no evidence that a saying πρὸς κλεψύδραν existed in comedy or elsewhere. 3) The expression πρὸς κλεψύδραν or κλεψύδρας is not at all common in comedy; it does not occur in any of the passages of Aristophanes mentioned later in the text. I have found only one passage in a comic poet with πρὸς κλεψύδραν, and it does not at all suggest that it is a proverbial expression: Epinicus, frag. 2, 1–2 (in *PCG* vol. V) καὶ τῶν ῥυτῶν τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ὄντων τρία / πίνειν δεήσει τήμερον πρὸς κλεψύδραν. Since it is Athenaeus who cites this text, I append Gulick's translation in his LCL edition: "And today he will be obliged to drink three of the biggest horns in existence, letting them squirt to the time of the water-clock."

34 I exclude the use of κλεψύδρα to designate water source.

35 For an easily accessible account with illustrations cf. Guthrie's note in his LCL edition and translation of Aristotle, *On the Heavens*, p. 226, note *a*.

Acharnians 693 (with Olson's note); *Wasps* 93, 857–858; *Birds* 1694–1695 (with Dunbar's note); cf. also Epinicus, frag. 2. 2 and Eubulus, frag. 74. 6 in *PCG*, vol. V. On the other hand, there is evidence of tragic contests dating to 484 BCE and a good probability of such records going back to the last years of the sixth century.[36] Aristotle, who wrote a work on the theatrical contests in Athens and who described the use of the κλεψύδραι in the lawcourts (cf. *Athen. Polit.* 67, 2–3) could hardly have himself taken ὥσπερ … φασίν as a reference to tragic contests or have mentioned such an alleged popular belief without explicit contradiction. Nothing like it is mentioned in his account of the birth and evolution of Tragedy in ch. 4, nor would he, a metic resident, have included himself in the ὥσπερ clause. But ὥσπερ … φασιν can be reasonably interpreted to yield the required meaning of judicial contests, those in which the duration of speeches was measured by water-clocks and where Athenian litigants had to appear in person and not be represented by others. We must also take into account what was said above about the phrase ποτὲ καὶ ἄλλοτε and about supplying ἀγωνίζεσθαι after φασιν. The indefinite "they," which is the subject of φασίν, is also the subject of the supplied infinitive. Now ll. 7–9 are an argument to prove that a tragedy's limit in the "size" or extension of the plot as it relates to the performance or the perception of the public, does not belong to the art of Tragedy: "For if they had to compete with a hundred tragedies, they would compete against water-clocks,[37] as people at some other times say they compete," i.e. in the lawcourts. I believe that given its position ποτὲ καὶ ἄλλοτε modifies φασιν, but it will yield also the sense required if we take it as going with the infinitive ἀγωνίζεσθαι: "just as they say that they compete at other times."

1451a17 τῷ ἑνί. *Pace* Vahlen and others who take τῷ ἑνὶ here as a neuter, it is masculine, as Bywater has shown. Cf. περὶ ἕνα earlier in this line, πράξεις ἑνός in the next line, ὅσα αὐτῷ συνέβη in 1451a25. Cf. also the parallel passage in 23, 1459a23–24: ὅσα ἐν τούτῳ συνέβη περὶ ἕνα ἢ πλείους. On the reading of Π, γένει cf. on 1, 1447a17.

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[36] For evidence and discussion, cf. A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, 2nd ed. revised by J. Gould and D.M. Lewis with new supplement (Oxford, 1988), pp. 70–74, 101–125, 361–362.

[37] The plural κλεψύδρας need not be changed to the singular, as some *recentiores* have done. It is rendered intelligible by its inclusion in a contrafactual condition that mentions an absurd competition with a hundred tragedies.

1451a18 ἐνίων. Some scholars have questioned this reading. Kassel in his note suggests ⟨ἔξω⟩ ἐνίων, but I agree with Bywater that the text is sound. The qualification added by ἐνίων is necessary, and such qualifying appositional words occur also in 23, 1459a27–28 (ἐνίοτε) and, with ἔνιοι itself, in 9, 1451b19 καὶ ἐν ταῖς τραγῳδίαις ἐνίαις (cf. *ad loc.*). As Bywater says, the sense is: "In the infinite variety of things that befall an individual in the course of his life there are some [i.e. many] which it is impossible to bring into relation with the rest, as parts of one connected whole." For appositional ἐνίων cf. also Demosthenes, XVIII, 12 (περὶ ὧν ἐνίων) and XIX, 260 (τὰς ἀκροπόλεις αὐτῶν ἐνίων).

1451a20 καὶ Θησηΐδα. This, the reading of **B** and Σ, has higher authority than that of Π which Kassel accepts, without referring to Σ.

1451a27–28 ἦν ἤ. Here the reading of **B** is the superior one. The coincidence between **A** and Ar. is only apparent, as the translator misunderstood the sentence, cf. Gutas *ad loc.* In fact, Lat. confirms the reading of **B** because his translation implies that Φ had ἤ. This is a good example of one MS preserving both words whereas of the other two MSS, each omits only one of the two words.

1451a34 διαφέρεσθαι καὶ κινεῖσθαι. Here = "*dissolvatur et luxetur*" (Heinsius), "disjoin and dislocate" (Bywater). In this passage διαφέρεσθαι and κινεῖσθαι are metaphors; they may have been used in their literal sense by the medical writers, since διαφέρεσθαι is probably a synonym of διίστασθαι. Cf. Bywater *ad loc.*

1451a36 οὐ τὸ. The reading of **A** here, οὕτω, has been caused by the not infrequent mistake of writing ω for ο.

1451b10 τὸ et 14 τὸν. Clearly in b10 we need the neuter singular article, as the context indicates, whereas in b14 we need the masculine singular, but, *pace* Kassel, I do not believe that in either case we can infer the reading of Φ. Moerbeke is an expert translator of Aristotle's philosophical Greek; for him καθ' ἕκαστον is always interpreted as a neuter noun which he renders by *particulare*, a neuter. He sometimes indicates that he is translating a Greek article but in neither of these cases does he do so. Hence it is best not to report what article Moerbeke saw in Φ, for it is even possible that in these two instances it had no articles at all. Clearly, as Latin stands he failed to see that in b14 καθ' ἕκαστον is masculine.

1451b19 ἐνίαις. This, the reading of Π and Σ, has greater textual authority than ἐν ἐνίαις, that of **B**, which Kassel adopts. It is also the *lectio difficilior* and must be taken here as appositional to ἐν ταῖς τραγῳδίαις. Cf. on 1451a18 *supra*. The reading of **B** may have originated by influence of the ἐν ἐνίαις two lines below or may be a *lectio facilior*.

1451b21 ἐν τῷ Ἀγάθωνος Ἀνθεῖ. The Arabic translation, which must go back to the Syriac, shows that Σ was written in majuscules. The translator divided the letters in such a way (cf. the critical apparatus) that he obtained the sentence "whoever posits that the good is one." He may have changed τῷ into τό, and he did not recognize the two proper names, cf. Gutas *ad loc*. As for the title of Agathon's play, the choice is between *Antheus* (Welcker) and "The flower," which, as Bywater says, would "certainly be a very strange name for a Greek tragedy."

ὁμοίως. On the reading of **B** here cf. note on 1450b2.

1451b32 καὶ δυνατὰ γενέσθαι. These words have been preserved by Ξ but omitted by Σ. Some scholars, including Kassel, have followed Vorländer in athetizing them. Edzard-Köhnken (2006), pp. 252–253 contend, once again, that the expression καὶ δυνατὰ γενέσθαι is "an illogical intrusion in the Graeco-Latin tradition, as it is shown by sense and context (it is incompatible with τῶν γὰρ γενομένων at the beginning of the colon: τὰ γενόμενα are *per definitionem* δυνατά)." One may admit, at most, that Aristotle's point here would be intelligible without καὶ δυνατὰ γενέσθαι, but not that these words are illogical. Excising them disregards the fact that here Aristotle is going back in thought to the beginning of this chapter, 1451a36–38: φανερὸν δὲ ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ ὅτι <u>οὐ τὸ τὰ γενόμενα λέγειν, τοῦτο ποιητοῦ ἔργον ἐστίν, ἀλλ' οἷα ἂν γένοιτο καὶ τὰ δυνατὰ κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς</u> ἢ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον. The underlined words are parallel to 1451b30–32: <u>τῶν γὰρ γενομένων</u> ἔνια οὐδὲν κωλύει τοιαῦτα εἶναι <u>οἷα ἂν εἰκὸς γενέσθαι καὶ δυνατὰ γενέσθαι, καθ' ὃ ἐκεῖνος αὐτῶν ποιητής ἐστιν.</u> For this reason I keep καὶ δυνατὰ γενέσθαι in the text. The words are not illogical because with them and with οἷα ἂν εἰκὸς γενέσθαι Aristotle is indicating—as he also did in 1451a36–38—his limitation of the realm of possible events which can constitute the plot of a tragedy. In Σ the words in the lemma were probably omitted because of the homoioteleuton γενέσθαι … γενέσθαι.

1451b33 ἁπλῶν. This reading, testified by Ξ and Ψ, must be kept. For the evidence of Σ and Ψ cf. Gutas' note *ad loc*.

1452a3–4 ταῦτα δὲ ... ἄλληλα. This is the apodosis of the ἐπεὶ δὲ clause (1452a1–3). For apodotic δέ in Aristotle (and some other authors) cf. the note on *De Interpretatione* 7, 17b1 in T. Waitz, *Aristotelis Organon* I, pp. 335–337; van Straaten and de Vries (1964), p. 142 on *Rhet.* I, 1, 1355a10. The καί before μάλιστα is emphatic (cf. Bywater), and καὶ μᾶλλον is obviously an intrusive gloss that yields no reasonable sense.

1452a17 ἐξ ἧς. This, the reading of **B** and Σ, shows the futility of the emendations proposed, for which see Bywater. The reading of Π, λέξις is not difficult to explain: first the η by iotacism was changed to an ι and then a λ was added to make sense. On the importance of this mistake for the nature of Π cf. Chapter Three (*c*).

1452a27 Λυγκεῖ. The reading of **B**, γλυκεῖ, is just one example of changes introduced by inverting the order of the letters.

1452a31 ἢ εἰς φιλίαν ἢ. Here Kassel has misreported the readings of **B**.

1452a33 περιπετείᾳ γένηται. This reading must be accepted (*a*) because it makes better sense than περιπέτειαι γίνονται or even γίνωνται;[38] and (*b*) because its textual authority is superior to that of Π. We begin with (*a*). Here the dative singular, περιπετείᾳ, Gomperz's emendation (see *infra*), with γένηται is preferable to the nominative plural: Aristotle is saying that the finest form of Recognition is when it occurs together with the Reversal of fortune, and the example he gives is that of Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*, a play with single issue (cf. 1452a22–26). Bywater's attempt to keep the nominative plural results from his dogmatic belief that **A** is the only primary witness to the text. (*b*) The reading γένηται, that is, the verb in the singular, of **B** and Σ (Kassel does not report the latter), has higher authority than Π's γίνονται, or even γίνωνται if we emend, as Bywater did. In addition, Aristotle must have written ΠΕΡΙΠΕΤΕΙΑΙ. Therefore, the question of whether he meant the dative singular or the nominative plural is a matter of scribal interpretation. The transliterators

[38] Kassel in his critical apparatus ascribes γίνονται or γίνωνται to Φ. But Lat. has *peripetie fiunt*: Moerbeke has used the indicative and not the subjunctive, and there is no reason to think that Φ had γίνωνται. In short, the reading of Φ was in all probability the same as that of A. As for *peripetie* it could be dative singular or nominative plural, but since Lat. has the verb in the plural, it is clear that Φ or its ultimate source took ΠΕΡΙΠΕΤΕΙΑΙ as nominative plural.

of Π must have taken it as nominative plural, since they changed the verb to the plural; for, as pointed out above, the singular verb has higher textual authority. As for the περιπέτεια of **B** and Σ, the iota of improper diphthongs was often not pronounced and omitted after the first century BCE. Hence, Gomperz's περιπετείᾳ is also an interpretation of the transmitted text, i.e. of the letters and not of the written accents, which were systematically introduced much later. In short, it is a palmary emendation.

οἷον. This, the reading of all the primary witnesses, must be kept as *lectio difficilior*, understanding περιπέτειαν after ἔχει. Both Bywater's emendation οἷαν and the ὡς in *Parisinus* 2038 have the purpose of making the text easier to understand. They are nothing but *lectiones faciliores*.

1452a34–35 καὶ γὰρ πρὸς ἄψυχα καὶ τὰ τυχόντα ἔστιν ὡς ⟨ὅ⟩περ εἴρηται συμβαίνει. Spengel's emendation, ὡς ⟨ὅ⟩περ for ὥσπερ, as defended and explained by Bywater must be accepted, for the transmitted reading ὥσπερ, extant only in Π, does not make sense. (Kassel places daggers before ἐστίν and after συμβαίνει.) As Bywater points out, the construction πρὸς ἄψυχα συμβαίνει finds a parallel in *Polit.* VII. 17, 1336b31–32 (συμβαίνει δὲ ταὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὁμιλίας καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων); and the καί before τὰ τυχόντα must be taken as "even." Aristotle means to say that the things recognized may be even of a very casual kind, such as the σημεῖα of 16, 1454b21 ff. As for ὅπερ εἴρηται, it points to the definition of ἀναγνώρισις given earlier in 1452a29–32: "As this recognition of 'things' however is not a μεταβολὴ εἰς φιλίαν ἢ εἰς ἔχθραν, but at best only a means to that, Aristotle throws in the qualifying ἔστιν ὡς ('in a way,' 'in a sense')—an explanation that always implies some reserve or limitation; cf. *Phys.* II. 5, 197a10–11 ἔστιν ὡς οὐδὲν ἀπὸ τύχης δόξειεν ἂν γίνεσθαι." (Bywater).

1452b2–3 ἔτι δὲ … συμβήσεται. In l. 2 we must retain ἔτι δέ, the reading of our four primary witnesses. Vahlen's emendation, ἐπειδή, accepted by Kassel, is at the very least unnecessary. The sentence in b2–3 provides an additional reason for saying that the ἀναγνώρισις … ἐξ ἀγνοίας εἰς γνῶσιν μεταβολή, ἢ εἰς φιλίαν ἢ εἰς ἔχθραν, τῶν πρὸς εὐτυχίαν ἢ δυστυχίαν ὡρισμένων (1452a29–32) is ἡ μάλιστα τοῦ μύθου καὶ ἡ μάλιστα τῆς πράξεως (1452a36–37): "Moreover both failure and success will come about on the basis of such actions," i.e. pitiful and fearful actions.

1452b7 ἐκείνου. Bywater's emendation must be accepted. The dative of the paradosis was probably caused by the preceding τῷ 'Ορέστῃ. The genitive ἐκείνου depends on the following genitive ἀναγνωρίσεως. Cf., with Bywater, τινῶν in b3, θατέρου in b4, etc.

1452b9 ταῦτ'. The reading of **B** and of Φ, ταῦτα, is correct but must be elided. **A** has περὶ ταῦτ', probably the ultimate source of the reading of *Parisinus* 2038.

1452b13 τρώσεις. The reading of **A**. But **B**'s αἱ τρώσεις is equally possible.

1452b14–27. Ritter and other scholars have excised this passage. Whatever one thinks of its genuineness it is part of the transmitted text, and the objections raised against it are not compelling.

1452b19–20 πρὸ χοροῦ παρόδου. This is the reading of *Parisinus* 2038, probably a palmary conjecture from **A**'s προχωροῦ (*sic*) παρόδου. That Φ also had πρὸ χοροῦ παρόδου is to be inferred from Lat.'s *ante khori parodum*, an adaptation into Latin of the Greek words, since *ante* takes the accusative. The mistaken reading in **B** points to the transmission of the same letters as in Φ and *Parisinus* 2038, with the exception of the Γ, a mistake for Π. For the Ar. cf. Gutas' note on 1452b18–20.

1452b23 λέξις ὅλη χοροῦ. Susemihl's emendation must be adopted if we are to assume that the author of ch. 12, be he Aristotle or someone else, had in mind the role of the chorus as it was in the second half of the fourth century BCE. The transmitted reading, λέξις ὅλου χοροῦ would involve a distinction between the chorus as a whole and individual members of it that would not fit the contemporary theater, where the chorus had practically no function in the action and was mostly limited to the singing of ἐμβόλιμα. Cf. 18, 1456a25–32 and Bywater *ad* 1452b23.

1452b26 εἴπαμεν. The MSS of Aristotle are divided between this form of the second aorist and εἴπομεν, cf. *TLG* and also the *Lexicon III: Aristoteles*. There are more instances of εἴπαμεν than of εἴπομεν, and perhaps εἴπαμεν is a kind of *lectio difficilior*.

1452b28 ὧν. Here too (cf. *ad* 1452b19–20) the reading of *Parisinus* 2038 is probably a conjecture inferred from the context and the reading of **A**. Lat.'s *que* is again due to the fact that στοχάζεσθαι has been rendered by

coniecturare, which takes the accusative object. In all probability Φ had ὧν, the reading of Σ also.

1452b28 δεῖ, 31 δεῖ. In the case of l. 28 Bywater reports that εῖ is over erasure in **A**, and he has no note on the same word in l. 31. But in fact it is the δεῖ of l. 31 where εῖ is written over erasure. Kassel has no note on either passage.

1452b35–37 δυστυχίαν … εὐτυχίαν. Kassel is right in suggesting that in **B** τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀρετῇ is an intrusive gloss on τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς ἄνδρας in line 34. I suggest that the mistake was in two stages: first an ancestor of **B** omitted οὐ γὰρ … εὐτυχίαν by a kind of homoioteleuton after δυστυχίαν. Then the scribe of **B** or that of its exemplar introduced the marginal gloss into the text.

1452b37 ἀτραγῳδότατον. This, the reading of Π, is preferable to **B**'s ἀτραγῳδητότατον because the latter and τραγῳδητός seem to be late forms. Even if there be no evidence of τραγῳδός as an adjective meaning "tragic," I can see no reason why ἀτραγῳδότατον, given the context, cannot mean "most unsuitable to Tragedy" or "most untragic."

1453a1 αὖ τὸν. Probably a palmary conjecture in *Parisinus* 2038.

1453a19 κάλλισται. This is attested by Ξ and by Ψ, a hypothetical Greek MS the readings of which can be recovered from Avicenna. The omission of κάλλισται from Σ was therefore accidental. Cf. Gutas *ad loc.* In any case, there is no reason to excise this word.

1453a24 τὸ αὐτὸ. This reading is attested only in Ξ. Its omission from Ar., however, may be accidental or more likely due to the difficulty of understanding τὸ αὐτὸ in its context; in any case we cannot be certain that Σ too omitted these words, cf. Gutas *ad loc.* It was this very difficulty that caused several modern scholars to excise or emend them. Here τὸ αὐτό means the same mistake (= τὸ αὐτὸ ἁμάρτημα) that Aristotle has refuted in the preceding lines, 1453a12–23, the mistake of thinking that a plot with double issue is the best kind of plot. To the contrary, Aristotle argues, the best kind is the plot with single issue where the main personages go ἐξ εὐτυχίας εἰς δυστυχίαν. Hence those critics are wrong who blamed Euripides for having many of his tragedies end in misfortune. Long ago Vahlen in his commentary correctly interpreted τὸ αὐτό.

1453a25 καὶ αἱ. This is Knebel's conjecture, rendered palmary now that the reading of **B**, αἱ, is known because Π and **B** each omitted one word by homoioteleuton.

1453a37 οἳ ἂν. Bonitz's conjecture, adopted, as it must be, among others by Bywater and Kassel. The latter is wrong, however, in ascribing ἂν οἱ to Ξ, because Lat. translates ἐκεῖ γὰρ οἳ ἂν (sc. ἂν οἱ) ἔχθιστοι ὦσιν as *ibi enim si inimicissimi sint*. Now *si* translates ἄν, but we cannot assume that Moerbeke saw the article in Φ, for, had he wanted to translate it, he had the means to do so. For a similar mistake in the position of the article cf. 1, 1447b15 with note *ad loc.*

1453b15 δή. Spengel's emendation must be accepted because of the preceding ἀνάγκη.

1453b22 δρᾷ. This is the reading of Φ, whereas **A** and **B** have the infinitive δρᾶν. For other instances when **A** and **B** have the infinitive instead of the correct finite verb, cf. note on 1455b27.

1453b23 Κλυταιμήστραν. For this form of the name rather than Κλυται-μνήστρα cf. Bethe, *RE*, XI, 1, cols. 890, 67–891, 3.

1453b26 εἴπωμεν. For Lat.'s *dicamus* = εἴπωμεν of Φ cf. note on 1, 1447a8–13 *ad voc.*, where **A**, as here, also has εἴπομεν. Kassel does not report accurately the reading of **B**. Since in it πω̣ is still somewhat visible, it ought to be clear that **B** probably had the same reading as Φ and Σ. It is possible that the scribe of *Parisinus* 2038 copied εἴπωμεν from **B** at a time when the whole word was still visible.

1453b27–39 ἔστι … ἀπαθὲς γάρ. Like Vahlen, Bywater, Rostagni, Kassel, and others I have basically adopted for these lines the text preserved by the Graeco-Latin tradition, i.e. **A**, **B**, and Lat. Many interpreters, however, have thought that b27–36 must be emended. As they see it, there is an inconsistency between the text adopted here and what Aristotle says in b36–37: καὶ παρὰ ταῦτα οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλως. ἢ γὰρ πρᾶξαι ἀνάγκη ἢ μὴ καὶ εἰδότας ἢ μὴ εἰδότας. For b27–36 enumerates three possibilities: 1) the terrible deed is done with full knowledge of the family bond, e.g. Euripides has Medea killing her own children; 2) the murder is done but it is done in ignorance of its terrible nature, as in the case of Sophocles' *Oedipus* (the dreadful deed occurred outside the plot) and in

Astydamas' *Alcmeon* or in the *Wounded Odysseus* (the dreadful deed being done inside the play); 3) the deed is planned in ignorance of the bond of φιλία but the bond is discovered before the deed is done. Yet, it is argued, the language of b36–37 (cf. above) leaves room for a fourth possibility, that of the person who with full knowledge *intends* to kill but leaves the deed undone. In fact this is the very possibility that Aristotle explicitly mentions in 1453b37–38 (cf. *infra*).

The Arabic translation appears to provide a "solution" to this problem, because it seems to presuppose a Greek text that instead of ἔστιν δὲ πρᾶξαι μέν in b29–30 had ἔστιν δὲ ⟨μὴ⟩ πρᾶξαι μὲν ⟨γιγνώσκοντας⟩. According to Gutas, that text (ἔστιν δὲ ⟨μὴ⟩ πρᾶξαι μὲν ⟨γιγνώσκοντας⟩, ἀγνοοῦντας δὲ πρᾶξαι εἶθ' ὕστερον ἀναγνωρίσαι τὴν φιλίαν, δεινόν) implies two possibilities: (a) one depicting inaction with knowledge; (b) the other, action without knowledge. Yet that can hardly be what Aristotle wrote: 1) For "inaction with knowledge" lacks the element of *the intention* to do the deed as 1453b37–1454a2 requires (cf. b37–38 τὸ μὲν γιγνώσκοντα μελλῆσαι καὶ μὴ πρᾶξαι, followed by the example from Sophocles' *Antigone*, cf. *infra*); 2) The only examples given in lines 27–32 are of plays which are *not* examples of the first possibility of the Arabic translation; 3) Σ itself has the reading τὸ τρίτον in line 34.[39] Vahlen made an attempt to supply a fourth possibility into b27–36, though he later changed his mind:[40] he proposed to insert ⟨τὸ μελλῆσαι γιγνώσκοντα καὶ μὴ ποιῆσαι⟩ between ταῦτα and τό in b34. These two attempts to change the text or any other to the same effect, apart from further objections,[41]

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39 Hence, given what was said above, we have only three tragic situations in lines 1453b27–36.

40 As argued above, the Greek text which the Arabic translation seems to presuppose is inadequate because, among other things, it leaves out the intention to do the deed. Moreover, our four sources have all preserved some form of "third" for the last item in the enumeration. It is highly improbable that Aristotle would have considered that the two possibilities envisaged by the Arabic translation are part of the enumeration, and that he would have paired one of his preferred situations with the one he considers untragic. Note how in 1454a2–5 he has the same three possibilities as those the adopted text has in 1453b27–36. (It is also worth mentioning that in 1454a2–3 the Arabic translator has a similar misunderstanding of the Greek text, cf. Gutas *ad loc.*) Finally, the repetition of πρᾶξαι in line b30 of the text adopted here is appropriate: the murder is done, but it is done in ignorance of its terrible nature. Oedipus knows that he has killed a man but only the discovery that that man was his own father and that he had married his mother makes his deed horrible. In any case, if Σ had such a text, it is not satisfactory because it leaves out the intention to do the deed, not to mention the fact that Ar. also has "three" in l. 34.

41 Cf. Vahlen, p. 161, note.

must be rejected for the following reasons. In ch. 14 Aristotle is determining what are the best means of raising the tragic emotions of fear and pity: they must be aroused by the events themselves (1453b1–7 and 10–14). This is followed by ποῖα οὖν δεινὰ ἢ ποῖα οἰκτρὰ φαίνεται τῶν συμπιπτόντων, λάβωμεν (1453b14–15), and he explicitly singles out family relations as giving rise to the situations that will engender the tragic emotions: <u>ὅταν δ' ἐν ταῖς φιλίαις ἐγγένηται τὰ πάθη</u>, οἷον ἢ ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφὸν ἢ υἱὸς πατέρα ἢ μήτηρ υἱὸν ἢ υἱὸς μητέρα <u>ἀποκτείνῃ ἢ μέλλῃ ἤ τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτον δρᾷ, ταῦτα ζητητέον</u> (1453b19–22). Now, whereas the three possibilities mentioned in 1453b27–36 do raise the tragic emotions, which was the purpose of describing the three situations enumerated in b27–36, the fourth does not, according to his own words: τούτων[42] δὲ τὸ μὲν γινώσκοντα μελλῆσαι καὶ μὴ πρᾶξαι χείριστον· τό τε γὰρ μιαρὸν ἔχει, <u>καὶ οὐ τραγικόν· ἀπαθὲς γάρ</u> (1453b37–39). In fact, Aristotle's mention of the fourth possibility is probably only due to the fact that, untragic and ineffective as it is, it has, though seldom, been employed. In 1454a1–2 he gives the example of Haemon in Sophocles' *Antigone* (cf. lines 1231–1233).

1453b33 ὁ Τηλέγονος. The readings of **A** and **B** show that they or their sources recognized the name Telegonos. However, the transliteration on which **Φ** depended did not, for, seeing the letters ΟΤΗΛΕΓΟΝΟΣ, the transliterator read them as ὅτι λέγοντος, since Lat. has *quia dicentis*. This is a clear example that **A** and **Φ** go back to two different transliterations of Π (cf. Chapter Three (*c*)). The Ar. also has a similar mistake, since it presupposes a Syriac translator who read the letters in question as ὅτι or ὅτε λέγοντος.

1453b34 τραυματίᾳ. Lat. reads this word as if it were a proper name.

τὸ τρίτον. This reading (**B** + Σ) is better attested than Π's τρίτον and should be adopted. Cf. also on 1453b27–39.

1453b38 τό τε. Here and in 1454a3 where **A** has the correct τό τε, Lat. has *tunc*, which shows that **Φ** probably had τότε: perhaps another indication that **A** and **Φ** go back to two different transliterations.

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[42] Of course, τούτων refers to the statement in b36–37, not to the possibilities mentioned in lines b27–36.

1454a2–3 βέλτιον … πρᾶξαι. For the Ar. translation of this sentence cf. Gutas *ad loc.* The omission of these words in **B** (or in its ultimate source) may be due to a kind of homoioteleuton, the eyes of the scribe going from πρᾶξαι δεύτερον to πράξαντα.

1454a6 μέλλει … ἀποκτείνει. On the Latin translation here (*Merope debebat* [for μέλλει] *filium interficere*) cf. on 1447a8–13. From the Ar. it is not clear whether Σ had the infinitive ἀποκτείνειν or not, cf. Gutas *ad loc.*

1454a16 ἐστιν. This is the reading of **A**. Lat. has *sunt*, but Latin, unlike Greek, does not use the singular verb with plural neuter subject; hence we cannot infer what the reading of Φ was. **B**'s εἰσίν is the kind of mistake which occurs frequently in medieval MSS. On Ar. cf. Gutas *ad loc.*

1454a18–19 προαίρεσιν. This is the right reading although πρὸς αἵρεσιν has the support of **B** and perhaps of Σ. Cf. the reference in l. 18 (ὥσπερ ἐλέχθη) to 1450b8–9 ἔστιν δὲ ἦθος μὲν τὸ τοιοῦτον ὃ δηλοῖ τὴν προαίρεσιν, ὁποία τις.

1454a19 τινα ⟨ᾗ τις ἂν⟩ ᾖ. Our four sources for the text testify to the fact that the archetype Ω had TINAH. I have, like Kassel, adopted Vahlen's conjecture τινα ⟨ᾗ τις ἂν⟩ ᾖ, which presupposes an omission by homoioteleuton in the archetype (HTIΣANH). Cf. the text of 1450b8–9 transcribed in the previous note. If one wishes to accept the reading of *Parisinus* 2038, as Bywater and others have done, the best thing would be to transpose ᾖ to the next clause and write there χρεστόν δὲ ἐὰν χρηστὴν ᾖ. But the reference to 1450b8–9 in l. 18 (ὥσπερ ἐλέχθη) favors Vahlen's conjecture.

1454a22 ἀνδρεῖον. Kassel's suggestion ἀνδρείαν (sc. εἶναι γυναῖκα) does not fit the context and diminishes the force of ἀλλ' οὐχ ἁρμόττον γυναικί κτλ. Cf. Bywater's notes on 1454a22 and a23 for the meaning of ἦθος here.

1454a23 οὕτως. Vahlen's conjecture yields a reasonable sense and seems to explain the manuscript evidence. **B** has οὐτῶ = OYTΩ before transliteration; probably these were also the letters originally preserved by **A**, though the first two were later erased. The final iota may originally have been a Σ (C → I). The Ar. interprets as if it translated οὐδὲ τῷ. The only exception is Lat., which has *aut*, i.e. ἤ; it yields an acceptable sense, but the authority of OYTΩ is superior.

1454a29 μὴ ἀναγκαίας. Vahlen, Rostagni, and others keep the reading of the archetype, μὴ ἀναγκαῖον, referring this phrase to παράδειγμα. In that case, the position of μὴ ἀναγκαῖον would probably suggest that it is in apposition to παράδειγμα. Yet what is unnecessary is not "an example" but the wickedness of character itself (cf. the other examples Aristotle gives); hence we need to emend. Some scholars, e.g. Gudeman and Kassel, have adopted Vorländer's and Thurot's ἀναγκαίας. The ἀναγκαίου of *Marcianus* 215, adopted by Bywater, given the fact that the mistake happened in the majuscule writing, is perhaps possible, for ΑΝΑΓΚΑΙΟΥ is closer to ΑΝΑΓΚΑΙΟΝ than ΑΝΑΓΚΑΙΑΣ would be. But ἀναγκαίου as feminine is not usual, and here it would naturally be taken as neuter with ἤθους, whereas it is needed with πονηρίας.

Μενέλαος. A clear example of the Syro-Arabic translation's failure to recognize the proper name.

1454a31 ῥῆσις. For Lat.'s *series* cf. on 6, 1450a29.

1454a32 ἡ ἱκετεύουσα. "The suppliant." Lat.'s *ministrans* means "the one who serves or is a priestess." Hence, either Minio is right in suggesting that Φ had ἡ οἰκετεύουσα or Moerbeke himself confused one participle with the other.

1454a33 ὁμοίως. Kassel is right in printing ὁμοίως and citing *Physics* 208a27 as a parallel. Strictly speaking, however, **B** has ὁμοίως ὅτι but this is a common mistake in this MS. Cf. on 1451b21.

1454b1 μύθου. Of course this is the correct reading; the context and Aristotle's conception of the plot leave no doubt. Moreover, the reading μύθου is supported by Porphyry's comment on *Iliad* 2, 73 (p. 24, 11–16 [Schrader]) = Aristotle, frag. 142 (Rose) = frag. 366 (Gigon): διὰ τί ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων ἀποπειρᾶτο τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, καὶ οὕτως ἔπραξεν ὥστε ὀλίγου τὰ ἐναντία συμβῆναι ἢ ἐβουλεύετο; καὶ τὸ κώλυμα ἀπὸ μηχανῆς· ἡ γὰρ Ἀθηνᾶ ἐκώλυσεν· ἔστι δὲ ἀποίητον τὸ μηχάνημα λύειν ἄλλως εἰ μὴ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ μύθου. φησὶ δὲ ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ποιητικὸν μὲν εἶναι τὸ μιμεῖσθαι τὰ εἰωθότα γίνεσθαι καὶ ποιητῶν μᾶλλον τὸ κινδύνους παρεισάγειν. (I have reproduced Schrader's text.)

1454b2 ἐν τῇ Ἰλιάδι τὰ περὶ τὸν ἀνάπλουν. The reference is to Homer, *Iliad* 2, 109 ff.; ἀνάπλουν, the reading of Σ and of *Parisinus* 2038, must be accepted (so also Janko) instead of the ἀπόπλουν of *recentior(es)*,

which Kassel and others have preferred. The reading of Ξ, ἁπλοῦν is clearly corrupt; in fact, ΑΝΑΠΛΟΥΝ shows that the omission of AN was due to homoioteleuton. (For another omission, both in **A** and **B**, of the first part of a word cf. 1455a17 τῆς ἐκπλήξεως and note *ad loc.*). Σ has ἀνάπλουν but the reading of *Parisinus* 2038 is merely a conjecture. After all, ἁπλοῦν is impossible, and there are only two possibilities, ἀνάπλουν or ἀπόπλουν. The emendations suggested for Ἰλιάδι (cf. e.g. Kassel's critical apparatus) are completely off the mark. ἀνάπλουν = "sailing back," "returning home."

1454b4 ἃ οὐχ. Clearly the correct reading. **B** and Σ have ἢ ὅσα οὐχ, but there is no such separate possibility. Each of the two possibilities mentioned for events outside the play or plot, either before or after, has its own qualification.

1454b9 βελτιόνων ἢ ἡμεῖς. This is the reading of **B** and clearly the correct one. It is interesting to note that Vahlen, Bywater, and others who thought that only **A** is a primary MS were forced to construe ἡμᾶς with what follows, just as the scribe of **A** and Moerbeke did. This led Bywater to his notion that ἡμᾶς = "we poets."

1454b10 ἰδίαν. For another example of **B**'s writing οἰκεία for ἰδία cf. the critical apparatus on 1456a6.

1454b14–15 [παράδειγμα σκληρότητος] οἷον τὸν Ἀχιλλέα Ἀγάθων καὶ Ὅμηρος. Kassel places all these words between daggers, but Ritter rightly athetizes the phrase παράδειγμα σκληρότητος and writes Ἀγάθων. For one thing, *pace* Vahlen, Rostagni, and others, παράδειγμα σκληρότητος is out of place, and this by itself suggests that it originally was a marginal gloss incorporated into the text in the wrong place, as sometimes happens (cf. e.g. ἐποποιία in 1, 1447a28 with the note on 1447a28–b29). Lobel's suggestion of transporting παράδειγμα σκληρότητος before Ὅμηρος is unconvincing in itself, for its place in Ω is certain. Moreover, and most importantly, the proper name Agathon is not only the conjecture of one of the MSS used by Victorius but the reading of *Parisinus* 2038 and was also in all probability the reading of Φ. The letters ΑΓΑΘΩΝ are also supported by **A**. The reading ΑΓΑΘΟΝ of **B** and Σ may be due either to the common scribal mistake of writing ο for ω or to a purposeful change caused by the failure to understand ΑΓΑΘΩΝ as a proper name. This mistake, not significant, may have happened to two

or more scribes independently from one another. (The reverse mistake of writing ω for ο also occurs but is less common.) Aristotle has said in 1454b11–13 that even when the poet represents men with rather negative ethical characteristics (e.g. men quick to anger), he still should show them as good and superior (ἐπιεικεῖς) "as for example Homer and Agathon portray Achilles." Aristotle had—as we do not—access to Agathon's play in question, but the reference to Homer we readily understand. It is noteworthy that in 9, 1451b21 Aristotle refers to another play by Agathon, and in 18, 1456a23–25 he cites still another, a play and passage that he quotes more fully in his *Rhetoric*, II, 24, 1402a9–11, cf. frag. 9 (Nauck) = 39 F 9 (Snell). He also refers to Agathon in 18, 1456a18–19 (mild criticism) and in 1456a29–30 (Agathon started the custom of ἐμβόλιμα). For other Aristotelian references to, and quotations of, Agathon cf. frags. 5–9 (Nauck) = 39 F 5–9 (Snell).

1454b15 δὴ διατηρεῖν. For the imperatival use of the infinitive cf., with Bywater, Bonitz, *Index* 343a22–25. Both the reading of *Parisinus* 2038 (δὴ δεῖ διατηρεῖν) and that of **BΣ** (δὲ δεῖ τηρεῖν) are *lectiones faciliores*, but the latter does not even yield the required meaning.

1454b15–16 τὰ … ποιητικῇ. The reading τὰ παρὰ τάς of *recentiores* is necessary. It is very close to that of Π, where τά was assimilated to the following τάς. The reading of **B** τὰς πάντας has the additional mistake of writing ΠΑΝΤΑΣ for ΠΑΡΑΤΑΣ, and the same thing seems to have happened in Σ, cf. Gutas *ad loc*. This sentence, as Victorius and Bywater saw, refers to the art of poetry, i.e. to the poets in so far as their art depends on that of others (actors, costumiers, etc.) and not, as Bernays and others interpret, to the art of the costumier as stage-manager.

1454b18 ἐκδεδομένοις. Aristotle is here referring to his "published" writings (cf. p. 21 *supra*). Minio tentatively suggests that Moerbeke's *traditis* renders Φ's παραδεδομένοις. But the translator probably misunderstood ἐκδεδομένοις; its correct translation would have been *editis*, the word Cicero uses in a similar context.

1454b20 ᾗ πλείστη. The mistake in **A** is due to misinterpretation of the transmitted ΗΠΛΕΙΣΤΗ. This shows once more that **A** and Φ go back to two different transliterations into minuscule writing. Cf. Chapter Three (*c*). On Σ's probable reading cf. Gutas *ad loc.*

1454b21 ἡ. Here both **A** (**A** has ἣ, not ἡ) and **B** misunderstood the transmitted reading. Kassel is certainly wrong in assigning the reading ἡ to Π. From Lat.'s *que* we can only infer that Φ had ἡ. Given what is said in the preceding note, we have here at least a likely indication that **A** and Φ go back to two different transliterations.

1454b24–25 περιδέραια. Though Moerbeke here has recourse to a periphrasis, *circa collum*, at 1455a20 he translates περιδεραίων (or δερέων?) with *collaribus*.

1454b25 οἷον. This, the reading of *Parisinus* 2038, is probably a conjecture. Kassel is wrong about the Ar. translation: Σ probably did not have οἷον. Cf. Gutas *ad loc.*

1454b31 ὀρέστης. Was omission of this name in **B** and Σ purposeful? On Σ cf. Gutas *ad loc.*

1454b35 διό τι ἐγγὺς. Bywater's word separation should be accepted, since the position of τι is guaranteed by both **B** and **A**. Kassel prints Vahlen's emendation. For other examples of the position of τι here cf. Bywater's note *ad loc.* On Σ cf. Gutas *ad loc.*

1454b36 ἐνεγκεῖν. Minio reports Lat.'s *inferre* as if it were a variant, but Lat. here can only use the present infinitive to translate the aorist of the Greek: had Moerbeke used the perfect *intulisse* he would have given the wrong sense. On ἐνεγκεῖν and the preceding ἄν in Ar. cf. Gutas' note *ad loc.*

1454b36–37 ἡ τῆς κερκίδος φωνή. In Sophocles' *Tereus* "the voice of the shuttle", i.e. the weaved image, told Philomela's story. Moerbeke probably did not know the story, for his *spate texentium vox* = "the voice of the batten of those weaving" fails to render the Greek, though this does not mean that Φ had a different text from that of the paradosis.

1454b37 τρίτη δὲ ἡ. This, the reading of Σ (on which cf. Gutas *ad loc.*), should be adopted as superior to Spengel's ἡ τρίτη, which Kassel accepted (the τρίτη ἡ of *Parisinus* 2038 is in all probability a conjecture), cf. 1454b30 δεύτεραι δὲ αἱ. The ἤτοι τῇ of **A** and **B** is clearly corrupt. Given Lat.'s *aut* and the fact that frequently Moerbeke does not translate the article, it is likely that the corruption goes back to Ξ.

1454b37–1455a1 διὰ μνήμης, τῷ αἰσθέσθαι τι ἰδόντα. For the comma after μνήμης, τῷ αἰσθέσθαι = "by becoming conscious of" and as an equivalent for τῷ μνησθῆναι, cf. Bywater's important note (for the aorist he refers to Bonitz, *Index* 754a43 ff.). The reading of *Parisinus* 2038 is a conjecture, as the reading αἴσθεσθαι of **A** and **B** has preserved the transmitted letters ΑΙΣΘΕΣΘΑΙ. Lat.'s *fore* = ἔσεσθαι of Φ was probably ultimately due to a mistaken attempt at emendation because of failure to understand the implications of ΑΙΣΘΕΣΘΑΙ.

1455a1 τοῖς. This is clearly the correct reading, as attested by Σ and some *recentiores*. The article is in the predicative position. The τῆς of **A** and **B** cannot be right: it may be due to the wrong expansion of the abbreviated ending of the article, which may have happened more than once, that is, independently from one another, unless it is a purposeful change aimed at referring τῆς to μνήμης when there was no comma after that word. Lat.'s *ipsius* may be an attempt by the translator to make sense, though "of Dicaiogenes himself" is rather awkward. In any case, we cannot infer that Φ had αὐτοῦ.

1455a2 ἡ ἐν Ἀλκίνου ἀπολόγῳ. "The recognition in the tale told to Alcinous." A reference to Homer, *Odyssey* 8, 521 ff., here especially to books 9–12. Only **B** has preserved the correct ἀπολόγῳ. The ἀπὸ λόγων of Σ, **A**, and probably Φ, shows that their scribes or the scribes of their respective sources failed to understand the reference. For the expression "the tale told to Alcinous" cf. Plato, *Republic* 10, 614 B 2–3 and Aristotle, *Rhetoric* III. 16, 1417a13.

1455a6 Πολυίδου. Tyrwhitt's conjecture shows ancient scribes' failure to recognize the proper name. Already in late antiquity the sophist Polyidus was probably not well known.

1455a7 ἔφη. The omission of this verb in Π cannot be explained paleographically.

1455a13 τοῦ θεάτρου. "The audience." Whatever plausibility the emendation τοῦ θατέρου ever had (cf. e.g. Bywater *ad loc.*) disappears altogether now that we know the complete statement about the παραλογισμός in the play "Odysseus, the false Messenger" in 1455a14–16.

1455a14–16 τὸ μὲν … παραλογισμός. According to 1455a12–13 the paralogism originates in the combination of two sentences: 1) Only Odysseus and no one else can stretch the bow (and shoot with it), an invention and a supposition of the poet; and 2) Odysseus said that he would recognize the bow, the bow that he had not seen. But that he should be recognized by 2) whereas he was supposed to be recognized by 1) is a paralogism. In other words, the audience accepted Odysseus' statement in 2) as if it also attested 1). This is an approximation to what Aristotle may have meant, for we know nothing else about this play. The omission in Π of the passage in 1455a14–14^2 was caused by homoioteleuton (τὸ τόξον … τὸ τόξον). The omitted passage has been preserved by **B** and by Σ (on the reading of Ar. cf. Gutas *ad loc.* and on 1455a17).

1455a17 τῆς … εἰκότων. Kassel seems to follow Margoliouth's mistaken notion that the Ar. omitted these words. Cf. Gutas *ad loc.*

τῆς ἐκπλήξεως. This, the reading of Φ and of *Parisinus* 2038, is guaranteed by 1454a2–4 where a tragic recognition such as that of Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* (cf. 1453b30–32) is said to be ἡ ἀναγνώρισις ἐκπληκτικόν (cf. 1454a4). **A** and **B** have πλήξεως but the disappearance of one or two letters at the beginning of a word is not unparalleled, cf. e.g. 1454b2 ἀνάπλουν Σ, *Parisinus* 2038 : ἁπλοῦν Ξ : ἀπόπλουν *rec.* with note *ad loc.* The Arabic translation reads as a translation of πράξεως: if this is what Σ had, it is certainly a mistaken reading.

1455a18 ἐν. This, the reading of **B** and Σ, shows that emendations such as Bywater's, which take their point of departure from **A** (or Lat.), are unnecessary. Kassel suggests that Lat.'s *quod* = ὅ.

1455a19–20 αἱ … περιδεραίων. The recognitions which happen from the events of the plot itself (ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων) are the best because they are the only ones that do not have artificial signs and necklaces. Both σημείων and περιδεραίων have sometimes been objected to. The objection to σημείων is on the ground that at the beginning of this chapter the word was used to denote a visible token (cf. 1454b21 ἡ διὰ τῶν σημείων), a meaning which is inappropriate here, for the absence of a visible token is not limited to the fifth and the best kind of recognition. But here Aristotle may have used σημείων in a more general sense, denoting "anything that serves as a 'sign' in the less artistic forms of Discovery:" so Bywater, following Twining. If this is so, καὶ περιδεραίων is given merely as one of

the worst examples of artificial signs, the καί being explanatory. I believe the reading περιδεραίων is better attested than δέρεων, since both **B** and Φ have it, whereas the other witness to Π, **A**, sometimes omits the beginning of a word (cf. note on 1455a17), and the reading of Σ is not certain.

1455a22–26 Δεῖ … ὑπεναντία. Aristotle is here advising the poet to keep the events of the play before his eyes: with τιθέμενον in l. 23 we must supply the object τὰ πραττόμενα from μύθους in l. 22, cf. Verdenius (1972), p. 440, with his reference to Kühner-Gerth, II, pp. 561–562. Hence οὕτω … ὑπεναντία must refer to the poet and, if so, ὁ and τό (whether article or termination of λανθάνοιτο) must be excised. For excising ὁ the evidence of *Parisinus* 2038 has only the value of a conjecture. As for Lat., had Moerbeke wanted to report ὁ ὁρῶν he had the means of doing so; and he would probably have done so: he could hardly have failed to realize that there is here an essential difference between the two readings. Hence Φ presumably had ὁρῶν. As for Lat.'s *latebunt*, instead of λανθάνοι, it is due to the fact that with the neuter plural subject Latin—unlike Greek—uses a plural verb. Also λανθάνοι is a correct conjecture, this time of some *recentiores*.

1455a27–29 ὁ γὰρ … θεατῶν. I believe that long ago Vahlen and Bywater gave the correct interpretation of this passage—especially of ὃ μὴ ὁρῶντα τὸν θεατὴν ἐλάνθανεν. μὴ ὁρῶντα is clearly conditional and τὸν θεατήν, *pace* Rostagni, is the subject, not the object of the participle: had the audience not seen Amphiaraos leaving the sanctuary, the fact would have gone unperceived. On the stage the play failed because the incongruity was displeasing to the spectators: for this reason Carcinus, the author, was censured. Aristotle implies that Carcinus failed because he had not beforehand visualized the events of the play as if they were happening in front of his very eyes (cf. 1455a22–26 with note). ὃ … ἐλάνθανεν does not refer directly to the poet, but is rather an illustration of a poet's failure to avoid τὰ ὑπεναντία (cf. 1455a25–26). The several proposals to emend the passage and to refer ὃ … ἐλάνθανεν to the poet must be rejected, among them Butcher's excision of τὸν θεατήν, which Kassel adopts. Nor can ὃ … ἐλάνθανεν refer to a reader of the play, as Lucas and others suggest: the context shows that Aristotle is thinking of the staging of plays, not of readers. Finally, Vahlen proposed to read ὁρῶντ' ἄν for the transmitted ὁρῶντα; but with such an imperfect as ἐλάνθανεν the addition of ἄν is not strictly needed, as he himself seems to recognize.

1455a32–33 διὸ εὐφυοῦς ἡ ποιητική ἐστιν μᾶλλον ἢ μανικοῦ. In discussing this clause we must take into account the whole context within which it occurs: 1455a29–34. Regrettably, most editors have completely disregarded the fact that Ar. testifies that Σ read μᾶλλον ἤ (cf. Gutas' note on 1455a33),[43] whereas the Greek tradition has ἤ alone. A few classical scholars, however, e.g. Gudeman, Golden, and Hubbard have accepted the reading of Σ. The Latin translation is discussed below. I should state at once that even if the reading of Σ had not been extant, for several reasons I would have emended the text to μᾶλλον ἤ. First of all, apart from the present passage, Aristotle does not mention inspiration but only φύσις and τέχνη as the sources of poetry, placing more emphasis on φύσις. Thus in ch. 4 he ascribes the psychological birth of poetry to two causes and calls them φυσικαί (1448b4–5); later, in describing what he conceives as the historical birth of serious and comic poetry (1448b20–1449a5) he again refers to φύσις, *n.b.* κατὰ φύσιν and οἱ πεφυκότης πρὸς αὐτά. Secondly, the context itself suggests that the μανικός is not here an adequate alternative to the εὐφυής. The argument hinges on the fact that οἱ ἐν τοῖς πάθεσίν εἰσιν are πιθανώτατοι because they have the same nature (ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως), sc. as those whom they imitate. There is room here only for the εὐφυής, not for the μανικός, for the former men are εὔπλαστοι, i.e. they can assume the required feeling, whereas the μανικοί are ἐκστατικοί, i.e. "excitable or out of their minds or senses." Aristotle is not talking merely about a particular scene in a play but of the art of poetry itself (ἡ ποιητική): the very turn of the clause introduced by διό favors a preferred and not an equivalent possibility. Thirdly, the words μανικός and μανία do not have in Aristotle the favorable sense of ἐνθουσιασμός or "inspiration" as they sometimes have in Plato. (In fact I believe it more likely than not that the word μᾶλλον was purposely suppressed to bring Aristotle into agreement with Plato.) In Aristotle, in referring to human beings, μανικός means "mad," "deprived of one's senses," and when coupled with ἔκστασις (cf. ἐκστατικοί in l. 34) the word—which by the way does not occur in Plato—is also viewed negatively, cf. especially *Categ.* 9b36–10a2: … οἷον ἥ τε μανικὴ ἔκστασις καὶ ἡ ὀργὴ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα· ποιοὶ γὰρ κατὰ ταύτας λέγονται, ὀργίλοι τε καὶ μανικοί. Many scholars, among them Bywater, try to manufacture for μανικός in Aristotle the meaning "genius" or "inspired,"

[43] There is no reason to think—according to Gutas—that the translator into Syriac or into Arabic would have changed ἤ into μᾶλλον ἤ. The Arabs themselves regarded inspiration as the source of poetry. However, for them the word that was used to translate μανικός does not mean "inspired."

but they do this by having recourse to the *Problemata*, a later Peripatetic compilation which often contains developments that cannot and should not be ascribed to Aristotle himself.[44] Verdenius (1958), p. 140, col. 2, who accepts the reading ἤ, nevertheless maintains that Aristotle regarded the ἐκστατικός artist as a degeneration of the εὔπλαστος, citing to this effect *Rhetoric* II. 15, 1390b25–31. This suggestion is unacceptable, but it shows that even scholars who accept the reading ἤ find it hard to admit that Aristotle considered the μανικός of equal value as the εὐφυής. Finally, it is important to observe Moerbeke's translation of the clause διὸ … μανικοῦ: *Propter quod eius qui apte nature poetica est quam manici.* I assume that Moerbeke's source (Φ) also had ἤ and not μᾶλλον ἤ, since he translates literally and would probably have written *magis quam* had he had access to the latter reading, though in Latin, even in classical Latin, *quam* can be used for *magis quam*. (In later Greek, ἤ is sometimes used for μᾶλλον ἤ, but such a use cannot, I believe, be ascribed to Aristotle.) Thus it is clear that Moerbeke, who had a very good knowledge of Aristotle's works and thought, could not bring himself to write *aut*. He saw that the μανικός is here being rejected.

1455a34 ἐκστατικοί. This, the reading of **B**, is the only one that makes sense. The reading of Π may have originated in writing ἐξ for ἐκ at the beginning of the word, but ἐξεταστικοί is impossible here. Pazzi's translation ("*furore perciti*") shows that he was probably acquainted with **B**'s ἐκστατικοί.

1455a34–b1 τούς τε λόγους καὶ τοὺς πεποιημένους δεῖ καὶ αὐτὸν ποιοῦντα. In this passage λόγος is used in the sense of argument in a play or story, as the context and the following expressions τοὺς πεποιημένους and αὐτὸν (sc. the poet) ποιοῦντα show. Certainly the context prevents us from taking λόγος in the sense of "speech" or "discourse," as the Arabic translator did. It is because he misunderstood τοὺς λόγους here that he probably added μύθους after πεποιημένους; for this reason I doubt that Σ had μύθους. For Aristotle's use of λόγος in this sense cf. 1455b16–17 (τῆς γὰρ Ὀδυσσείας οὐ μακρὸς ὁ λόγος ἐστίν) and 24, 1460a27–28 (τούς τε λόγους μὴ

[44] Cf. e.g. in *Probl.* 30. 1, 954a32 the expression μανικοὶ καὶ εὐφυεῖς, a phrase that may well be derived from a text of *Poetics* 1455a32–33 such as exhibit our MSS **A** and **B**. But the *Problemata* does not represent Aristotle's opinion about μανία and μανικός, as the genuine Aristotelian passages listed in Bonitz's *Index* 445a49–59, *s.vv.*, show.

συνίστασθαι ἐκ μερῶν ἀλόγων).[45] Hence, if Σ really had μύθους after πεποιημένους, its reading must be rejected. Here, καὶ τοὺς πεποιημένους and αὐτὸν ποιοῦντα are explanatory appositions to τούς τε λόγους.

1455b1–2 ἐπεισοδιοῦν. The reading of A ἐπεισοδίου may originally have been due to the fact that A sometimes omits the last letter of a word, cf. e.g. 1, 1447b28 οὖν, where A has οὐ.

1455b3 τυθείσης. Lat.'s *immolanda* = "that must be sacrificed" does not render well the Greek.

1455b5 ἐν … θεῷ. "Where the custom was to sacrifice all strangers to the Goddess" (Bywater). Moerbeke misconstrued as if the custom were for strangers to sacrifice: *in qua lex erat extraneis immolare dee.*

1455b6 τὴν ἱερωσύνην et 7 τῆς ἱερείας. Lat.'s *sanctificationem* and *sanctificationis* does not adequately render the Greek, since ἱεροσύνη means "sanctuary" and ἱερεία "priestess."

1455b7–8 [ἔξω τοῦ καθόλου]. I have followed Düntzer in excising these words as a gloss on ἔξω τοῦ μύθου. Cf. Bywater's note. Christ's proposal, which Kassel adopts, seems hypercritical.

1455b9 ἀνεγνώρισεν. The Ar. (-Syriac?) translation reads as if τὴν ἀδελφήν was in his source, but the reading is only a gloss, cf. Kassel's critical apparatus. There is no reason to ascribe it to Σ, cf. Gutas *ad loc.* Even apart from that, the reading τὴν ἀδελφήν would presuppose for Aristotle a use of ἀναγνωρίζειν which is very rare even in late Greek. Cf. further on 1455b21–22.

1455b10 Πολύιδος. Cf. note on 1455a6.

1455b15 δράμασι. On the reading of Π cf. Chapter Three (*c*).

1455b17 οὐ. The context clearly requires the negative, extant in Σ and conjectured by Vulcanius.

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[45] For λόγος in the sense of argument of a play cf. also Aristophanes, *Peace* 50–53 and 147–148; in his note to the former passage, Olsen refers to *Thesmoph.* 54–57, to *Frogs* 1052, as well as to Hesychius λ 1216.

1455b18 ὑπὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος. This is the reading of all four primary sources (= Ω), and there is no need whatever to emend the text, since it is in agreement with the *Odyssey*.

1455b21–22 ἀναγνωρίσας ⟨εἰς⟩ τινὰς ἐπιθέμενος. Given the context—Aristotle is describing Odysseus' return home in *Odyssey* 21, 207 ff.—the required meaning is "he (sc. Odysseus), revealing to some (sc. who he is), attacks." The problem with the transmitted text is that ἀναγνωρίσας τινάς by itself is unparalleled in Aristotle as "revealing to some," despite Vahlen's defense of this reading, which Kassel accepts. Vahlen's examples, besides being controversial (cf. Bywater, p. 247 and n. 1), are late Greek. Yet I do not agree with Bywater when he claims that to take ἀναγνωρίσας here as "revealing himself to some" would require us to write αὐτὸς ἐπιθέμενος instead of the transmitted ἐπιθέμενος αὐτός. ἀναγνωρίσας ⟨εἰς⟩ τινὰς means literally "revealing to some, sc. who he is;" just as in 12, 1452b5 with ἀναγνωρίσαι we have to supply τίνες εἰσιν from the context (cf. Bywater himself *ad loc.*), so here in 1455b21 we have to supply from the context τίς ἐστιν. ἀναγνωρίζω = "to reveal ⟨to someone⟩" does not require αὐτός in Greek (cf. Bywater himself, p. 203, citing 16, 1454b32 with approval of Ritter's translation). αὐτός in this passage clearly belongs with μὲν ἐσώθη (balanced by τοὺς δ' ἐχθροὺς διέφθειρε) while τινάς belongs with ἀναγνωρίσας. Adding εἰς seems to solve Bywater's objection to ἀναγνωρίσας τινάς. Its omission may have been caused by a kind of homoioteleuton: ἀναγνωρ<u>ίσας</u> (ΠΣ) and **B**'s ἀναγνωρισθείς may represent a contraction of ΑΝΑΓΝΩΡΙCΑCΕΙC. For the senses of ἀναγνωρίζω in Aristotle cf. Bywater's note on 11, 1452b5.

1455b27 μεταβαίνει. The fact that **A** and **B** read the infinitive instead of the finite verb is not unparalleled. Cf. e.g. 1449a12, 1453b22, 1455b27, 1457a17, 1457a27–28, 1458a24.

1455b28 ἢ εἰς ἀτυχίαν. The omission of these words in Π was probably caused by homoioteleuton.

1455b29 λυγκεῖ. Cf. on 11, 1452a27.

1455b29–32 ὥσπερ … τέλους. We do not have this play of Theodectes, and this is the main reason why some uncertainties remain about the meaning of our passage; there is of course the difficulty of the text itself which in Ξ was clearly corrupt. In 11, 1452a27–29 Aristotle has described

the *Lynceus*' περιπέτεια: while one (Lynceus) is being led to his execution, with Danaus at his side to put him to death, it happens, because of the incidents preceding these events, that Danaus is put to death and Lynceus is saved. In the passage before us Theodectes' work is given as an example of a plan where the δέσις included events that took place before the drama began and others which are within the action. The problem is that the text of Ξ is corrupt in l. 31, reading ἡ αὐτῶν δή. Now λύσις δ' ἡ is a palmary emendation in *Parisinus* 2038 and is in fact the reading of Σ, yet obviously something is still missing after αὐτῶν, as testifies the Ar. translation which has an additional word after the genitive. In the past it was thought that the Arabic word stood for Greek δήλωσις, the reading Gomperz conjectured basing himself on the Arabic. However, as Gutas points out in his thorough discussion, the Arabic word suggests rather αἰτίασις, "accusation." This being so, we should also adopt in what follows the reading αἰτιάσεως (Π) rather than **B**'s αἰτήσεως. As Gutas says, just as the preceding example of δέσις–λύσις has the repetition μεταβαίνει … μεταβάσεως, so here we have αἰτίασις … αἰτιάσεως. But we do not know whether αὐτῶν is a subjective or an objective genitive. Rather than showing the text as corrupt, as Kassel does, I have accepted as probably correct the reading of Σ. There is of course no reason to emend θανάτου, the reading of Ω.

1455b32–33 [τοσαῦτα γὰρ καὶ τὰ μέρη ἐλέχθη]. These words (which Kassel calls *obscura*) are totally erroneous: nothing like this has been said before, and it is incompatible with what Aristotle asserts in the *Poetics*. Basically three attempts have been made to solve these difficulties: 1) Aristotle has given a mistaken reference; 2) the passage allegedly referred to has been omitted by the scribes; 3) the text is to be emended. To 1) and 2) the main objection is that, though Aristotle may sometimes be imprecise in giving a backward reference, he is hardly likely to have said that there are four kinds (εἴδη) of Tragedy because (γάρ) there are as many kinds of parts (μέρη). (We should leave aside the fact that sometimes εἶδος and μέρος are used in the same sense (cf. *infra*); the quantitative parts of Tragedy—even if ch. 12 is genuine—are also irrelevant to this discussion.) Aristotle mentions and comments on the six qualitative parts of Tragedy in ch. 6, and they are μῦθος, ἦθος, διάνοια, λέξις, μελοποιία, and ὄψις. These can hardly be related as a whole, or one to one, to the four kinds listed in 1455b33–1456a2: πεπλεγμένη, παθητική, ἠθική, and a fourth, be it ἁπλῆ or ὄψις (cf. the next note). The only one that can be referred to the qualitative parts of a tragedy is ἠθική, or at best two, if ὄψις is right at 1456a2. On the other hand, in ch. 11 (1452b9–10) three

μέρη of plot are listed: περιπέτεια, ἀναγνώρισις, and πάθος. The first two constitute the πεπλεγμένη τραγῳδία, as it is explicitly stated in 1455b33–34, while πάθος is obviously related to the παθητικὴ τραγῳδία. Therefore as a whole the four kinds of Tragedy cannot be related either to its qualitative parts or to the parts of the plot. In addition, the statement of 24, 1459b7–9 (quoted in the next note) can only acquire a rational meaning if in making it Aristotle had in mind 1455b32–1456a2: there is no other previous passage where the four kinds of Tragedy have been listed. As for 3) I do not believe that the words τοσαῦτα γὰρ καὶ τὰ μέρη ἐλέχθη can be satisfactorily emended. For we must ask, what kind of statement similar to τοσαῦτα <u>γὰρ</u> καὶ τὰ μέρη ἐλέχθη, which at least in some way has been mentioned earlier, would make sense from Aristotle's point of view. The only one that comes to mind, if one is willing to consider statements and implications from different passages but not something Aristotle has actually stated, is that there are four kinds of tragedy, "because there are also as many kinds of plots." But, as I said, this has not been explicitly stated, even if we consider that four kinds of plots are implied in what precedes, accepting, as I do, that ἡ ἁπλῆ is the correct reading at 1456a2. (Bywater's ὄψις will not do because it is a part of Tragedy but not of the plot.) In 10, 1452a12ff. it has been said εἰσὶ δὲ τῶν μύθων οἱ μὲν ἁπλοῖ οἱ δὲ πεπλεγμένοι (the simple plots had already been mentioned in 9, 1451b33ff.). In 11, 1452b9ff. πάθος, like περιπέτεια and ἀναγνώρισις, has been regarded as a part of the plot. As for the ethical plot, while it is not referred to in what precedes, we may accept it as implied in the role of ἦθος in plots (cf. 6, 1450a20ff. and ch. 15). However, τὰ μέρη (1455b33) cannot be right: if it were, it would have to mean "the parts of Tragedy," which, as we saw above, is impossible, while if the meaning were "the kinds of Tragedy," the second statement would merely say the same thing as the first. The simplest emendation would be that proposed by Susemihl in his second edition, τὰ μύθου, but apart from the difficulty that ἦθος is part of Tragedy but not of the plot, it is unlikely that instead of the parenthetical statement in lines 32–33 Aristotle wrote τοσαῦτα γὰρ καὶ τὰ μύθου <u>ἐλέχθη</u>, for he has neither stated nor implied it. Moreover, it would not be easy to see why scribes wrote what is in the MSS. It is rather more likely that the words τοσαῦτα γὰρ καὶ τὰ μέρη ἐλέχθη are a mistaken gloss introduced by a reader, probably prompted by a misunderstanding of 1456a5–6, γεγονότων γὰρ <u>καθ' ἕκαστον μέρος</u> ἀγαθῶν ποιητῶν, where, however, μέρος means "kind" (sc. of Tragedy). For these reasons, following Susemihl (in his first edition) I have excised this passage. See also the following note.

1456a2 ἡ ἁπλῆ. This is Susemihl's emendation, which I try to support here. **A** and **B** give οης. These same three letters occur also at 1458a5, where Victorius rightly conjectured ὄψ, and this led to Bywater's ὄψις for our passage. Some scholars have rightly objected to this emendation because 24, 1459b7–9 (ἔτι δὲ τὰ εἴδη ταὐτὰ δεῖ ἔχειν τὴν ἐποποιίαν τῇ τραγῳδίᾳ, ἢ γὰρ ἁπλῆν ἢ πεπλεγμένην ἢ ἠθικὴν ἢ παθητικήν) presupposes that the four kinds of tragedies listed here have been given in what precedes, but no such statement has been made if we exclude 1455b32–1456a2. I have therefore adopted the conjecture ἡ ἁπλῆ. Cf. also 1456a19–20, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἁπλοῖς πράγμασι. Paleographically, Bywater's suggestion is better, but not all mistakes can be explained with the aid of paleography.

1456a4 ἄλλως τε. The mistaken readings of **B** (perhaps also of Σ) and of **A** are essentially due to the common error of writing Γ instead of T.

1456a6 ἑκάστου. The genitive (masculine) is necessary, whether or not this reading in *Parisinus* 2038 is an emendation. By hyperbaton it depends on ἰδίου. Cf. Bywater's note.

1456a8 οὐδενὶ ὡς. Zeller's emendation is palmary. It presupposes that the letters ΟΥΔΕΝΙΩΣ where wrongly divided as ΟΥΔΕΝ ΙΩΣ, and a sigma was added after the iota to make sense. Bywater prints οὐδενὶ ἴσως, following Tyrwhitt's translation, but ἴσως here is inferior in sense to ὡς.

1456a10 ἀμφότερα ἀρτικροτεῖσθαι. This is Immisch's emendation, very close to **B**'s ἀμφότερα ἀντικροτεῖσθαι. But ἀντικροτεῖσθαι, apart from not being well attested, has the prefix ἀντι which is not appropriate to the context. The readings of **A** and of Lat. seem to be corrupt.[46] In the preceding clause Aristotle has said that many poets are good in the first part of the plot, the complication, but bad in the λύσις. Whereas earlier in this chapter he had used δέσις, he now has πλοκή and πλέξαντες, metaphors from weaving. Hence δεῖ δὲ ἀμφότερα ἀρτικροτεῖσθαι must mean something like "but one must bring both (πλοκή and λύσις) into agreement or harmony." The verb ἀρτικροτέω occurs in [Plato], *Axiochus* 369 D 5, where certainly one must read ἀρτικροτήσῃς with Winckelmann rather than the MSS' ἄρτι κροτήσῃς.

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[46] Lobel's emendation gives a better sense, but it is only an emendation, and "*ambo semper*," being corrupt, is the same as **A**.

1456a16 ὅσοι πέρσιν Ἰλίου ὅλην. These are the readings of A and Σ. The fact that Lat. has *quicumque quidem similii totam* indicates that Φ had ὅσοιπερ συνιλίου ὅλην, as Minio says. This is one indication that A and Φ are both based on *different* transliterations of Π. The reading of Lat. here is not mentioned by Kassel and was obviously unknown to Irigoin, who apparently based himself only on Kassel's reports.

1456a17 ⟨ἢ⟩. Vahlen's conjecture is probably right, for no Epic of Niobe is known. The reading of Ar. seems to be Νιόβην. Cf. Gutas *ad loc.*

1456a22 ⟨δ'⟩. This insertion is justified on the basis of l. 23 καὶ ὁ ἀνδρεῖος μὲν ἄδικος δὲ ἡττηθῇ.

1456a25–26 καὶ τὸν χορὸν … ὑποκριτῶν. The reading of B and Φ has a higher authority than that of A. Lat.'s *ypocritas* cannot be construed and so is probably not what Moerbeke wrote but a scribal mistake for *ypocritarum*, as Lobel conjectured.

1456a27–29 τοῖς … ἐστίν. The Ar. translation implies that Σ had ᾀδόμενα for Ξ's διδόμενα (initial A read as Δ, etc.) and οὐδέν, whereas Ξ omits any form of negative. As for Σ's πολλοῖς, it is at best equivalent to Ξ's λοιποῖς, perhaps the *lectio difficilior*.

1456a29–30 διὸ ἐμβόλιμα ᾄδουσιν πρώτου ἄρξαντος Ἀγάθωνος τοῦ τοιούτου. "Wherefore they sing intercalary songs, Agathon being the first who began such a practice." Against Gudeman's excision of τοῦ τοιούτου on the basis of his unsubstantiated reconstruction of Σ, cf. Gutas on 1456a30. Lat. does not render this clause well probably because, as Minio suggests, Moerbeke had a different text. He translates as if he had ἄγουσιν (*ducunt*) for ᾄδουσιν, πρὸ τοῦ or πρὸ (*ante*) instead of πρώτου, and τούτου (*huius*) instead of τοιούτου. As for τοῦ τοιούτου, its position in A seems idiomatically superior to placing it before Ἀγάθωνος, as does B and perhaps also Σ. Though Lat. has *huius*, its location supports the inference that in Π, τοῦ τοιούτου had the same position as in A.

1456a31 ῥῆσιν. For Lat.'s *seriem* cf. at 1450 A 29.

1456a34, καὶ, 1456b1 καὶ[1]. In the former case Σ has preserved the correct reading, in the latter, Ξ.

1456b2 μικρότητα. Like Bywater, I have printed this because there is no good reason for the shift from the previous gender and number.

1456b3 ἰδεῶν. So Σ; certainly Aristotle here meant the genitive plural of ἰδέα; yet **A** and **B**, probably because of iotacism, wrote εἰδεῶν, which must have led to Lat.'s *speciebus*.

1456b4 δέῃ. This, the reading of *Parisinus* 2038 (probably a conjecture), is certainly right, as the verb depends on the preceding ὅταν. The δεῖ of our MSS (except **A**) is perhaps a repetition of this same word in the previous line. On the Ar. translation cf. Gutas *ad loc.*

παρασκευάζειν. Lat.'s rendering *exhibere* perhaps presupposes that Φ had παρασχεῖν, since two lines below (1456b6) παρασκευάζεσθαι is correctly rendered by *preparari*.

1456b8 φαίνοιτο ᾗ δέοι. For preferring φαίνοιτο to φανοῖτο and for adopting Vahlen's ᾗ δέοι because it is closer to the MSS's ἡδέα than Castelvetro's ἤδη cf. Bywater *ad loc.*, who inconsistently with his Greek text gives the reference as b7.

1456b16–17 ἄειδε. Lat.'s *vide*, unless it is scribal mistake, would imply that Moerbeke did not recognize the beginning of the *Iliad*. The probability is, as Minio says, that Φ had ἰδέ.

1456b20–1459a16 τῆς δὲ λέξεως … τὰ εἰρημένα. This long passage comprises chapters 20, 21, and 22 of the *Poetics*. For Aristotle they are concerned with the poets' style; they surely include some important things about style, but for us they deal perhaps too much with grammatical and linguistic items. It seems that ancient readers had more difficulty in understanding these chapters than the rest of the *Poetics*, for the text that has come down to us is more uncertain than elsewhere. Even dislocations of passages have occurred, and sometimes it is not clear whether words were written by Aristotle or added by scribes. In the following notes I have tried to offer solutions which in some cases are tentative.

1456b21 ἄρθρον ὄνομα ῥῆμα. The fact that in 1457a6ff. the explanation of ἄρθρον precedes that of ὄνομα suggests that the word order in Σ is correct. Cf. Gutas' note *ad loc.* with references. The enumeration

of 1456b20–21, στοιχεῖον συλλαβὴ σύνδεσμος ἄρθρον ὄνομα ῥῆμα πτῶσις λόγος, is exactly the order that Aristotle follows in his explanation of these terms, cf. 1456b22–1457a30. Kassel prints the word order as in Ξ.

1456b23 συνθετή. Preserved only in Σ and conjectured by *recentiores.*

1456b25–35 ταύτης δὲ … καὶ φωνὴν ἔχοντος. There is an excellent discussion of this passage in Hammarström (1930), pp. 25–27, who shows that a correct understanding of what Aristotle means by φωνῆεν, ἡμίφωνον, and ἄφωνον proves the soundness of the text of 1456b36–37 (cf. *ad loc.*) transmitted by the Graeco-Latin tradition.

1456b26 ταῦτα. Only preserved in **B**.

1456b28 ρ̄. The reading β of **B** and Φ is probably a mistake originating in majuscule writing: P and B.

1456b34 ἐν τοῖς μετρικοῖς. There is no reason to excise ἐν; *pace* Bywater, it is unnecessary to think that with the preposition the phrase implies Aristotle is referring to a work of his own on metrics, of which there is no evidence. The phrase may mean "in metrical treatises" or "in metrical discussions."

1456a36–37 καὶ γὰρ … ΓΡΑ. The Arabic translation cannot in this case be used to correct the Greek text, as some scholars have proposed, for it is here contaminated by glosses incorporated into the text which, moreover, reflect a later conception of what constitutes a syllable. (Cf. Gutas' discussion in his note on 1456b36.) Hence we should not accept from Ar. the notion that ΓΡ is not a syllable; for Aristotle's definition of vowel, semivowel, and consonant in what precedes (1456b25–35) shows that for him ΓΡ as well as ΓΡΑ are syllables. As Bywater says, καὶ γὰρ τὸ ΓΡ ἄνευ τοῦ Α = τὸ γὰρ ΓΡ καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ Α. Many scholars, however, have wrongly denied that ΓΡ for Aristotle is a syllable, some of them on the basis of a scholion to Dionysius Thrax: I, 3, p. 344, 23–25 (συλλαβή ἐστι κατὰ Ἀριστοτέλην φωνὴ ἄσημος συγκειμένη ἀπὸ φωνήεντος καὶ ἀφώνου, ἢ φωνηέντων καὶ ἀφώνου, ἢ φωνήεντος καὶ ἀφώνων. ὁ δὲ Διονύσιος λέγει κτλ.), as its editor Hilgard has done. Kassel considers συλλαβὴ καί to be corrupt. In addition to the reference to Hammarström given above in the note on 1456b25–35, cf. Belardi (1985), pp. 59–65, who on p. 59, n. 54 shows that it is erroneous to correct our text of the *Poetics* on the basis of the

scholion transcribed above. Belardi also discusses the Greek text and the Arabic translation. He too rejects the latter as a reliable guide to the text transmitted by Ξ.

1456b38–1457a10 σύνδεσμος … μέσου. The text of this passage is uncertain and seems corrupt in some places, though the extent and the nature of corruption are controversial. The difficulties are well discussed by Bywater, pp. 269–273, and I have accepted his main proposals. We are hampered by the fact that the Arabic tradition is not without problems (cf. Gutas' note *ad loc.*) and by the omission by homoioteleuton in **B** of ἢν … μέσου in 1457a3–10. Hence we must rely mostly on **A** and Lat. I have excised καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μέσου in 1457a2–3 because it contradicts what is said in the next line and also the examples given in 1457a4. As for those inserted after φωνήν in 1457a6, in the MSS they mistakenly occur in the following line after δηλοῖ as examples of ἄρθρον, which is impossible, though Kassel preserves the MSS' text. I have also followed Bywater in excising ἢ … φωνῶν in 1457a8–9, probably an unsuccessful attempt to reproduce the language of 1456b38–1457a2 and apply it to ἄρθρον. Even with these corrections, it is strange that no examples of ἄρθρον are given, especially considering that the two definitions of σύνδεσμος had each its own. Hence it is possible that something is missing. I print the text of 1456b38–1457a10 with the changes suggested above. For the Arabic translation of this passage, which has several problems, cf. Gutas' note *ad loc.*

1457a13 οἷον ἐν τῷ Θεόδωρος τὸ δωρος. In favor of the reading τὸ δωρος scholars have cited, as also Kassel does, *De Interpretatione* 2, 16a21–22 ἐν γὰρ τῷ Κάλλιππος τὸ ἵππος οὐδὲν καθ' αὑτὸ σημαίνει. This is opposed by Bywater who, following Düntzer, argues that the two instances are not parallel, since ἵππος is a separate word with its own meaning whereas δωρος is not; hence, there would be no sense in saying, as Aristotle does here, δωρος οὐ σημαίνει. However, Bywater neglects the fact that Δῶρος is a proper name. In support of δωρος Kassel cites the papyrus Περὶ λέξεως, 8 which Snell ascribes to Theophrastus—an ascription rightly rejected by Schenkeveld (1993a). The context seems to be similar—but not identical—to the *Poetics*. Even if we accept Snell's restoration of the name Δῶρος, this would only show that Δῶρος was a personal name, which we knew anyway. In the context, the author of this text asserts that "if one removes the first syllable …" This is not parallel to what Aristotle is saying, since in the name "Theodoros" each part of the word signifies

something by itself. In fact, with δωρος implying Δῶρος the example in the *Poetics* is really parallel to that of the *De Interpretatione* given at the beginning of this note.

1457a19 κατὰ τὸ. Reiz's conjecture must be accepted because it is superior to the word order in the MSS. Such reversals occur sometimes in our MSS. Cf. e.g. on 1447b15.

1457a23 δέ ἐστι. Kassel, whose report does not include Σ, adopts **A**'s δέ. Yet δέ ἐστι is the more authoritative reading.

1457a28 Κλέων ὁ Κλέων. Bigg's conjecture τὸ Κλέων is unnecessary. **A** and **B** have the reading in the lemma,[47] and in Lat. this is rendered *Kleon*, i.e. Moerbeke as usual in such cases does not translate the article, though he might have done so if he had read τό instead of ὁ. The article ὁ is sufficient to indicate the semiotic difference between the two occurrences of the name Cleon.

1457a35 μεγαλειωτῶν. This is Bywater's conjecture, which is practically the reading of Ξ, since the latter's μεγαλιωτῶν was caused by iotacism. Many scholars, including Kassel, have adopted the reading Μασσαλιωτῶν conjectured by Diels (1888), pp. 52–53 on the basis of the Arabic translation and influenced by Margoliouth (1887), p. 68. However, as Gutas explains in his detailed note *ad loc.*, the reading of Ar. would be a rendering of Greek μασαλιωτῶν (with only one sigma), but Syriac and Arabic would render the initial syllable in the same way, whether Σ had μα or με. Nor is there any evidence that the Syriac or the Arabic translators thought the word in question referred to the people of Marseilles, which must here be excluded because of the context, cf. *infra*. Gallavotti (1954b), pp. 332–333 unwittingly contributed to the solution by suggesting that the correct reading is Μασσαλιωτῶν and that the reading in Ξ originated by writing ΜΕΓΑΛ- instead of ΜΑϹϹΑΛ-. The mistake however was the reverse one: Σ (or its source) wrote ΜΕϹ for ΜΕΓ; for this to occur it is only necessary to curve Γ slightly at the right angle. In short, there is no reason to think that ΜΑϹϹΑΛΙΩΤΩΝ was ever the reading of

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[47] Literally **B** has Κλαίων ὁ Κλέων, but the former name is simply the mistake of a negligent scribe be it of **B** or of his source. Σ cannot distinguish between the spellings of **A** and **B**, cf. Gutas' note *ad loc.*

Σ or even of the Syriac from which the Arabic was translated. In any case, such a characteristic of the language of the people of Marseilles (n.b. τὰ πολλά) is more than strange and otherwise unattested, while three part compounds are attested also for Athens and elsewhere, as Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen* II (Berlin, 1893), p. 29, n. 39 says; he mentions Εὐδάμιππος, Εὐξένιππος, Ἱππαρμόδορος, and there are many others as well, as Pape-Benseler's dictionary of proper names shows. The only extant example Aristotle gives in the *Poetics*, Ἑρμοκαϊκόξανθος, is a compound of the names of three rivers in Asia Minor (cf. the next note), which, *pace* Janko, would be strange for the language of the people of Marseilles, if indeed the majority (τὰ πολλά) of their names were τριπλοῦν, τετραπλοῦν, and πολλαπλοῦν. On the other hand, like most amplified—or "grand, magnified"—names, it makes excellent sense in the context. If one is not satisfied with μεγαλειωτῶν because it is either a *hapax* or in any case a rare word, one may adopt Vahlen's μεγαλείων ὧν or Tyrwhitt's μεγαλείων ὡς.

1457a35–36 Ἑρμοκαϊκόξανθος ⟨⟩**. The word stands for three rivers, Hermus, Cicus, and Xanthus. I have indicated a lacuna because the Arabic translation supports the inference that one more amplified name was present in Σ, but what such a word was cannot be ascertained. The Arabic does not support Diels' conjecture, cf. Gutas' note on 1457b1. Probably we should mentally supply οἷον before Ἑρμοκαϊκόξανθος. Cf. 25, 1461a25–26 τὰ δὲ ἀμφιβολίᾳ, "παρῴχηκεν δὲ πλέω νύξ" and other Aristotelian passages cited by Bywater.

1457b2–3 ἀφῃρημένον. This, the reading of Σ and Spengel's conjecture, seems necessary not only because in 1458a1–4 ἀφῃρημένον occurs three times but also because ὑφῃρημένον has the sense "taking away from under." ὑφῃρημένον in the sense required here would be a *hapax* in Aristotle.

1457b6 τὸ γὰρ σίγυνον Κυπρίοις μὲν κύριον, ἡμῖν δὲ γλῶττα. After these words the Arabic translation has an additional line, most probably present in Σ (cf. Gutas' note *ad loc.*), which would read as follows: τὸ δὲ δόρυ ἡμῖν μὲν κύριον ⟨Κυπρίοις⟩ δὲ γλῶττα. (According to Gutas, the omission of Κυπρίοις in the Arabic is accidental.) Gudeman added these words to our text of the *Poetics*, believing that their omission from Ξ was caused by the homoioteleuton γλῶττα ... γλῶττα. His proposal is possible, yet I remain skeptical because the addition is not needed. The text of Ξ sufficiently explains Aristotle's point: ὥστε φανερὸν ὅτι καὶ γλῶτταν καὶ κύριον εἶναι

δυνατὸν τὸ αὐτό, μὴ τοῖς αὐτοῖς δέ. Moreover, Aristotle is writing for an Athenian audience who is unlikely to be interested in which words are strange for the Cyprians. No doubt neither the Syriac nor the Arabic translator interpolated the words, but they look like a "learned" marginal gloss which was later added to the text of Σ or of its ultimate source.

1457b14 ταναήκεϊ. This word, conjectured by Margoliouth (but with a different accent, cf. critical apparatus), was perhaps also the reading of Σ, cf. Gutas' detailed note on 1457b14. It is probably also the right reading in Empedocles 31 B 143 (= 129 Wright), as Wright (1981), pp. 146–147 saw. She is wrong, however, in ascribing it to **B**, since **B** has τανακέϊ, cf. Schrier (1988b), p. 577 with note 7.

1457b24 ἢ. This is the reading of Ξ, which Σ omitted. I keep it as *lectio difficilior*: Aristotle assumes that the verse of Empedocles he has in mind is well known to the reader, though at present we do not have it. The two quotations that follow are not by Empedocles. As Bywater says, Aristotle sometimes refers in this way to something readers know: cf. 17, 1455b9–10 (εἴθ' ὡς Εὐριπίδης); 25, 1460b36–1461a1 (εἰ ἔτυχεν ὥσπερ Ξενοφάνει), *Met.* Γ. 5, 1010a5–6 (οὕτω γὰρ ἁρμόττει μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν ἢ ὥσπερ Ἐπίχαρμος εἰς Ξενοφάνην).

1457b27–28 ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνώνυμον. M. Schmidt's conjecture, ἐπί, should be accepted because "from the sun" (the reading of the archetype) is not what the context requires. Bywater cites as a parallel *Politics* III. 1, 1275a30–31: ἀνώνυμον τὸ κοινὸν ἐπὶ δικαστοῦ καὶ ἐκκλησιαστοῦ. The prepositions ἐπί and ἀπό are frequently confused by scribes. Here, however, the change may have been purposely done.

1457b29 τὸν καρπόν. The Arabic translation does not support Castelvetro's emendation ⟨τὸν ἀφιέντα⟩ τὸν καρπόν. Cf. Gutas *ad loc.*

1457b32–33 ἀλλ' ἄοινον. Victorius' conjecture is palmary. The archetype must have had ΑΛΛΑΟΙΝΟΥ. In Σ the letters were not divided into words, and so the translator read ἀλλὰ οἴνου, as did also the three scribes who transliterated from majuscule MSS, α, β, γ, for which cf. the genealogical tree preceding the *Sigla*.

1457b33 ⟨⟩.** As Madius (not Robortello, *pace* Gudeman) saw, a lacuna must be postulated here, because the definition of κόσμος is missing. The

omission goes back to the archetype. Gudeman suggested it was due to homoioteleuton; following him Schenkeveld (1993b), p. 87 conjectures that the passage on κόσμος ended with φιάλην ἄοινον, so that in the case of ἄοινον … ἄοινον the scribe's eye jumped from the former to the latter. In this way the passage about κόσμος was lost. Schenkeveld makes this interesting suggestion in a learned discussion, which cannot be dealt with here, about the meaning of κόσμος in Aristotle and in the so-called Theophrastus papyrus.

1457b35 ἐρνύγας. The correct accentuation of this word is uncertain because there is no evidence for its nominative singular. I have printed it as it appears in **A**, the accent supported by **B**, in which case it may come from ἐρνύγη, as Bywater says. Victorius' conjecture ἔρνυγας, accepted by Kassel, presupposes that the word comes from ἔρνυξ. Hesychius says: ἔρνυτας (for ἔρνυγας?). ἔρνη. βλαστήματα. κλάδοι. But it is not clear that this helps.

1458a2 ᾗ. One more example of A's failure to accentuate correctly. Cf. e.g. the critical apparatus on 1448a3.

1458a3 ἀφῃρημένον τι ᾖ. This is the reading of Φ, the only primary MS that preserves the authentic text. Σ probably had ἀφῃρημένον but beyond this it cannot be reconstructed, cf. Gutas *ad loc.* The reading of **A**, ἀφήρη μὲν ὄντι once more justifies the inference that **A** and Φ are based on different transliterations of Π.

1458a4 Πηλείδου. This, in *Parisinus* 2038, is probably a conjecture. The reading of Σ is not extant, since Ar. does not translate the examples given in 1458a3–5. Cf. Gutas' note *ad loc.*

1458a5 ὄψ. Victorius' palmary conjecture for A's and **B**'s οης. In this case, but not in 1456a2 (cf. *ad loc.*), ΟΗΣ = ΟΠΣ.

1458a13–14 τὸ γὰρ Ψ καὶ τὸ Ξ σύνθετά ἐστιν. After Ξ Bywater has added τῷ Σ, an anonymous conjecture found in Tyrwhitt. But neither this nor Reiz's ⟨καὶ Σ⟩ is supported by the Arabic translation, which shows that Σ read σύνθετα, not ταὐτά or ταῦτα. In what precedes Aristotle has said that there are as many endings for masculine nouns as there are for feminine. In the former case they were said to be N, P, and Σ <u>καὶ ὅσα ἐκ τούτου σύγκειται</u> (ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶν δύο, Ψ καὶ Ξ). Hence in the

present passage, clearly, by saying that Ψ and Ξ are *σύνθετα* he is recalling his earlier statement in 1458a9–10. No addition is needed, and even with it, the sense is not as satisfactory as with the reading of Σ.

1458a15–17 εἰς … Σ. The text as printed is either right, in which case Aristotle has been inaccurate, or not reliable, though we may be unable to emend it. The following three notes give the details.

1458a15–16 εἰς … πέπερι. Aristotle says that these are the only three words ending in iota, but there are more, like κίκι mentioned by Plato in *Timaeus* 60 A 7. Cf. also Lobeck's *Phryn.*, p. 28, cited by Bywater. The latter suggests that in Aristotle's opinion such words may not have been sufficiently naturalized to require recognition. Still τρία μόνον is an overstatement.

1458a16 πέντε ⟨⟩.** There are here two questions: 1) is the number "five" right? 2) did Aristotle list the five words or not? To begin with πέντε, attested in our four sources for the text, the problem is that there are more than five words ending in Y, as Bywater acknowledges (cf. Herodian, p. 354 [Lentz]): hence either the number "five" is corrupt or Aristotle has made a mistake. I do not find persuasive Bywater's suggestion that Aristotle decided to ignore words like γλάφυ, δάκρυ, μῶλυ, φῖτυ as antiquated and took account "only of those which formed part of the existing Attic vocabulary." Would Aristotle have done so in a work devoted to Greek poetry, and especially to the Drama and the Homeric Epics? Take, for example, δάκρυ, a word used by poets for metrical reasons (cf. L.S.J. *s.v.*) and by Thucydides in prose (VII, 75, 4). Wouldn't or shouldn't Aristotle have taken it into account? 2) did Aristotle list the words or not? The testimony of Ξ is that he did not, but the Arabic translation (which probably goes back to Σ, cf. Gutas *ad loc.*) transcribes five: δόρυ πῶυ νᾶπυ γόνυ and a fifth which it is not possible to make out but which is certainly not ἄστυ. Kassel refers to a marginal note by G. Valla found in the *Estensis* α. T. 8. 3 (*olim Estensis* 100), which lists the following five words: τὸ πῶυ τὸ νᾶπυ τὸ γόνυ τὸ δόρυ τὸ ἄστυ. This list also appears in some *recentiores*, probably from the *Estensis*. It is not known whether Valla had a manuscript source or whether he supplied these words from his knowledge of Greek, the latter being more likely, as he did not indicate they should be added to the text. The word order he gives is different from that in Ar., and the two lists differ in one word. I have thought it best to follow Kassel in indicating a lacuna after πέντε.

1458a16–17 τὰ … Σ. Bywater has two suggestions: (*a*) to follow Morel and add *καὶ* P so as to complete the kind of neuter words that end in a consonant; (*b*) to suppose that ταῦτα "was meant to recall not only the two vowels (I and Y) just considered, but also A, which has been described in the preceding context (a12) as one of the ἐπεκτεινόμενα or dichronous vowels. In that case ταῦτα will stand allusively for τὰ ἐπεκτεινόμενα and include A as well as I and Y." I find his second suggestion implausible and think it necessary to add ⟨καὶ A⟩ after ταῦτα, as suggested by Morel. The addition found in Ar. after the letter Σ probably does not go back to Aristotle, cf. Gutas' note on 1458a17.

1458a28 ἄλλων. Since this is the reading of Σ it is not necessary to print it within pointed brackets, as Kassel does. It may have been omitted in Ξ by homoioteleuton; it is required by the context since there must be a contrast between a combination of other words and a combination of metaphors.

οὐχ οἷόν τε. The reading of A, οὐχοίονται, not mentioned by Kassel, is probably one more indication that A and Φ go back to two different transliterations of Π.

1458a28–29 κατὰ δὲ τὴν μεταφορῶν. Sc. σύνθεσιν. Bywater's emendation is supported by the fact that this phrase is contrasted to the previous κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ὀνομάτων σύνθεσιν. As he says, "It is the combination of metaphors that produces the sense of impossibility (comp. ἀδύνατα συνάψαι in a27) which is of the essence of αἴνιγμα." The mistake in our MSS comes from assimilating the ending of μεταφορῶν to the preceding article τήν.

1458b9 ἰαμβοποιήσας ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ λέξει. We should take ἐν as instrumental: "making fun, caricaturizing by means of its very language." By lengthening two short vowels in the first quotation we can read it as a hexameter. Aristotle qualifies such expressions as ridiculous (1458b11–12). What is ridiculous in the first line is that the statement "I saw Epichares walking towards Marathon" is prosaic; in addition, βαδίζειν is not an epic word. In the second example, the very statement, "especially not loving that man's hellebore," is ridiculous since the hellebore was a drug given to mental patients; moreover, ἐλλέβορος is not an epic or poetic word. But in this instance it is not clear how by lengthening one or more syllables the line can be read as poetry.

1458b10 ἄν γ' ἐράμενος. This, the emendation of some *recentiores*, yields a good sense and is closer to what **A** and **B** have than any other proposal such as ἂν γευσάμενος (Tyrwhitt), ἂν πριάμενος (Gomperz).

1459a17 ἐν μέτρῳ. = "in meter." There is no need to emend, as Butcher does. Cf. 5, 1449b9–10, where Epic is said to agree with Tragedy in being an imitation of worthy men (σπουδαίων) μετὰ μέτρου. Only in 1449b11–12 is it said to differ from Tragedy in that its meter is ἁπλοῦν. Here, in his lengthy discussion of Epic, Aristotle gives its difference from Tragedy in relation to its meter in 24, 1459b31–1460a5. The reading of Π is to be adopted, for it is far superior to ἐμμέτρου, a *lectio facilior*.

1459a21–22 καὶ μὴ ὁμοίας ἱστορίαις τὰς συνθέσεις εἶναι. Aristotle has said that the plots of epics should, like those of tragedies, have organic unity "and that the compositions (i.e. the putting together of the elements of the plots) not be similar to histories," for the reasons given in 1459a22 ff. ἱστορίαις τὰς συνθέσεις, the conjecture of Sophianus and of Dacier (which may also have been the reading of Σ), is practically the reading of **B**, since in its ἱστορίαις τὰς συνθήσεις (*sic*), the last word is merely the result of the frequent mistake η for ε, and σύνθησις is hardly attested. Bywater's acceptance of the reading of **A**, which leads him to change εἶναι to θεῖναι, is a good example of the mistakes originating from the dogma that **A** is the only independent witness to the text of the *Poetics*. Yet Bywater could have been acquainted with the text of **B** and certainly knew Dacier's emendation.

1459a28 θάτερον μετὰ θάτερον. The reading of *Parisinus* 2038, though probably an emendation, must be right, for the context requires "one event after another," not "one event with another."

1459a33–34 ὁ μῦθος ἤ. This, the reading of **B**, is supported by the Arabic translation which seems to have construed the Greek as if it were ὁ μῦθος ᾗ, cf. Gutas' note *ad loc*. The probability then is that Σ had ΟΜΥΘΟΣΗ. Whereas **A** has ἤ only, Lat. here has a lacuna of eight letters. Cf. Minio's critical apparatus on his p. 30, 10–11.

1459a36 [δὶς]. The original presence of δίς in **A** and Lat.'s *bis bis* shows that in Π, ΔΙΣ was probably a dittography of the ΔΙΑ in the following διαλαμβάνει.

1459b3–4 μία … πολλαί. There is a change of construction in Lat.: *unam tragodiam efficit utriusque aut duas solas ex Cypriis autem multas …* which however does not necessarily imply that the text of Φ here was different from that of A.

1459b5–7 [πλέον … Τρῳάδες]. In all probability these words were not written by Aristotle but are a gloss later introduced into the text. There is a lengthy discussion of the passage in Else, pp. 588–593, whom Kassel has followed, most of it devoted to an analysis of the list itself where Else detects two interpolators who, he alleges, made use of Proclus' *Chrestomathia*.[48] According to him, within the longer excision, one must excise πλέον in line 5 and καὶ Σίνων καὶ Τρῳάδες in line 7. The list itself need not be discussed here, for we are only concerned with the authorship of the present passage. Else, however, is so preoccupied with his theory about the anomalies he sees in the list that he does not state the main reason to doubt the Aristotelian authorship of the passage as a whole.[49] The more likely reason to excise these lines is that Aristotle is never so obliging as to give long lists of plays in illustration of the contents or plots included in an Epic. Moreover, there is no explanation why he should here give all these detailed titles, whether eight or ten, in the case of the *Little Iliad*, but no information at all about the contents of the *Cypria*, especially since the *Cypria* has been mentioned for the same purpose as the *Little Iliad* in what precedes, 1459a35–b5. Rather, as several scholars have emphasized, it is more natural to take καὶ τῆς μικρᾶς Ἰλιάδος as depending on πολλαί in b4, just as ἐκ δὲ Κυπρίων is.[50] Given

[48] This Proclus is more likely to be a second century CE author than the Neoplatonic philosopher (fifth century CE) of that name. Cf. R. Henry, *Photius. Bibliothèque*, Tome V, p. 156 n. 1 with references. For a critical edition of Proclus, cf. A. Severyns, *Recherches sur la Chrestomathie de Proclos*, IV. *La Vita Homeri et les sommaires du Cycle*. Texte et traduction (Paris, 1963).

[49] Else's theory is too neat. For example, he has to conjecture that the first interpolator got the first six titles from Proclus' summary of the *Little Iliad*, (for the text cf. Severyns, *op. cit.*, pp. 89, 205–290, 229) and that he took Ἰλίου πέρσις and ἀπόπλους from the following summary of the Ἰλίου πέρσις. (Text in Severyns, *op. cit.*, pp. 91, 278–292, 267.) Is such a conjecture credible for someone who from Ὀδυσσεύς τε αἰκισάμενος ἑαυτὸν κατάσκοπος εἰς Ἴλιον (p. 90, 224–225 [Severyns]) inferred the title πτωχεία on the basis of *Odyssey* 4. 247–248 ἄλλῳ δ' αὐτὸν φωτὶ κατακρύπτων ἤϊσκε | δέκτῃ, ὃς οὐδὲν τοῖος ἔην ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν? Is it not more likely that he knew Ἰλίου πέρσις to be the title of a play? Cf. Bywater's note on 1459b6 on top of his p. 310.

[50] Only Lat. has *ex* before τῆς μικρᾶς Ἰλιάδος. But since Moerbeke may have translated again the preceding preposition, especially as he wrote it before *Parva Iliade plus quam octo*, we cannot infer that Φ also repeated the preposition.

Else's theory, one should emphasize that "more than eight" is attested in all our four sources for the text. Moreover, if the Arabic is reliable, Σ had only seven plays in asyndetic order except for the last (cf. the critical apparatus), and two titles πτωχεία and ἀπόπλους are not attested. However, as the passage is in all probability an interpolation, it is perhaps impossible for us to recover its original text.

1459b8 δεῖ. The variants here are a clear example of mistakes originating in majuscule writing; that of **A**, also in iotacism.

1459b16 δὲ. This connective, and not γάρ, is required by the context, since πρὸς τούτοις κτλ. gives two additional items in which Homer surpasses all other Epic poets. It cannot give the reason why Homer excels in the items described in what precedes.

1459b17 κατά τε τῆς συστάσεως τὸ μῆκος. I believe the reading of **A** is preferable both because of the presence of τε and also as *lectio difficilior*.

1459b24 πραττόμενα. Better attested and superior in sense to **B**'s πραττομένοις, probably due to the preceding ἅμα.

1459b30 καὶ. The emendation suggested by Kassel in his critical apparatus is unnecessary: καί is the reading of the archetype, and writing καί instead of τῷ cannot be explained paleographically.

1459b33 διηγηματικὴν μίμησιν. Bywater accepted **A**'s διηγητικήν. Since throughout the *Poetics*, including ἡ διηγηματικὴ μίμησις below in ll. 36–37, Aristotle uses διηγηματική, the reading of **B** should be accepted, as Kassel has done. Bywater did not know that **B** is a primary witness, or that its reading is διηγηματικήν.

1459b36–37 περιττὴ ... τῶν ἄλλων. Undoubtedly Twining's addition of ταύτῃ makes the reading easier; Kassel says "*fort. recte*." But in 1459b31–1460a1 Aristotle is trying to prove the superiority of the hexameter as the meter of Epic poetry. We can therefore easily understand that the superiority of ἡ διηγηματικὴ μίμησις to other poetic forms in respect to strange words and metaphors depends on its meter. In short, ταύτῃ or ταύταις can be mentally supplied from the context. Cf. also the contrast, in 1459b37–1460a1, with τὸ δὲ ἰαμβεῖον καὶ τετράμετρον κινητικὰ καὶ τὸ μὲν ὀρχηστικὸν τὸ δὲ πρακτικόν. Here γὰρ καί = "for in fact," and there is

no need, *pace* Bywater and Else, to change γάρ to δέ. For the genitive of comparison after περιττή cf. Kühner-Gerth, I, §420. 2, pp. 391–392.

1460a4 αὑτῇ. In his critical apparatus Kassel has no entry on this reading, another case of wrong accentuation in **A**. Cf. e.g. the critical apparatus on 1448a3.

1460a5 αἱρεῖσθαι. The mistaken reading of **A** and **B**, διαιρεῖσθαι, could have originated in majuscule writing or in the transliteration to minuscules. Since αἱρεῖσθαι is the reading of Φ (Lat. has *eligere*), this is one more indication that Φ and **A** go back to two different transliterations of Π.

1460a6 δή. **B** has δεῖ here. For the reverse mistake cf. on 1459b8.

1460a7 αὐτὸν γὰρ δεῖ. This is the superior word order, since αὐτόν here is emphatic.

1460a11 οὐδέν' ἀήθη. Victorius' palmary emendation of the MSS' readings, obviously one more case of wrong word division.

1460a13 ἄλογον. Victorius' emendation of the archetype's ἀνάλογον. Two lines above (δεῖ μὲν οὖν κτλ.) the fourth difference between Epic poetry and Tragedy begins. Epic is superior to Tragedy in its greater tolerance of ἄλογα, i.e. irrationalities, things which cannot be explained as either necessary or probable. Cf. Bywater's note *ad loc.* and also on 15, 1454b6. The reading ἀνάλογον yields no reasonable sense here. It may have been caused by dittography and the confusion of Λ with N. ΑΛ → ΑΝΑΛ.

δι' ὅ. The reading of *Parisinus* 2038 (probably a conjecture) and of Φ. Since **A** has διό it may be another indication that Φ and **A** go back to two different transliterations of Π.

1460a16 μὲν. **B** sometimes mistakenly writes μὲν οὖν where μέν is correct. Cf. also above 1460a8, etc.

1460a17–1461a7 ἡδὺ … πρὸς. For the omission of this passage in the Ar. cf. Gutas' note *ad loc.* It was possible to obtain a few readings from Avicenna; they are listed in the critical apparatus.

1460a21 τουδὶ ὄντος τοδὶ ᾗ ἠ. The readings of the primary MSS on these words show the difficulties encountered at the time of the transliterations in separating the letters to form words and to place accents. In the case of τουδὶ ὄντος there is also an indication that **Φ** and **A** come from two different transliterations of Π.

1460a23 δεῖ. The δή of Π is a frequent mistake in MSS, as well as vice versa δεῖ for δή. Cf. on 1460a6.

ἄλλο δὲ. The readings of the primary MSS show a combination of two mistakes: problems with word separation, and assimilation of ἄλλον (for ἄλλο) to the ending of τούτου. Once more the difference between **A** and **Φ** points to two different transliterations of Π.

1460a24 ᾗ. No reason to excise this word, guaranteed in fact by the meaningless ἤ of the primary MSS.

1460a26 τούτου τὸ. This, the reading of **B**, removes the awkwardness Bywater, for example, felt in his translation and in his note *ad loc.*

1460a32 Τεγέας. **B** and Lat. show that the scribes failed to recognize the proper name.

1460a34–35 ἂν … ἄτοπον. This passage may have its difficulties, but Kassel's radical solution of placing it between daggers is surely hypercritical. Two main interpretations have been offered: (*a*) to place a comma after εὐλογωτέρως ἐνδέχεσθαι and supply δεῖ with ἐνδέχεσθαι from l. 34. Our passage would mean that if the poet has included an ἄλογον in his plot, and if it appears rather probable, then one must (or one may) accept even an absurdity (καὶ ἄτοπον). The second interpretation, (*b*), is Bywater's. He thinks that with ἐνδέχεσθαι we must supply θεῖναι from the preceding θῇ.[51] The meaning would then be: "But if the poet has posited τὸ ἄλογον in the sequence of events (or in the plot) and it appears that he might have put it in a more probable form, he is guilty of a fault of art and of absurdity." The latter interpretation is supported by what precedes and follows, the former is not. Aristotle has been comparing Tragedy and Epic in regard to τὸ

[51] He suggests that with ἂν δὲ θῇ we supply τοιοῦτον μῦθον ὁ ποιητής or, with Bonitz (but there must be a misprint in Bywater's reference to him), τὸ ἄλογον ἐν τῇ συστάσει τοῦ μύθου, or simply τὸ ἄλογον ἐν τῷ μύθῳ.

ἄλογον (cf. 1460a11 ff.), and in the case of Epic he is particularly emphasizing Homer's excellence in handling the irrational within the plot. But though Epic admits such use of the irrational in the plot, he believes that Tragedy should avoid it altogether or, if that is not possible, should have it outside the plot, ἔξω τοῦ μυθεύματος (e.g. in Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*), but not within, as in the case of Sophocles' *Electra*, etc. (In 1460a25–35, παράδειγμα … ἄτοπον, Aristotle is concerned with the possibility of τὸ ἄλογον in Tragedy; only then does he go back to Epic with an example from the *Odyssey* by way of contrast with what precedes, cf. *infra*.) Aristotle adds that to say that the play or plot would be ruined without the ἄλογον is ridiculous (1460a33 ὥστε τὸ λέγειν ὅτι ἀνῄρετο ἂν ὁ μῦθος γέλοιον), since fundamentally one should not construct such plots. Then comes the passage with which we are concerned. That Aristotle cannot mean to say that in a tragedy one must or may accept even an absurdity (ἄτοπον) in the plot is also shown by what follows (1460a35–b2): Even in the case of the *Odyssey* (i.e. in a genre that admits ἄλογα in its plots) the improbabilities (τὰ ἄλογα) in the setting of Odysseus ashore would be clearly unacceptable if an inferior poet should handle them; but as it is, the poet (sc. Homer) conceals them with his other superior qualities, sweetening up τὸ ἄτοπον. Let me summarize: Aristotle believes that in the case of Tragedy the inclusion of τὸ ἄλογον within the plot ruins the play; that in the concentrated plots of Tragedy, their organic unity, the law, as he sees it, that events must succeed one another according to probability or necessity, is incompatible with the presence of τὸ ἄλογον, the irrational, within the plot. If a tragedy cannot avoid the irrational, then it must be placed outside the plot, as in the *Oedipus Rex*.

1460a35–36 ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ὀδυσσείᾳ ἄλογα. "(This is so) because even the irrationalities in the *Odyssey* …". Here again ἐπεί presupposes an ellipsis, for it gives the explanation not of the preceding statement, but of part of the reason for having made that statement. Cf. note on 1448b17 with references.

1460b8 ὡσπερανεὶ. The reading of **A** and **B** consists in wrong word separation.

1460b16–21 εἰ μὲν γὰρ … ἑαυτήν. This passage as printed in Kassel's edition embodies Vahlen's interpretation, which Bywater was right in opposing. Aristotle has just said that "correctness," ὀρθότης, in poetry is different from ὀρθότης in any of the other τέχναι. There are then two

possibilities of error, ἁμαρτία, in the art of poetry: (*a*) an essential error in the art itself, ἡ μὲν καθ' αὑτήν; or (*b*) an error incidental to the art itself, ἡ δὲ κατὰ συμβεβηκός.[52] The clause εἰ … ἁμαρτία in ll. 16–17 deals with (*a*). There is something missing in the protasis, and Vahlen rightly postulated a lacuna before ἀδυναμίαν, something like ⟨ὀρθῶς, ἥμαρτε δὲ δι'⟩.[53] That is to say, if the poet chose to imitate correctly, but failed because of inability, then the error belongs to the art of poetry itself. Before dealing with (*b*) in the next note, the text of lines 17–21 must be settled. First, in l. 18 the article before προελέσθαι should be τῷ (*Parisinus* 2038) and not τό (**A**).[54] Secondly, the addition there of ἅμ' before ἄμφω (Kassel's text, based on Vahlen's) is unnecessary. Thirdly, in l. 20, ἢ ἀδύνατα πεποίηται should not be excised, since the alternative "or any impossibility whatever" is needed to balance ἢ τὸ καθ' ἑκάστην τέχνην ἁμάρτημα. (In line 20 οἷον … τέχνην is a parenthesis.) In what follows, 1460b23 ff. Aristotle first discusses ἀδύνατα and gives as an example of it the pursuit of Hector by Achilles in the *Iliad*, which he already mentioned in 24, 1460a14–17 in connection with the possibility of including τὸ ἄλογον within the plot of the Epic. (The presence of ἀδύνατα in 1461b23 is also noteworthy, and πεποίηται must be supplied as well with ἢ τὸ καθ' ἑκάστην τέχνην ἁμάρτημα.) Finally, in l. 21 we must write ὁποῖ' ἂν οὖν (sc. ᾖ) with Bywater. In ll. 18–19, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἵππον ἄμφω τὰ δεξιὰ προβεβληκότα is a concrete example of the preceding μὴ ὀρθῶς, sc. μιμήσασθαι. (Evidently Aristotle is thinking of a picture.) This example illustrates, according to Aristotle's opinion, a scientific mistake, cf. *De Incessu Animal.* 14, 712, a24–b3. Leaving this aside for the moment, one may sum up ll. 17–21 thus: If the poet's ἁμαρτία is due to his decision of not imitating correctly, either by representing something that goes against a τέχνη or by portraying any ἀδύνατα that may be, then the error does not essentially belong to the art of poetry itself.

1460b22–23 ⟨εἰ⟩ … ἡμάρτηται. The notion that ἀδύνατα πεποίηται can stand by itself as a rhetorical device for putting the supposition for debate, the interpretation of Überweg, which Kassel seems to follow, is not at all persuasive. For here there is a strong contrast between ἡμάρτηται in line 23 and ἀλλ' ὀρθῶς ἔχει, εἰ τυγχάνει τοῦ τέλους τοῦ αὑτῆς

[52] This makes use of the well-known distinction between essence and accident in Aristotle's philosophy.

[53] In his note on 1460b16 Gutas states that from Avicenna's paraphrase, it appears there was also a lacuna in Σ.

[54] There are other examples of **A**'s—or **B**'s—writing τό for τῷ.

κτλ. in lines 24–25. In fact the latter expression shows that we must place εἰ before τά in line 22 (as A[2] did) and not before ἀδύνατα as *Parisinus* 2038 and Vahlen have done. We must also remove the colon Kassel placed after τέχνην in line 23.

1460b27 ἢ μᾶλλον ἢ ⟨μὴ⟩ ἧττον. Überweg conjectured ἢ μή, but the ἤ after μᾶλλον is attested by **B**, by Lat., and by a second hand in **A**. Cf., with Bywater, *Metaphysics* K. 5, 1062a25–27: δόξειε δὲ κἂν οὐχ ἵππον εἶναι φάσκων τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἢ μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχ ἧττον ἀληθεύειν ἢ οὐκ ἄνθρωπον.

1460b28 [ἡμαρτῆσθαι] οὐκ ὀρθῶς. Here the infinitive would yield the wrong sense: it must be a dittography of ἡμαρτῆσθαι in the next line, as Bywater has shown in *JP* 14 (1884), p. 52.

1460b32 ἢ εἰ. The reading of **A** here (η η) suggests that it is close to the transliterated MS.

1460b33 ἀλλ' ἴσως ⟨ὡς⟩ δεῖ. Vahlen's addition of ὡς, omitted by homoioteleuton, seems to be necessary. With δεῖ we must understand εἶναι.

1460b36 οὕτω. This, the reading of some *recentiores* for the οὔτε of our MSS, is better than the excision of Bywater, who follows *Parisinus* 2038. The transmitted οὔτε is due to a mechanical repetition of the previous and following οὔτε. It is more likely that some word was present than that a scribe inserted it.

1461a1 οὖν. Certainly the οὗ of the MSS cannot be right, since it yields the wrong sense. For ἀλλ' οὖν = "but at any rate," Bywater refers to Kühner-Gerth, II, § 507, 4 (b), p. 160 and to Bonitz, *Index* 33b33–36.

τὰ δὲ. The reading of Π is merely the result of wrong word division.

1461a3 τότ' ἐνόμιζον. These diverse readings of **Φ** and of **A** indicate perhaps that they derive from two different transliterations of Π.

1461a8 οὗ ἕνεκεν. For the diverse readings of **Φ** and of **A** here cf. on 1461a3.

1461a9–b21 τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν λέξιν … Μενελάου. In this long section Aristotle cites, and comments on, many passages from Greek poetry.

To discuss each citation would amount to writing a full commentary, which is not the purpose of these notes. Bywater deals with most of the difficulties, and even if his opinions do not always command assent, he places before the reader practically all the relevant material. I therefore merely discuss some of the readings and emendations proposed.

1461a12 ὅς ῥ' ἦ τοι. The Homeric line is *Iliad* 10, 316, which reads ὃς δή τοι. Vahlen's emendation, in so far as the letters are concerned, is the reading of **B**.

1461a14 τὸ[1]. *Pace* Kassel, **B** does not have τό but the damaged reading τ̣-.

1461a15 κέραιε οὐ. The reading of **A**, κέραι ἔου, is due to wrong word division.

1461a16–17 πάντες … παννύχιοι. There is no question that Aristotle meant to quote *Iliad* 10, 1–2 (ἄλλοι μὲν παρὰ νηυσὶν ἀριστῆρες Παναχαιῶν | εὗδον παννύχιοι), since he immediately relates this passage (ἅμα δέ φησιν) to *Iliad* 10, 11 and part of line 13 (ἤτοι ὅτ' ἐς πεδίον τὸ Τρωϊκὸν ἀθρήσειε, |…| αὐλῶν συρίγγων τ' ἐνοπὴν ὅμαδον). But, as Bywater says, he seems to have mixed up 10, 1–2 with 2, 1–2: ἄλλοι μέν ῥα θεοί τε καὶ ἀνέρες ἱπποκορυσταὶ | εὗδον παννύχιοι. It ought to be clear that Aristotle wrote πάντες and not ἄλλοι, since in ll. 19–20 he says, τὸ γὰρ πάντες ἀντὶ τοῦ πολλοὶ κατὰ μεταφορὰν εἴρηται. (Bywater's proposal to insert ⟨ἅπαντες⟩ before παννύχιοι is not persuasive.) Hence we can infer that scribes of the *Poetics* in writing ἄλλοι have altered what Aristotle wrote to make it agree with their texts of Homer. In this case we can conjecture with great probability that ἄλλοι was introduced into the text before or at the time of the establishment of the archetype. Another interesting point: since the authority of Φ and Σ is superior to that of **A** and **B**, and since the probability, at least here, is that Aristotle is quoting from memory, it is more likely than not that he wrote ἱπποκορυσταί. In the Syro-Arabic translation the word order "men and gods" (rather than "gods and men") may be due to the translator(s).

1461a22–23 ὥσπερ … ὄμβρῳ. For a discussion of Aristotle's text of Homer in these lines, with full quotations of all relevant Aristotelian texts, cf. Bywater's notes. For Hippias of Thasos' solutions κατὰ προσῳδίαν cf. *Soph. Elench.* 4, 166b1–9.

1461a33 οἷον τῷ. Bywater's conjecture, τῷ for the τό of ΑΒΣ must be accepted and, as he says, οἷον τῷ is equivalent here to οἷον ἐν τῷ, the preposition to be supplied from the preceding ἐν τῷ εἰρημένῳ. However, his reference to his note on 2, 1448a10 should be disregarded, since there the text he adopts is faulty.

1461a34–35 ὡδὶ ἢ ὡδί, ὡς. This, the reading of **B** (which Vahlen had conjectured) should put an end to the several emendations suggested. Cf. Bywater's note for Aristotelian parallels to ὡδὶ ἢ ὡδί.

1461a35–b1 μάλιστ' … λέγει. I have followed Bywater in removing any punctuation after ὑπολάβοι, so that μάλιστα be taken with κατὰ τὴν καταντικρύ. He cites as parallel *Metaphysics* A. 8, 989a31–32: μάλιστ' ἂν ὑπολάβοι κατὰ λόγον, ὃν ἐκεῖνος αὐτὸς μὲν οὐ διήρθρωσεν, κτλ., and refers to several other passages. For the ἢ ὡς before Γλαύκων it is sufficient to cite one of the several parallels Vahlen gives, 22, 1458b3 ἄλλως ἔχειν ἢ ὡς τὸ κύριον.

1461b1 ὅτι ἔνιοι ἀλόγως προϋπολαμβάνουσί τι. It is hardly likely that Aristotle would have added a new point after λέγει, leaving without any explanation what Glaucon said. Hence ὅτι, even if only a scribal emendation, must be right, and the reading ἔτι of Σ does not seem acceptable: OTI was probably read as ETI. Concerning the word that follows ὅτι the tradition is divided between two possible readings. If we read ἔνια we must omit the τι of **B** after προϋπολαμβάνουσι. On the other hand, if we accept ἔνιοι we must have τι to provide an object for that verb. I have adopted the same text as Kassel because in such a polemical remark it gives a more reasonable sense. From ἔνιοι to οἰήσει in line 3 we have a quotation or semi quotation of Glaucon's statement.

1461b3–1462a18 ἐπιτιμῶσιν … τέλος. On the omission of this passage in **B** cf. Chapter Three (*d*).

1461b6–7 Κεφαλλῆνες. For the accuracy of Tyrwhitt's correction (and, earlier, of *Parisinus* 2038) cf. Bywater's note.

1461b9 εἰκός ἐστιν. There is no reason to think, *pace* Kassel, that εἰκός ἐστιν is corrupt. His suggestion to read εἰ Ἰκάδιός for εἰκός is ingenious but not more than that. The meaning of δι' ἁμάρτημα δὲ τὸ πρόβλημα εἰκός ἐστιν is "It is because of an error that the problem seems reasonable," as

Madius saw. Another possibility is to supply εἶναι with Bywater, cf. his note *ad loc.* and his translation.

1461b12 ἴσως γὰρ ἀδύνατον. Vahlen rightly conjectured the lacuna here, supplying *καὶ εἰ ἀδύνατον*, while Gomperz proposed *καὶ ἴσως ἀδύνατον*. The Arabic translation implies a Greek text that read ἴσως γὰρ ἀδύνατον, cf. Gutas' note *ad loc.* Also Janko has adopted the reading of Σ. I have punctuated with a full stop before ἴσως because γάρ here implies an ellipsis, since the γάρ clause does not directly explain the preceding πρός τε γὰρ τὴν ποίησιν αἱρετώτερον πιθανὸν ἀδύνατον ἢ ἀπίθανον καὶ δυνατόν. Aristotle had already said (24, 1460a26–27) προαιρεῖσθαί τε δεῖ ἀδύνατα εἰκότα μᾶλλον ἢ δυνατὰ ἀπίθανα.

1461b17–18 ὥστε … ὑποθῆται. Kassel considers αὐτόν corrupt and in his critical apparatus records M. Schmidt's emendation λυτέον and his own proposal ἐναντίον. But Vahlen, *Beiträge*, pp. 212–213 and Bywater (*ad loc.*) have explained the transmitted text satisfactorily: we must take the ὥστε clause closely with what precedes, τὰ δὲ ὑπεναντίως … ὡσαύτως (ll. 15–17). In that case, as Bywater has it, ὥστε … ὑποθῆται is equivalent to ὥστε καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν ὑπεναντίως εἰρηκέναι ἢ πρὸς ἃ αὐτὸς λέγει ἢ πρὸς ὃ ἂν φρόνιμος ὑποθῆται. Given the preceding statement that the contradictions found in the poet's language must be investigated ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἔλεγχοι εἰ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ πρὸς τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ὡσαύτως, the procedure suggested is the same as that of *Soph. Elench.* 15, 174b19–23, as Vahlen pointed out.

1461b19 ἀλογίᾳ καὶ μοχθηρίᾳ. The datives are Vahlen's conjectures, for which cf. his *Beiträge*, pp. 343–344.

1461b21 Αἰγεῖ, ἢ τῇ. This is Victorius' palmary conjecture (Robortello had already proposed Αἰγεῖ). So far as the letters are concerned, it is the reading of A.

1461b28 δ' ἤ. The reading of Σ. That of A, δή, is another case of wrong word division; in this case, of failure to divide.

ἀεί, λίαν. This is Vahlen's emendation of the ΔΕΙΛΙΑΝ presupposed by the reading of A; its origin was the confusion of A with Δ and failure to divide the letters. For the position of ἀεί, cf. *Eth. Nic.*1. 5, 1097b19–20 ἀγαθῶν τὸ μεῖζον αἱρετώτερον ἀεί.

1461b34 πίθηκον. The Arabic translation, *gālās*, implies the Syriac *galas*, a word for monkey. Gudeman has conjectured that Σ had καλλίαν and has adopted this reading. But in Greek καλλίας = monkey has a special meaning: it is either a humorous euphemism for ape or means "tamed ape" (cf. LSJ *s.v.* and also the *Supplement*), which is not what the context requires. Moreover, the fact that Syriac could have rendered πίθηκον also by the term *galas* means that Σ did not necessarily have καλλίαν. Even if it did, πίθηκον is to be retained here. Avicenna's paraphrase shows that he understood Aristotle is here referring to a simian. Cf. Gutas' note *ad loc.*

1462a7 ὅπερ ἐποίει Σωσίστρατος. I have adopted the reading of Σ and of *Parisinus* 2038 because as it stands, the reading of Π, ἐστί does not yield a reasonable sense, and ὅπερ Σωσίστρατος by itself is awkward. On the other hand, the repetition of the verb ἐποίει later in the line is perhaps strange.

καὶ διᾴδοντα. So far as the letters are concerned this is practically the same as the reading of A, for A sometimes omits iota adscript, especially in the middle of a word.

1462a9 μηδ'. Same letters in A, but its scribe or his source divided them wrongly. Φ and A differ here.

1462a16 καὶ τὰς ὄψεις. Kassel follows Spengel in excising these words, but there is no reason to do so. The spectacle increases the pleasure produced by Tragedy. The fact that the following δι' ἧς refers to music alone is no serious obstacle to keeping καὶ τὰς ὄψεις, for such "syntactical liberties" occur more than once in Aristotle. Cf. the neglect of καὶ περιπέτεια 11, 1452a38, other Aristotelian examples Bywater cites, and Vahlen's note. There is no reason to change the following δι' ἧς to δι' ἅς, but it would be better to do so rather than to excise these words.

1462a17 ἐναργέστατα et ἐναργὲς. Ar. implies ἐνεργέστατα and ἐνεργές. These mistakes may go back to Σ, but may also belong to the Syriac translator, influenced by his knowledge of ἐνέργεια in Aristotle's philosophy. In the case of ἐναργέστατα some *recentiores* made the same mistake.

1462a17–18 ἀναγνώσει. Madius' emendation is absolutely necessary, cf. ll. 12–13 *supra*: διὰ γὰρ τοῦ ἀναγινώσκειν φανερὰ ὁποία τίς ἐστιν. The ἀναγνωρίσει of Π and Σ makes no sense whatever.

1462a18 τῷ. Following Rostagni and Kassel, I have adopted the dative article instead of the τό of Σ, which would require us to supply ἔχει.

1462b1 ἥδιον ἢ. Madius' conjecture is palmary. ἴδιον ἤ, the reading of **B** and Σ, is due to iotacism, whereas the ἡδονή of Π is further away from ἥδιον ἤ.

1462b3 μία ἡ. For the reading of **A** and **B**, which inverts the order of these words, cf. the similar mistake in e.g. 1447b15.

1462b5 μιμήσεως. The Arabic translation seems to point to a reading ἐποποιίας in Σ, but μιμήσεως is to be kept on the principle of *lectio difficilior potior*: had Aristotle written ἐποποιίας it is difficult to see why it would have been changed to μιμήσεως. Moreover, the preceding ἔτι ἧττον <u>μία ἡ μίμησις ἡ τῶν ἐποποιῶν</u> shows that ἐκ γὰρ ὁποιασοῦν μιμήσεως refers to Epic. Finally, the wording of Ar. may be due to a translation *ad sensum* and need not go back to Σ itself. Janko adopts the reading of Ar., taking it to be that of Σ.

1462b6 μύουρον. Like Kassel I have printed the reading of **A**. Bywater in a long note argues for the spelling μείουρον, the reading not only of *Parisinus* 2038, as he thought, but also of **B**. Lat.'s *gratiosum* shows that Moerbeke misunderstood the meaning.

1462b19 εἰρήσθω τοσαῦτα. These are the final words of the extant part of the *Poetics* in Π. In **B**, however, after the variant εἰρήσθω ταῦτα, the text continues with περὶ δὲ ἰάμβων καὶ κωμῳδίας γράψω. The last four words are difficult to read because the ink has partly disappeared. What I have given in what precedes is the reconstruction by Landi (1925) and, in a recent article in *Hermes*, by Baldi (2011). Kassel, p. 49 provides a transcription of what can be seen in the MS, and on p. viii he thanks N.G. Wilson for the transcription. The difference between Landi and Baldi, on the one hand, and Kassel-Wilson, on the other, is that the latter transcribe the final seven letters as ọυγρ..ω. (The restoration of the final word as ἐφεξῆς proposed by Gallavotti, included also in his edition of the *Poetics*, is too far removed from what is visible in **B**.) If that is correct, as Kassel remarks, and the final seven letters are read as οὐ γράψω, then the words after ταῦτα were not written by Aristotle. The two Italian scholars, however, believe that they do belong to Aristotle and are proof that he wrote a second book. Apart from Landi's photostatic

reproduction, I have examined the Oxford photostats; the one provided by the Biblioteca Riccardiana; and, in 1999, the entire MS and its end by autopsy as well as with ultraviolet light. My impression is that Wilson's transcription is right: I am not persuaded by Baldi's claim based on new techniques, because in a MS written on oriental paper, when the ink disappears no traces are left, though this is certainly different with parchment and even with western paper. Baldi's additional arguments also fail to convince.

Nevertheless, because the restoration is not entirely certain, I shall discuss the reading proposed by Landi and by Baldi. Unlike them, I believe that, as they restore them, the words were not written by Aristotle. Two things must be clarified first: (*a*) I think Aristotle did in fact write a second book on Comedy, but this does not mean that the extra words in **B** are by him. (*b*) The fact that περὶ δὲ κτλ. is complementary to περὶ μὲν οὖν τραγῳδίας καὶ ἐποποιίας ... εἰρήσθω τοσαῦτα (or ταῦτα) does not imply, *pace* Baldi, that the words are by Aristotle: any competent Greek scribe could have written them. What, then, is objectionable in **B**'s additional words? I submit it is ἰάμβων. This is acceptable only if we decide to disregard what Aristotle states in the extant *Poetics* about Comedy: at the beginning of chapter 6 he has said περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐν ἑξαμέτροις μιμητικῆς καὶ περὶ κωμῳδίας ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν. He fulfills his promise about Epic in chapters 23–24, and presumably that on Comedy in the second book. Secondly, the mention of iambic poetry, iambographers, etc. in chapters 4 and 5 is only one part of Aristotle's genetic or ideal reconstruction of his "history" of Comedy. That it is not historical is shown by the fact that for different items different "origins" are sought. In 1449a10–11 he says that Comedy originated from the leaders of the phallic songs, but for the plot—for Aristotle the very essence of poetry—he gives two "origins:" (*a*) The Epic of Homer, cf. 4, 1448b28–30 (Margites); and 1448b34–1449a2 (what Homer did for serious poetry, similarly he also did for Comedy): καὶ τὸ τῆς κωμῳδίας σχῆμα πρῶτος ὑπέδειξεν, οὐ ψόγον ἀλλὰ τὸ γελοῖον δραματοποιήσας, etc. (*b*) The plot of Comedy came originally from Sicily but in Athens Κράτης πρῶτος ἦρξεν ἀφέμενος τῆς ἰαμβικῆς ἰδέας καθόλου ποιεῖν λόγους καὶ μύθους (5, 1449b5–9). Aristotle finds personal abuse prominent in early Attic comedy, and he establishes its precedent in the poetry of the iambographers. That is all there is to it, and it is περὶ ἰάμβων that tells us the additional statement in **B** is not by Aristotle. (Whether it is due to the scribe of **B** or to his ultimate source cannot be ascertained.) There is no reason to think that the author of the *Poetics* in the second book would have discussed iambic poetry, for

in this work he is interested only in Epic, Tragedy, and Comedy, but not in prose imitations or in lyric poetry as such. Nor, of course, in the iambographers.

GRAECO-ARABIC
CRITICAL APPARATUS AND COMMENTARY

Dimitri Gutas

Sigla[*]

Σ	Greek uncial manuscript from which the Syriac translation, upon which the Arabic translation is based, was made
Σ^q	The Greek text in Σ as indicated by the extant fragment of the original Syriac translation preserved by Severus bar-Šakkō
[Σ]	The Greek reading in Σ cannot be determined on the basis of the Syriac and Arabic translations
Ψ	Hypothetical Greek manuscript which was used in the revision of Abū-Bišr's Arabic translation, as reflected in the citations of the text by Avicenna
Paris. Arab. 2346	The Arabic text of the translation as actually preserved in the unique Paris MS, as distinct from the original Arabic text of Abū-Bišr's translation and its later revisions that can be recovered from indirect evidence
Syr.	The text as understood by the original translator from Greek into Syriac, as this can be divined with certainty from the reflection of the Syriac in the Arabic (Ar.), and as distinct from what can be attributed with certainty to Σ
Ar.	The text of the translated work as represented in the Arabic tradition in general, as distinct from what can be attributed with certainty to Σ; *mutatis mutandis*, when there are no means of verifying that the reading indicated in the Arabic may have been due to the Syriac translator, "Ar." also means "Syr."
non vertit	Not translated in the Arabic. This notation is different from 'om. Σ' in that the omission of this word or words in Arabic is not due to a corresponding omission in Σ, but that the translator did not translate the word(s) either because he did not understand them or could not read them or for some other reason

[*] For further explanation of these notations, with examples, see the end of Section 5 in Chapter Two above. For a full discussion see my Excursus on the principles of Graeco-Arabic textual criticism and editorial technique in Gutas (2010) 93–101.

ut intell.	ut intellexit, i.e., as understood by the Syriac or Arabic translator
ut interpr.	ut interpretatus est; i.e., as interpreted by the Syriac or Arabic translator
ut leg.	ut legit; i.e., as read by the Syriac or Arabic translator

Note

In the apparatus entries at the head of each comment, when a Greek reading is transparently corroborated by the Arabic translation, this is indicated by registering Σ after the reading and adding, in parentheses, the transliteration of the Arabic word(s) that translate it, without any further comment. A discussion follows the apparatus entry in the many instances where this transparency does not obtain. The references in these entries to the Greek MSS and the Latin translation are repeated selectively from the main apparatus criticus solely in order to facilitate the reading of the commentary.

Graeco-Arabic Critical Apparatus and Commentary

1447a9 ἕκαστον Σ habet (*kull wāḥid wāḥid minhā*)
The Arabic translates literally, for ἥν τινα δύναμιν ἕκαστον ἔχει, *ayya quwwatin li-kulli wāḥidin wāḥidin minhā*. The Arabic phrase for ἕκαστον, *kull wāḥid wāḥid minhā*, is identical also in Syriac: at 49b25–26 ἕκαστος is translated in the extant Syriac fragment on tragedy as *koll ḥaḏ ḥaḏ*, which appears in Arabic as, *kull wāḥid wāḥid*, exactly as here. This leaves no room for any mistake in the Syro-Arabic translation and no doubt about the presence of the Greek word ἕκαστον in Σ.

47a12 μεθόδου Σ | λέγομεν A Σ | κατὰ φύσιν Π, Σ apud Aver. (*bi-ṭ-ṭabʿi*) : om. Paris. Arab. 2346
The Greek phrase τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστι μεθόδου is part of a relative clause depending on ὅσα, and the Arabic accordingly has, *allatī hiya lahā bi-ʿaynihā* ("which belong to it [= the art of poetry] itself"). The word μεθόδου appears in the pronominal *-hā* in *lahā*, "to it," i.e., to the art of poetry, because the translator understood μέθοδος to mean "art", "discipline," as is obvious by his rendering of the same word in 56a36 by his usual term for "art," *ṣināʿa*. He thus understood τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστι μεθόδου to mean, "which belong to the same art," and since he had already mentioned the word

"art" at the beginning of this long sentence, he did not want to repeat it but used the pronoun *-hā* for it, with *bi-ʿaynihā* rendering, properly, τῆς αὐτῆς, "the same, itself".[1] Neither Avicenna nor Averroes paid any special attention to this word since it is thought to refer to the art of poetry which is the subject of the opening sentence in any case.

λέγομεν. The translator had to repeat the word four times in order to manage the inordinately long sentence of Aristotle. Three times he used an active participle to translate the verb (*mutakallimūna*, 'discuss,' *muḫbirūna*, 'report'), and once an imperfect (*natakallamu*, 'discuss'), both of which translate the present and future (see the examples given by Tkatsch I,165a). Furthermore, this translator (into Syriac and, following him, Abū-Bišr) translated the Greek subjunctive with the jussive, as it should be, in λέγωμεν (50b21), *fa-l-natakallam* (let us discuss), and in εἴπωμεν (53b26), *wa-l-nuḫbir* (let us report; cf. Tkatsch I,165b), but not here; it is thus reasonably certain that Σ read λέγομεν in this passage.

The following phrase in Arabic, standing for ἀρξάμενοι κατὰ φύσιν πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων, is quite accurate in the Paris manuscript of the Arabic translation except for the omission of the phrase κατὰ φύσιν. Avicenna does not include this part of the text in his paraphrase, but Averroes does, and his text does mention "by nature," *bi-ṭ-ṭabʿi*. Now this very phrase is also used by Abū-Bišr to render κατὰ φύσιν in 48b20 and 49a4. Averroes used a copy of Abū-Bišr's translation that was similar to the version that is extant in the Paris manuscript, and thus it appears that he derived the expression *bi-ṭ-ṭabʿi* directly from it and not from another, corrected version, or some other source related to the *Poetics*. The phrase *bi-ṭ-ṭabʿi*, then, did exist in Abū-Bišr's original translation and it should be restored to the text, but it dropped out of the Paris manuscript, given the relatively corrupt state of the first paragraph in it. From this discussion it is clear that Σ did contain the words μεθόδου and κατὰ φύσιν.

For a full discussion of the opening paragraph of the text of the Arabic translation see the Appendix.

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[1] This escaped the notice of previous students of the Arabic *Poetics* and led them to think that the word was misread or misunderstood, assuming it was even present in Σ. Margoliouth (1887), Arabic p. 1, note f, suggested that the translator may have read μεθ' ὅλου for μεθόδου (a wonderful suggestion if it had been right), while Tkatsch I,220, note 5, thought that the word *mawǧūdatun* in that sentence somehow reflected a transliteration of the word μέθοδος.

47a17 ἐν ci. Forchhammer, Σ ut vid. (cf. 1451a17) : γένει Π
The Greek text, ἢ γὰρ τῷ ἐν ἑτέροις μιμεῖσθαι ἢ τῷ ἕτερα is rendered in Arabic as, "for either there is imitation[2] by means of[3] other things, or there is the opposite of this—which is that there are other things which are imitated" (*wa-ḏālika immā an yakūna tašbīhun* (correxi: *tašabbuhun* vel *tušabbihu* cod.) *bi-ašyā'a uḫara wa-l-ḥikāyatu bihā, wa-immā an yakūna ʿalā ʿaksi hāḏā wa-huwa an takūna ašyā'u uḫaru tušabbahu wa-tuḥākā*).

On the basis of the Arabic translation it can be inferred that Σ either had ἐν here or it had nothing, reading simply τῷ ἑτέροις; cf. Margoliouth (1887) 47. The ambiguity arises from the fact that in Syriac and Arabic the Greek dative is rendered by the preposition *b(a)-*, *bi-*, respectively, which we have here, but so also is the preposition ἐν, if it happens to have an instrumental meaning, as it does here. So both ἑτέροις alone and ἐν ἑτέροις would be translated the same way if they mean the same, as in this case, by *bi-hā*, "by means of them." However, the passage that is parallel to this in the Greek text, 47b29, τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν τεχνῶν ἐν αἷς (οἷς *coni. Victorius*) ποιοῦνται τὴν μίμησιν, is translated in exactly the same way in Arabic, "the kinds of arts by means of which they produce the imitation" (*innahā aṣnāfu ṣ-ṣanā'iʿi llatī bihā yaʿmalūna l-ḥikāyata wa-t-tašbīha*), where ἐν αἷς is rendered by *bi-hā*, as it is here. Notice also the translation of instrumental ἐν in ἐν ῥυθμῷ together with the dative further below (47a22), again by means of the preposition *bi-* only, "by means of rhythm" (*bi-l-laḥni*); cf. Tkatsch II,161b. So in all probability here also Σ read ἐν ἑτέροις (and hence the *ut vid.* notation).

47a21 κἂν Paris. 2038 : καὶ Π, Σ ut vid.
The Arabic translation of line 47a21 reads as if the Greek text were, οὕτως αἱ εἰρημέναι τέχναι. ἅπασαι μὲν ποιοῦνται .... From the Arabic it is not clear what, if anything, went wrong; cf. "da Z [i.e., the Arabic translation] non si ricava nulla di sicuro;" Gallavotti (1954b) 325.

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[2] Greek μιμεῖσθαι is translated here, as elsewhere, by the hendiadys *tašbīh wa-ḥikāya*, which I translate only with the one word, imitation (pace the transcription and translation offered by Edzard and Köhnken 235).

[3] The preposition *bi-* after *šabbaha* is used instrumentally here and elsewhere in this translation rather than in its normal use introducing the direct object of this verb. This issue is briefly described by Tkatsch II,1a–b, note 50. For the uses of the preposition *bi-* in translating Greek see now *GALex* II,2–35.

47a25 τυγχάνωσιν Π : τυγχάνουσιν rec. : [Σ] | οὖσαι τοιαῦται Σ (*hiya … miṯlu hātayni*), Paris. 2038 : οὖσαι A
τυγχάνωσιν may be the reading of Σ also. The Arabic has *wa-in kāna tūǧadu* instead of *wa-in wuǧidat*, which may indicate the subjunctive; cf. 47b20–21 κἂν εἴ τις … ποιοῖτο = *in kāna l-insānu yaʿmalu*, where the same construction in Arabic, auxiliary *kāna* in the perfect after *in* and followed by the imperfect of the main verb, translates the optative after εἴ. On the other hand, in conditional sentences, *kāna* in the perfect followed by the imperfect normally translates the present (Wright II,16c), in which case τυγχάνουσιν may be the reading indicated. And in any case, it is unknown how the Arabic reflects the Syriac verb which most likely would not have differentiated between a Greek indicative and subjunctive.

47a26 μιμοῦνται Π : non habet nisi χρῆται add. Σ | ἡ Σ, Paris. 2038 : οἱ Π
The Arabic translation reads, "also the art of the performance of dance uses the single rhythm itself without melody" (*tastaʿmilu l-laḥna l-wāḥida bi-ʿaynihī min ġayri taʾlīfin* [*wa-*] *ṣināʿatu adāʾi* [corr. Gutas: *adāh* cod. (اداه), edd.] *r-raqṣi ayḍan*). This would correspond to one of two Greek texts: (a) αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ ῥυθμῷ χρῆται χωρὶς ἁρμονίας ἡ τῶν ὀρχηστῶν. The Arabic explicitly uses the verb "uses" (*tastaʿmilu*) in the sentence, and in all instances where the verb or participle of χρῆσθαι occurs in this treatise it is always translated by the appropriate form of *istaʿmala* (except at 59a35). There is thus little doubt that if anything is to be read after ῥυθμῷ in the Greek, it has to be χρῆται. (b) αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ ῥυθμῷ χωρὶς ἁρμονίας ἡ τῶν ὀρχηστῶν. However, what has just been said in (a) notwithstanding, given that the participle χρώμεναι is used in the same sentence a few lines before at 47a23–24, it is also likely that there was no verb in the Greek exemplar since the word "uses" is easily understood, as it is also supplied in modern translations. Thus we cannot be certain that Σ actually had χρῆται in this sentence, hence the caution in registering this in the apparatus.

47a28 ἐποποιία Π : non habet Σ
There is nothing corresponding to ἐποποιία in the Arabic and Syriac, and hence in Σ. Its presence in the Greek MS tradition represented by Π is related to the absence of ἀνώνυμος at 47b9, as Spengel had maintained; i.e., if Aristotle did name this art form as ἐποποιία, he could not have called it a few lines later ἀνώνυμος. There is an extensive discussion of this argument about the passage by Vahlen, who in the end decided

against the evidence of Σ. See the lengthy discussion of the entire issue and the references in Tkatsch II, 154a–158b.

47a29 μόνον Π : μᾶλλον (*akṯara*) Σ | ἢ Π, Σ (*aw*) : ⟨καὶ⟩ ἢ ci. Lobel, Kassel The Arabic of this much distorted sentence (47a28–b9, ἡ δέ … νῦν) reads as follows:

> 47a28 *Wa-tuḥākīhā ammā baʿḍuhā* 29 *fa-bi-l-kalāmi l-manṯūri s-sāḏaği akṯara, aw bi-l-awzāni; wa-tuḥākī hiya hāḏihī immā* b8 *wa-hiya muḫallaṭatun wa-immā bi-an tastaʿmila ğinsan wāḥidan mina l-awzāni,* 9 *allatī hiya bi-lā tasmiyatin ilā l-ān*
>
> 47a29 *sāḏağ* apud Avicennam; prop. Marg.; coni. Badawī: *s'rḥ* cod. | *bi-l-awzāni* cod.: *al-awzāni* ʿAyyād ‖ 47b8 *mina l-awzāni* corr. Tkatsch in app.: *wa-bi-l-awzān* cod. ‖ 9 *ilā l-ān* prop. Marg., coni. Badawī: *'l' 'l'zmh* cod.: *ilā* ⟨*hāḏihi*⟩ *l-azminati* prop. Tkatsch

The Arabic means, "One of the [arts] imitates them [i.e., the sufferings and actions] more by means of plain prose words or by means of meters; and it imitates these either while it is mixed or by employing a single genus among the meters, which is/are without appellation[4] until now." On this basis, Σ *could* have had the following Greek text (47a28–47b2): ἡ δὲ μᾶλλον τοῖς λόγοις ψιλοῖς, ἢ τοῖς μέτροις, καὶ τούτοις εἴτε μιγνῦσα μετ' ἀλλήλων εἴθ' ἑνί τινι γένει χρωμένη τῶν μέτρων, ἀνώνυμος τυγχάνουσα/ἃ ἀνώνυμα τυγχάνει μέχρι τοῦ νῦν.[5] The difficulty here concerns the final relative clause, "which is/are without appellation" (*allatī hiya bi-lā tasmiyatin*). This is ambiguous because the relative pronoun *allatī* (which), and the nominative personal pronoun that stands for the copula *hiya* (is/are) that follows it, are feminine, and plural substantives referring to inanimate objects in Arabic are grammatically feminine singular in gender. Accordingly, the feminine relative pronoun *allatī* could refer, and in a natural (i.e., non-translated) Arabic sentence, should refer, to the

[4] It is to be noted that ἀνώνυμον at 1457b28 is translated in exactly the same way as here, *bi-lā tasmiyatin*.

[5] With two exceptions, Vahlen (1923), II,849 (p. 958 of the original publication), also so reconstructed the Greek on the basis of the German translation of the Arabic translation prepared for him by the orientalist E. Sachau. The exceptions are, first, that he was not aware of the presence of μᾶλλον instead of μόνον, and second, that he did not envisage the possibility of understanding the last phrase, on the basis of the Arabic alone, also as ἃ ἀνώνυμα τυγχάνει. Vahlen found the Greek of this reconstructed sentence as presenting "einen richtigen Satz und einen vollständigen Gedanken", and yet, perversely, he still did not accept it.

immediately preceding noun of feminine gender, in this case "meters" (*awzān*), rather than to the more distant singular feminine noun, "art" (*ṣināʿa*).[6] This would lead to the supposition that the Greek text underlying the Arabic was, ἃ ἀνώνυμα τυγχάνει.

However, what has been overlooked in previous discussions is that the Arabic translates not the Greek but the Syriac intermediary translation. In Syriac, the relative pronoun (proclitic *d-*) is without gender, but it would have been followed either by a feminine singular participle translating τυγχάνουσα (as in, e.g., *d-hāwyā*), or by some other construction in which a feminine singular pronoun would necessarily have been present, and this feminine participle or pronoun in Syriac would have referred unambiguously to the feminine τέχνη and not to the plural "meters". As the Arabic translates literally, however, rendering the presumed Syriac feminine singular participle translating τυγχάνουσα (*d-hāwyā*?) with the feminine pronoun *hiya* as the copula, the relative clause in Arabic comes out as if it is modifying "meters" because of the peculiarity of Arabic grammar with regard to gender agreement of plural objects (they are considered feminine singular), and the word order in the Greek which placed ἀνώνυμος τυγχάνουσα right after μέτρων. The Greek in Σ, however, clearly did not have ἃ ἀνώνυμα τυγχάνει; what it most likely had is, exhibiting the participle τυγχάνουσα as in A, ἀνώνυμος τυγχάνουσα.

As for the number of ἀνώνυμος, whether singular or plural (as in Kassel, following Lobel), the Arabic by itself cannot resolve the issue, as just explained: *allatī hiya* ("which is/are") can be either singular or plural (pace Edzard and Köhnken 237). It is only by assuming that the Arabic renders a Syriac original like the one suggested here that the number can be ascertained to have been singular.

The question then is also raised, if it is almost certain that Σ had τυγχάνουσα, whether the Syriac, through the Arabic, might not also indicate that it had τυγχάνει οὖσα, as in Suckow's conjecture, followed by Gudeman and Janko. This is impossible to verify, though on the face of it it would seem not. If the Arabic reflects the Syriac verbatim, which we can relatively safely assume that it does, the question is then whether the Syriac translated the Greek painfully literally in this case and had two words for a presumed τυγχάνει οὖσα instead of one, as

[6] That is, as in Tkatsch's suggestion (II,1, note 85), the relative pronoun refers to the feminine noun *ṣināʿa* represented by the pronoun in *baʿḍu-hā*, "one of them," i.e., one of the arts.

reflected in the Arabic translation (the Arabic has only the copula, *hiya*). We cannot tell for certain, except that in the one previous case where Aristotle uses the same construction, τυγχάνωσιν οὖσαι (1447a25), the Arabic does have separate words translating the verb and the participle (*kāna tūǧadu* = τυγχάνωσιν, *hiya* = οὖσαι), which means that the Syriac used two different expressions also. If this is any indication that in the case at 1447b9 also the Syriac would have used two expressions rather than one to render a presumed τυγχάνει οὖσα, it is more likely that Σ had τυγχάνουσα, as in A, rather than τυγχάνει οὖσα, but because of the uncertainty I register this reading as "ut vid." (see the entry below).

The Arabic word *akṯara* ("more") at 47a29 cannot be explained except by the presence of the word μᾶλλον in Σ, which is regularly so translated in this work (cf. 1447b19, 51b7, 52a5, 53a16, 56a28, etc.). It thus seems very likely that the original text was reading μᾶλλον in the place of μόνον because of an apparent mistranscription; besides, μόνον is not otherwise translated. Tkatsch II,1, note 78, suggests that *akṯara* wrongly translates μόνον, but this is inaccurate; *akṯara* translates μᾶλλον, while λόγοις is translated by *kalām* and ψιλοῖς by the hendiadys *al-manṯūr as-sāḏaǧ* ("plain prose").

1447b9 ἀνώνυμος Σ (*bi-lā tasmiyatin*), et ci. Bernays : om. Π | τυγχάνει οὖσα ci. Suckow : τυγχάνουσα A, Σ ut vid.
See the discussion in the preceding entry.

47b15 κατὰ τὴν rec. : τὴν κατὰ A Σ | κοινῇ Φ : κοινὴ A, Σ (*al-muštaraka*)
The Arabic translates literally, following the Greek word order: οὐχ ὡς τὴν κατὰ μίμησιν = *laysa ka-llatī … bi-l-ḥikāyati wa-t-tašbīhi*, "not like that which … by means of imitation."

47b16 φυσικόν Σ (*umūr aṭ-ṭabīʿa*) et ci. Heinsius : μουσικόν Π
The Arabic translates literally: φυσικόν τι = *šayʾ min … umūri ṭ-ṭabīʿa*, "something belonging to the things of nature."

47b22 καὶ Π, Σ (*fa-qad*)
Contrary to the opinion of Margoliouth, in Butcher, 3rd ed., p. xix, the conjunction καὶ appears to have been present in Σ. The Arabic for 47b20–23, ὁμοίως … προσαγορευτέον, which is translated relatively accurately, reads as follows: "Similarly, if someone produced an imitation by intermingling all the metres, as Chaeremon used to do—for he used

to imitate Centaur by means of a [choral] ring-danse [composed] of all the metres—then we should certainly call him a poet" ([20a] *wa-ka-ḏālika in kāna l-insānu* [21a] *yaʿmalu l-ḥikāyata wa-t-tašbīha* [20b] *ʿinda-mā yaḫliṭu ǧamīʿa l-awzāni,* [21b] *ka-mā kāna yaʿmalu Ḫārīmun—fa-innahū kāna yušabbihu Qānṭawrus* [22] *bi-raqṣi d-dastaband min ǧamīʿi l-awzāni—fa-qad yaǧibu an* [23] *nulaqqibahū šāʿiran*). The particle combination *fa-qad*, which introduces the apodosis of the conditional sentence, consists of the particle *fa-*, required by the Arabic syntax, and by the intensive particle *qad* (which I translate as "certainly"), which emphasizes the obligation expressed by the suffix -τέον in προσαγορευτέον. But this Greek suffix is already expressed by the Arabic verb *yaǧibu* ("should"); the additional *qad* must therefore be taken to express the force of καὶ in καὶ ποιητήν.

47b24 αἳ rec. : οἳ Π, Σ (*qawmun*)

47b28 οὖν Φ Σ, Paris. 2038 : οὐ A
The Arabic begins this sentence with the particle *fa-*, which would also translate connective οὖν, but the use of this Arabic particle is so multifarious that by itself it cannot provide dedicated evidence for the presence of οὖν in the Greek. The absence of the negative in the Arabic sentence is the real evidence in this case.

47b29 οἷς ci. Victorius : αἷς Π Σ
See the comment above at 47a17.

1448a3 κακίᾳ et ἀρετῇ Φ, Σ (*bi-r-raḏīlati wa-l-faḍīlati*), Paris. 2038 : κακία et ἀρετὴ A

48a8 τῷ Φ, Paris. 2038 : τὸ A Σ (vel τὸ non vert. Ar.) | ἕτερα Π : ἑτέραν ut intell. Syr. vel Ar.
The Arabic has, "It is clear … that the one is likening and imitating the other in this manner" (*ẓāhirun … an takūna l-wāḥidatu tušabbihu bi-l-uḫrā wa-tuḥākīhā bi-hāḏā ḏ-ḏarbi*), which renders the following understanding of the Greek: δῆλον δὲ ὅτι … ἔσται ἑτέρα ἑτέραν μιμεῖσθαι τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, where ἑτέρα ἑτέραν is understood as "the one … the other," and this understanding dominates the entire sentence. In this rendering, the article, whether τῷ or τὸ, plays no role, and thus it is not clear whether the Syriac translator saw it or paid no attention to it. In all likelihood Σ did not have τῷ, for that would be more difficult to ignore,

whereas τὸ, if it was there, could still enable the translator to translate as he did, for ἔσται μιμεῖσθαι and ἔσται τὸ μιμεῖσθαι could be seen as yielding the same sense.

There is a further ambiguity in that the word that is used to translate ἕτερα/ἑτέραν in Arabic, *al-uḫrā*, feminine singular as it is, could refer to either a singular or plural object, "other" or "others", thus potentially translating either ἕτερα or ἑτέραν. It appears that the latter alternative is more likely. If the Syriac translator read or understood ἕτερα, "other [things]," and translated it by the corresponding Syriac masculine plural word *(')ḥrānē* (there is no neuter in Syriac), it is difficult to imagine that the Arabic would have translated this simply by writing *al-uḫrā* ("the others"), without some additional specifying noun like "things", *ašyā'*, because the context, and the way in which the Arabic sentence is structured, *al-wāḥidatu tušabbihu bi-l-uḫrā*, "the one [fem.: i.e., imitation] imitates the other [fem.; sing. or pl.]," make it necessary to see the object as feminine singular also; Abū-Bišr could not have been blind to this implication of what he wrote. Thus it can be inferred with some degree of certainty that the Syriac word he saw was not a plural. Next, if the Syriac translator read or understood ἑτέραν, "the other [imitation]," and translated it by the corresponding Syriac feminine singular word *(')ḥrētā* (in Syriac, the word for μίμησις, *metdammyānūṯā*, is also feminine, thus necessitating a feminine pronoun), then the Arabic would naturally translate this as he did, *al-uḫrā*. In either case the understanding of the Greek word as ἑτέραν is implied. There is, finally, the added consideration that if the Arabic translator saw a plural form of the word in his Syriac source, he could have just as easily, and to avoid ambiguity, translated ἕτερα = *(')ḥrānē* by writing the *plural* form of Arabic *āḫar*, *uḫar*, which in medieval Arabic is frequently used also for inanimate plural things. For all these reasons, it appears that ἕτερα was understood as ἑτέραν, possibly by the Syriac translator, and certainly by the Arabic.

48a10 ἔστι A[c] Σ (*qad* gravis) | καὶ Φ Σ, Paris. 2038 : καὶ τὸ A
For ἔστι γενέσθαι the Arabic has, "it does exist, it does happen" (*qad yūǧadu*), where *yūǧadu* translates γενέσθαι and the emphatic use of *qad* before an imperfect translates ἔστι.

For καὶ τὸ περὶ the Arabic has, "and about" (*wa-naḥwa*). If the article τὸ had been present in Σ, one would have expected to see it rendered by something like, *wa-llaḏī naḥwa* or *wa-huwa naḥwa*, as elsewhere, reflecting the pronominal use of the article. The absence of any such word in the Arabic indicates that Σ did not have the article.

48a11 δὲ Π : non vert. Ar.
It is not obvious from the translation what Σ read. For 48a9–11, καὶ γὰρ … ψιλομετρίαν, the Arabic has, "For in dancing, playing the flute, and the art of [playing] lutes, it does happen to them that they are dissimilar, and about/toward speech and plain meter" (*wa-ḏālika annahū fī r-raqṣi wa-z-zamri wa-ṣināʿati l-ʿīdāni qad yūǧadu li-hāḏihī an takūna ġayra mutašābihatin wa-naḥwa l-kalāmi wa-l-wazni l-mursali*). From this it is clear that the translator completely neglected δὲ in line 11 and read the entire text as if it were one sentence. It is also clear that he did not view the phrase "and about speech and meter" as being part of the initial prepositional phrase, "in dancing, etc.," for then he would have said, "*in* speech and meter" (*fī l-kalāmi wa-l-wazni*), as do some modern translations (e.g. by Else and Janko); and since he did not see the article τὸ in his exemplar (see the preceding comment), the final phrase in the Arabic, "and about/toward speech and meter" looks just pasted on to the sentence and one does not know where to place it or how it fits into the general sense.

48a12 ὁ² Σ (*wa-huwa llaḏī*), Paris. 2038 : om. A

48a13 Δειλιάδα A : [Σ]
The translator took the word to mean the hometown or clan of Nicochares, apparently considering it to be parallel to the preceding Θάσιος. The two constructions in Arabic are parallel: *Īǧīmun al-mansūb ilā Ṯāsiyā … Nīqūḫāris al-mansūb ilā ⟨D⟩ālāḏā*. The word for Δει/ηλιάδα is written as الارى in the manuscript, which in all probability is a transliteration of the Greek (rather than an etymological rendering of a presumed Δηλιάδα which the translator thought he would derive from δηλοῦν or δῆλον; see Tkatsch II,76b). The word is to be read apparently as دالاذى, exactly transliterating the Syriac, in which the initial *dālath* was understood by Abū-Bišr as the proclitic Syriac particle *d-* (translated into Arabic as *al-mansūb ilā)* and removed from the rest of the word in the Arabic transliteration, leaving the skeleton we now find in the Paris manuscript (الارى). But the transliteration itself, in Syriac as in Arabic, is not specific enough to allow the Greek spelling (Δει/ηλιάδα) to be deduced from it.

48a15 γᾶς A : οὕτως Σ ut vid. | Κύκλωπας Σ | Τιμόθεος A, Lat. O, Σ
For the Greek text at 48a15–16, ὥσπερ … ἄν τις, the Arabic has, "just as (ὥσπερ) one imitates (μιμήσαιτο ἄν τις) thus (?) Cyclopes (*plural*

accusative) Timotheus and Philoxenus (Κύκλωπας Τιμόθεος καὶ Φιλόξενος)" (*ka-mā yušabbihu l-insānu wa-yuḥākī hākaḏā li-Qūqlūfās Ṭīmūṯāwus wa-Fīlūksānus*).[7] This is a very literal translation of the Greek, with the objective accusative plural of the word Κύκλωπας being indicated by the proclitic preposition *li-* in Arabic (*li-Qūqlūfās*), manifestly reflecting its Syriac counterpart *l(a)-*, which marks the object of the sentence. Thus although the Arabic transliteration of the word, following the Syriac, may not ensure that the word in Σ was spelled Κύκλωπας rather than Κύκλωπες—for Syriac *ālaf* transliterates both Greek *alpha* and Greek *epsilon*—the presence of the preposition *li-* in Arabic and Syriac, which introduces the object, leaves no room for doubt about the underlying reading Κύκλωπας in Σ.

This literal translation, though, has two problems. The first is that it is not clear from the Arabic (and, correspondingly, from the underlying Syriac) how the names Timotheus and Philoxenus fit the syntax of the Greek sentence. In Arabic, for the average reader who knew neither Greek nor any of the names mentioned, the most natural way to take the sentence would have been to see the three names in parataxis as the objects of the verb "imitate"; the preposition *li-* before the word "Cyclopes", as just mentioned, ensures that this name at least is seen as such an object, and the following two names can be taken as the continuation of the naming of the people who are to be imitated. A very attentive reader could also have noted that after "Cyclopes" there is no conjunction, although there is one between Timotheus and Philoxenus, so at most this reader may have understood that Cyclopes is a generic name whose two individuals are Timotheus and Philoxenus. However the Arabic reader understood the text however, the Arabic version does verify the reading Κύκλωπας Τιμόθεος καὶ Φιλόξενος in Σ.

The more serious problem is the one word in Arabic that does not correspond to anything we have in the Greek, and that is the word "thus (in this fashion)" (*hākaḏā*).[8] It seems reasonable to assume that this word, rather than stand for a word in the Greek *in addition to* the corrupt γᾶς, represents whatever may have stood in its place, and in all likelihood that

[7] Identical is Sachau's German translation of this Arabic phrase as he gave it to Vahlen: "wie jemand nachahmt auf diese Weise die Kyklopen Timotheos unf Philoxenos:" Vahlen (1923), note on p. 634 of the original publication.

[8] Gallavotti (1954b) 328, somehow overlooked the existence of this word in the Latin version of Tkatsch which he quoted ("*sic* Cyclopas") and concluded that the Arabic has no trace of any word corresponding to γᾶς.

word was οὕτως, as originally suggested by Margoliouth (1887), 50. The word οὕτως occurs ten times in the *Poetics*, one of which is Vahlen's conjecture and not in the transmitted text (54a23), and two occur in the final pages of the text which have not survived in Arabic (60b25, 61a2). Of the remaining seven occurrences, the word is translated three times as *hākaḏā* (48b36, 51a33, 52a5), as in this passsage, and once with the similar locution *ka-ḏālika* (51a18), but differently in other two cases (55b2, 55b19),[9] and once it is not translated at all (55b1). This statistics makes it highly likely that *hākaḏā* in this passage does stand for οὕτως in Σ (pace Tkatsch II,2b, note 85, who suggests, without evidence, "ὡς, ni fallor, quasi demonstrativum"); there is no reason or evidence to suggest that this word was just interpolated by either translator. Since there is also no indication in the Arabic that any other word was present in the Greek text, it appears most likely (*ut vid.*) that Σ had οὕτως for what is transmitted in the Greek tradition as γᾶς. Margoliouth went on to suggest an original reading of οἱ τοὺς that was corrupted to οὕτως in Σ, a reading endorsed by Diels (1888a) 159, and accepted by Butcher, 3rd ed, p. xvi. However, given that οὕτως yields no sense in context, chances are that this word, if it was present in Σ, may have been a marginal note that entered the text.

48a16 αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ Π : τῇ αὐτῇ δὲ ut intell. Ar. | καὶ Π : om. Ar.
The Arabic has, as Margoliouth (1887) 50 noted, "this same difference," *hāḏā l-faṣl bi-ʿaynihī*, which would normally translate τῇ αὐτῇ δὲ, rendering the emphasis, rather than the transmitted αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ. But it is just as likely that the (Syriac) translator understood the transmitted reading as if it were worded emphatically, τῇ αὐτῇ δὲ. The Arabic does not require the assumption of αὐτῇ δὲ ⟨ταύτῃ⟩ τῇ as suggested by Kassel in his apparatus and approved by Edzard & Köhnken 237–238 (and in any case, *bi-ʿaynihī* doe not mean "in its essence," as they translate, but "the same").

48a18 τῶν νῦν A : non vert. Ar.

48a21 ἀπαγγέλοντα Π : ἐπαγγέλοντα ut intell. Ar. (*yūʿidūna*)

[9] As *bi-hāḏā n-naḥwi* and *man kānat ḥāluhū*, respectively.

48a23 ἢ Π : καὶ vel ἢ Ar. | πάντα ci. Casaubonus : πάντας Π, Σ (*ǧamīʿu llaḏīna*)
Concerning the crux, ὁτὲ μὲν in 48a21 cannot be answered by ἢ in 23. The Arabic has "and" (*wa-*) for ἤ, which Tkatsch I,175a explains as a mistake, rather frequent, of "and" for "or" and vice versa, given that in Arabic the two words differ by one letter only, the initial *alif*, which may be added or, as in this case, dropped by mistake. Here the word preceding "and" in Arabic, *ayḍan*, translating καὶ at a22, also ends in *alif*, and thus the scribe may have written by haplography one *alif* instead of two—i.e., *ayḍā wa-* instead of *ayḍā* ⟨*a*⟩*w*: ايضا و instead of ايضا او. But even if the manuscript reading of "and", *wa-*, points to a καί in Σ, this would not help the reading in this case, for ὁτέ μὲν is not answered by καὶ either. So the crux remains for Σ also.

48a25 καὶ ἃ καὶ ὡς Paris. 2038, fort. Σ : καὶ ἀναγκαίως ut leg. Syr.
For ἐν οἷς τε καὶ ἃ καὶ ὡς the Arabic has, *wa-bi-hāḏihī fa-mina ḍ-ḍarūrati*, "and by means of these, and necessarily," which clearly indicates that the translator read, ἐν οἷς τε καὶ ἀναγκαίως, as suggested by Margoliouth (1887) 51. But it seems unlikely that ἐν οἷς τε καὶ ἀναγκαίως was in fact the text in Σ; rather it would appear that the (Syriac) translator misread καιακαιως as καὶ ἀναγκαίως (cf. Tkatsch II,52b).

48a31 γὰρ Π : [Σ]

48a32 δημοκρατίας AB : *democratia* Lat. : [Σ]
The translator missed the temporal use of the preposition ἐπὶ in line 32 and mistranslated the clause ὡς … γενομένης, "just as, what was on their part a democracy" (*ka-mā annahū mā kāna qibalahum wilāyatu l-ǧamāʿati wa-t-tadbīri*). Tkatsch I,225 note 13, suggests that the *mā* ("what") may have been inserted by dittography, in which case the sense would be, "just as there was on their part a democracy" (*ka-mā annahū* [*mā*] *kāna qibalahum wilāyatu l-ǧamāʿati wa-t-tadbīri*). Both in the text as it is now transmitted and in Tkatsch's suggested emendation, the preposition ἐπί does not appear. It is just as likely, however, that an Arabic preposition that was intended to stand for the Greek ἐπί had in fact been in place but was later omitted, viz., "just as, ⟨during⟩ what was on their part a democracy" (*ka-mā annahū* ⟨*fī-*⟩ or ⟨*ʿalā*⟩ *mā kāna qibalahum wilāyatu l-ǧamāʿati wa-t-tadbīri*). In the rest of the translation, temporal ἐπί is translated by *ʿalā* and *fī* (ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ = *ʿalā akṯari l-amri*, 50b30; ἐπὶ τελευτῆς = *fī āḫiri l-amri*, 53a38). In any of these alternative

readings, it is not possible to determine whether Σ had δημοκρατία in the nominative or genitive.

48a34 Χιωνίδου Σ (*Kiyūnīdis*), ci. Robortellus : χωνίδου Ξ

48a34–35 καὶ[2] et ἔνιοι non vert. Ar., ποιουμένοιν ut intell. Ar.
The Arabic translates as if the text were, Χιωνίδου καὶ Μάγνητος, τῆς τραγῳδίας τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ποιουμένοιν τὰ ὀνόματα σημεῖον, omitting καὶ and ἔνιοι, and reading ποιούμενοι as if it were ποιουμένοιν, in the dual. The sense thus is, "Chionides and Magnes, as the two would bring about acknowledgment [of their claims] from [i.e., on the basis of] the names of comedy which are in the Peloponnese" (*Kiyūnīdis wa-Māġnis, ʿinda mā kānā yastaʿmilāni l-iqrāra min asmāʾi l-madīḥi llatī fī Fālūfūnīsūs*).[10]

48a35 αὐτοὶ ci. Spengel : οὗτοι Ξ, Σ (*ḏānika*)
See the discussion of this Arabic sentence in the following note.

48a36 φασιν Ξ : non vert. Ar. | Ἀθηναίους Σ, ci. anon. in ed. Oxon. a. 1760, et Spengel : Ἀθηναῖοι Ξ
The translator took δήμους ὡς in line 37 together as if it were a proper name, Δημουσώς, as noted by Margoliouth (1887), Arabic p. 7, note a. The syntax of the entire sentence further indicates that he took this presumed proper name as the subject of the second part of the sentence: "As for those two (*ḏānika*, nominative, for οὗτοι, the reading also in Ξ, understood as still referring to Chionides and Magnes), they called villages *qūmās* (κώμας), and as for Dīmūsūs, he called the Athenians 'the objects of satire,' because they were reviled and scorned by the villagers;" that is, he read as if the text were, οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ κώμας τὰς περιοικίδας καλεῖν, Ἀθηναίους δὲ Δημουσὼς κωμῳδοὺς ἀτιμαζομένους ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως, omitting φασιν and οὐκ ἀπὸ … πλάνῃ (*wa-ḏālika anna* [*annahū*] *ammā ḏānika* ⟨*fa-*⟩ *laqqabā l-qurā qūmās, wa-ammā Dīmūsūsu fa-laqqaba ahla Aṯīniyata l-mahǧuwwīna min qibali annahum kānū mumtahanīna mustaḫaff*⟨*an*⟩ *bihim min ahli l-qurā*).[11] Thus *Dīmūsūs* is constructed in this two-part

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[10] There is a double translation for the phrase ποιουμένοιν σημεῖον in the Arabic. Apparently the misunderstood original version was, *min ḥayṯu kānā aʿṭayā r-rusūma*, which was then corrected to *ʿinda mā kānā yastaʿmilāni l-iqrāra*. The two versions are written one right after the other in the MS.

[11] The necessary corrections to the text in the manuscript are as follows: *annahū* secl. Tkatsch | ⟨*fa-*⟩ prop. Tkatsch: ⟨*fa-qad*⟩ ci. Badawī | *mustaḫaff*⟨*an*⟩ ci. Badawī.

sentence as parallel to *ḏānika*, οὗτοι, which is nominative. The reason that he took Dīmūsūs as the subject can only be because he read ’Αθηναίους in the accusative and was accordingly looking for a subject; this is further indicated by the fact that he saw the accusative in κωμῳδοὺς, which he translated with the equally accusative *al-mahǧuwwīn*, in apposition to ’Αθηναίους: "he called the Athenians the objects of satire," using the verb *laqqaba* with two accusatives, as elsewhere in this translation.[12] If he had read ’Αθηναῖοι in the nominative, then he would have written the second part of the sentence, *wa-ammā ahlu Aṯīniyata fa-laqqabū Dīmūsūsa l-mahǧuwwīna*, "as for the Athenians, they called *Dīmūsūs* 'the object*s* of satire', (emphasis added)" which would have further implied that he had taken *Dīmūsūs* as a plural noun, but the Greek spelling of this presumed proper name, ending in -ως, is clearly not a plural ending and the translator would not have mistaken it for one.[13] It is thus clear that he read ’Αθηναίους, corroborating the anonymous Oxford annotator's conjecture.

48a37–38 οὐκ … πλάνῃ non vert. Ar.
See the discussion in the preceding note.

1448b1–2 καὶ τὸ … προσαγορεύειν AB : om. Ar. (an etiam Σ?)
Edzard and Köhnken 238–240 make a case that the omission in Arabic of the sentence καὶ τὸ … προσαγορεύειν reflects the reading of Σ.

48b4 γεννῆσαι μὲν ὅλως A : [Σ] (ὅλως om. Ar.)

48b5 αὗται Paris. 2038 : αὐταὶ Ξ, et ut intell. Syr. / Ar. (*hiya*)
The translator did not read a demonstrative pronoun here but rather understood the pronoun as intensive; he translates, "It seems that the causes generating the art of poetry, *which themselves are by nature*, are two" (emphasis added) (*wa-yušbihu an takūna l-ʿilalu l-muwallidatu li-ṣināʿati š-šiʿri, llatī hiya bi-ṭ-ṭabʿi, ʿillatayni* [sic leg. pro *ʿillatāni*]); he does not use a demonstrative pronoun (*hāḏihi, tilka*) and he does not say, "the causes are two, and *these are by nature*." Accordingly, he must not

[12] See *WKAS* II,1048a40–1048b5.
[13] Margoliouth's Greek text (1911, 236: ’Αθηναῖοι), Tkatsch's translation, *populus Athenarum*, and the vocalization of ʿAyyād, *ahlu Aṯīniyata*, show that they took the subject to be the people of Athens, leaving *Dīmūsūs* in the uncomfortable position of having to stand for a plural form.

have had a clearly marked demonstrative pronoun in his exemplar, Σ, and perhaps he read an unaccented pronoun as the intensive.

48b6 διαφέρουσι Π, Σ (*yuḫālifu bihī n-nāsu*) : διαφέρει B

48b7 μιμητικώτατόν ἐστι Π Σ

48b10 αὐτὰ Π, Σ (*ru'yā-hā*) : αὐτῶν B

48b13 καὶ τοῦτο A, Σ (*hiya hāḏihī*) : τούτων B
For αἴτιον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι the Arabic has, *wa-l-ʿillatu fī ḏālika hiya hāḏihī wa-hiya anna*, "the cause in this regard is this very one, which is that …". The translator adds *fī ḏālika*, "in this regard," on his own, according to the sense, while the words that follow next, *hiya hāḏihī*, "is this very one," render the emphatic Greek καὶ τοῦτο.

48b14 ὁμοίως Σ (*ʿalā miṯālin wāḥidin*)

48b18 οὐχ ᾗ ci. Ellebodius, Hermann : οὐχὶ Ω
The reading of one word of the relevant sentence in the manuscript is not clear: it appears that what was originally written was *li-llaḏī*, "to which," which was then corrected, by the same hand, to something looking like *li-llaḏīna*, 'to those,' or even *li-llaḏīḏ*, 'to the pleasant.' Now this word is supposed to stand for the Greek ἡδονὴν, so there is little doubt that it should be a form of the root *lḏḏ*. Margoliouth's (1887) suggestion (in his Arabic apparatus) that, if read as the pronoun *li-llaḏī*, "to, or for, which", it might support Hermann's emendation of the *iota* of οὐχὶ to ᾗ, is quite astute, but irrelevant: if that is the case, then Margoliouth has to assume (1887, 51) that the translator did not translate at all the word ἡδονὴν, but there is no reason for this. Instead, it is to be noted that the expression ἡδονὴν ποιέω is translated elsewhere (59a21) with the same Arabic words, *ʿamila l-laḏḏa*, literally 'make pleasure,' so there can be little doubt that in this passage also the ambiguous word is to be read as some form of the root *lḏḏ*. Thus the Arabic has, *laysa yaʿmalu l-laḏīḏa šabahun* (this would seem to be preferable to the alternative *laysa yaʿmalu l-laḏḏata šabahun* because it stays closer to the observable reading in the manuscript), "a resemblance does not make the pleasant," which is quite a literal rendering of the transmitted Greek reading, οὐχὶ μίμημα ποιήσει τὴν ἡδονὴν, which was also the text in Σ.

48b22 οἱ B, Σ (*li-llaḏīna hum*) : om. A | πρὸς B, Σ (*ʿalā*) : καὶ Π

48b25 σεμνότεροι Π, Σ (*man kāna minhum akṯara ʿafāfan*) : σεμνότερον B

48b26 τῶν[1] A : om. B Σ | εὐτελέστεροι Π, Σ (*man qad kāna minhum arḏala*) : εὐτελέστερον B

48b27 ποιοῦντες Π, Σ (*ʿinda-mā kānū yahǧūna*) : ποιοῦνται B | ὥσπερ ἕτεροι Ξ : ὕστερον ἑτέροις ut intell. Ar. (*baʿda ḏālika … li-qawmin āḫarīna*)

48b29 εἶναι Π, Σ (*kāna*) : εἰδέναι B | ἀρξαμένοις A : ἀρξάμενος B Φ, Σ (*huwa l-mabdaʾ*)
For 48b29–30, εἰκὸς δὲ … ἔστιν, the Arabic reads, "However, there were many other poets, except that from Homer, he is the beginning" (*wa-illā qad kāna šuʿarāʾu uḫaru kaṯīrīna ġayra anna min ʾŪmīrūs huwa l-mabdaʾu*). This most naturally is taken to reflect the Greek word order and ἀρξάμενος; if the participle had been read in the plural the translator should at least have added, "he is the beginning 'to/for them' " (*huwa l-mabdaʾu* ⟨*lahum*⟩) to reflect the plural in the participle, which in this case may have indicated ἀρξαμένους, taken by the translator to agree with πολλούς. But there is no need for such assumptions since the transmitted Arabic text reflects perfectly well the reading of the participle in the singular. The suggestion by Gallavotti (1954b) 326 note 1, without argument, that the Arabic translation could reflect the reading of A, ἀρξαμένοις, is without basis.

48b30 Μαργίτης] [Σ] | τοιαῦτα ἐν οἷς Π Σ : τοι—$^{\text{<ὁ}}$ B
Σ also had the reading in Π, ἐν οἷς; the Arabic has, *allatī atā bi-hā l-waznu* for ἐν οἷς … ἦλθε μέτρον where *allatī* with the following pronoun *-hā* translate οἷς and the preposition *bi-* in *bi-hā* translates ἐν; the definite word for μέτρον in Arabic, *al-waznu*, suggests that the Syriac translator rendered the word in its emphatic state and that the Arabic translator then understood the Syriac emphatic as definite (i.e., there is no question of a reading ἦλθε τὸ μέτρον in Σ). Here again, as in 47a17 and 47b29 (see above), the preposition *bi-* is used in its proper sense as a preposition (in), rendering a similar usage of the corresponding proclitic Syriac prepositon *b(a)-*, and does not function, in Arabic, as the marker that makes the verb *atā* transitive. For the Syriac translator translated the Greek ἐν οἷς … ἦλθε μέτρον literally, "(the) meter came in them," and the Arabic translator did the same with the Syriac, resulting in *allatī atā bihā l-waznu*, "in

which came (the) meter". The difficulty is again generated, as in the previous two instances, by the fact that the preposition *bi-* in this particular sentence would be most naturally understood in Arabic as the particle that makes the verb "to come", *atā*, transitive, "to bring," and thus the phrase would mean in normal Arabic parlance, "the [things] which the meter brought." But given the Greek, it is clear that the preposition *bi-*, through the Syriac, renders ultimately Greek ἐν to produce the meaning, "(the) meter came in them," and so the reading in Σ was definitely ἐν οἷς.

48b31 καὶ τὸ B : om. Π Σ
If the Arabic *ka-mā atā* renders the Greek κατὰ τὸ ἁρμόττον on the basis of the Syriac, as suggested in his apparatus by Margoliouth (1887), Arabic p. 9, note a (and seconded by Tkatsch, I,226 note 21), then it is clear that the Syriac translator read κατὰ τὸ ἁρμόττον ἰαμβεῖον, omitting καὶ τὸ before ἰαμβεῖον.

48b34 καὶ τὰ AB Σ : *secundum* Lat.
The Arabic has, "just as the poet of serious things …" (*ka-mā anna š-šāʿira fī l-ašyāʾi l-ḥarīṣati*), which corresponds to the transmitted Greek. The Syriac/Arabic translators clearly took τὰ σπουδαῖα as accusative of respect, which would also appear to be the Latin translator's understanding as well.

48b35 ἀλλὰ B : ἀλλ' ὅτι Π : [Σ]
For οὐχ ὅτι εὖ ἀλλὰ καὶ μιμήσεις … ἐποίησεν the Arabic has, "he did not only compose things well but he composed imitations" (*laysa innamā ʿamila ašyāʾa aḥsana fīhā lākin qad ʿamila t-tašbīhāti*). It is not clear from the Arabic whether ὅτι was present or not in Σ, and so it cannot confirm its excision, as Bywater (1909), p. xxxviii (and in his apparatus) claims (cf. Tkatsch II,42a). The translation is accurate enough, though it is clear that whether there was one ὅτι in Σ or two, the Syriac translator took it to mean "that" rather than "because." The evidence from the translation is thus inconclusive, for there is no one-to-one correspondence with the Greek: there is no word corresponding to the ὅτι after οὐχ either.

48b36 τὸ … σχῆμα B, Σ (*šakl*) : τὰ … σχήματα Π

48b37 ὑπέδειξεν Π, Σ (*aẓhara*) : ἀπέδειξεν B

48b38 ὁ B : [Σ] | Μαργίτης] [Σ]

1449a1 πρὸς τὰς τραγῳδίας Π, Σ (*ʿinda l-madīḥāt*) : om. B

49a6 μείζω καὶ ἐντιμότερα Φ (*maiora et honorabiliora*), Σ ut vid. (*kānat hāḏihī aʿẓama kaṯīran wa-ašrafa*), Paris. 2038 : μείζω καὶ ἐντιμότερον B : μεῖζον καὶ ἐντιμότερα A | τὰ σχήματα AB, fort. Syr., τοῦ σχήματος ut intell. Ar. | εἶναι ταῦτα ἐκείνων Π et fort. Σ : ταῦτα ἐκείνων εἶναι B
For μείζω καὶ ἐντιμότερα, the Arabic translation has the same text as the Paris. 2038 and the Latin translation, and this would suggest that Σ had the same reading as Paris. 2038. However, given the nature of the translated words, there is no guarantee that this was actually the reading in Σ; a translation *ad sensum* in the Syriac and Arabic would have produced the same text.

For the entire sentence at 49a5–6, διὰ τὸ … ἐκείνων, the Arabic has, "because these were grander by far and nobler with regard to the form (sing.) of these" (*min qibali annahū qad kānat hāḏihī aʿẓama kaṯīran wa-ašrafa fī* [*min* leg.] *šakli hāḏihī*). This makes little sense. Since the Arabic does have the comparative form for the two adjectives, it is reasonable that the translator's original version also expressed the comparison, and thus an emendation is justified: the preposition *fī* has to be read as *min* (palaeographically a frequent mistake), in which case the clause would read, "… nobler than the form of these." This is closer to the Greek, except that τὰ σχήματα appears in Arabic in the singular and is presented as that to which the subject is being compared instead of the subject itself, suggesting that the Syriac translator translated the clause as if the Greek read, διὰ τὸ μείζω καὶ ἐντιμότερα τοῦ σχήματος ἐκείνων εἶναι ταῦτα. Not much can be made of the plural/singular variation of τὰ σχήματα in the translations, though, for even if the plural word was correctly translated in Syriac, if the plural double dots (*seyāmē*) were missing in the Syriac exemplar of the Arabic translation, it could have been easily misunderstood as the singular in Arabic. As far as the order of the last three words is concerned, this reading, i.e., as the translator understood it, can be elicited from εἶναι ταῦτα ἐκείνων (A) but not from ταῦτα ἐκείνων εἶναι (B). So in all likelihood Σ was closer to A than to B.

Another suggestion for correcting the obviously corrupt text of the clause in Arabic was offered by Margoliouth, who also assumed, as I did, that the comparison was expressed, but suggested instead to read,[14]

[14] Margoliouth (1887), Arabic p. 10, note b, "fort. excidit *min*", i.e., before *hāḏihī*, though his Latin translation follows the transmitted text, *in forma huius* (Margoliouth (1911), p. 241), as Tkatsch II,4a note 77 remarks.

ašrafa fī šaklin ⟨*min*⟩ *hāḏihī*, "… nobler with regard to form ⟨than⟩ these." Tkatsch adopts Margoliouth's conjecture in his translation, ⟨*quam*⟩ *haec*. This could be tenable if the word *šakl* in the sentence, as Margoliouth wants to read it, were definite, *fī š-šakli*, which would imply that the translator took τὰ σχήματα as an accusative of respect (or, as Tkatsch suggests, *accusativum limitationis*, II,4a note 76) rather than as the subject of the clause; but as it is, the indefinite noun in the phrase *fī šaklin*, which in all likelihood would have to reflect a Syriac word in the absolute state (?), cannot have that meaning.

49a7 εἰ ἄρ' ἔχει ci. Tkatsch, ex εἰ ἄρχει Σ (*hal huwa mabdaʾ*) : εἰ ἄρα ἔχει Paris. 2038 : παρέχει A : *si habet* Lat. : ἄρα ἔχει B
The Arabic in the manuscript reads, *huwa huwa mabdaʾ*, which clearly has to be corrected to *hal huwa mabdaʾ* ("whether it is a beginning"), rendering precisely εἰ ἄρχει. The suggestion by Margoliouth (1911) 240, in the apparatus of his Greek edition, and by Tkatsch I,227n38 and II,4a, note 80 (followed by Edzard and Köhnken 230 and by Edzard (2007) 172), that the word *mabdaʾ* stands rather for the noun, ἀρχή, disregards the Greek syntax, in which the noun does not fit; both the noun and the verb in this case would be translated the same in Arabic. Tkatsch, however, in both notes does also suggest ἄρχει for ἀρχή, and accordingly conjectures the correct reading as εἰ ἄρ' ἔχει. He repeats this conjecture later (II,141a) with a promise for subsequent discussion which, however, was not found among the notes that were published posthumously by Gudeman and Seif.

Thus Σ read εἰ ἄρχει ἤδη ἡ τραγῳδία τοῖς εἴδεσιν ἱκανῶς, which was literally translated into Arabic as, *hal* [sic leg. pro *huwa*] *huwa mabdaʾun* [*al-*]*ṣināʿatu l-madīḥi wa-bi-l-anwāʿi ʿalā l-kifāyati* (with corrections for the two slight corruptions which occurred within the Arabic transmission), meaning, "Whether the art of tragedy is sufficiently a beginning, and by means of the kinds." The translator misunderstood two things: Not having read ἔχει but ἄρχει he could not properly understand the dative in τοῖς and thus translated it as instrumental; and he took εἴδη to mean kinds rather than forms.

The significance of the Arabic version for the establishment of the text is that it confirms the presence in Σ of the conjunction εἰ. The same is confirmed by the reading παρέχει in A where the initial Π would appear to be an eventual misreading, in uncials, of EI. The ultimate archetype of A thus read εἰ ἄρ' ἔχει: i.e., the mistaken reading ἄρχει in Σ suggests a corruption from εἰ ἄρ' ἔχει rather than from εἰ ἄρα ἔχει, as in B.

49a8 εἴδεσιν Π, Σ (*bi-l-anwāʿi*) : ἤδέσι B | κρῖναι ci. Forchhammer : κρίνεται ἢ ναί A : [Σ] sed fort. κριν—ἢ εἶναι

The Arabic translation of 49a8–9, ἢ οὐ αὐτό … ἄλλος λόγος, is too inexact to allow us to determine with precision the readings of the Greek manuscript. The translation reads, *wa-ḏālika annahū immā an takūna tānnika baḥṯayni* [sic leg.] *bi-hāḏihī aw yakūna ʿinda kiltayhimā bi-nisbatin uḫrā*, meaning, "For either these two [i.e., tragedy and comedy] are inquiries by means of this, or it takes place with both of them in different measure." This corresponds, as far as it can be determined, as follows to the Greek. The dual certainly did not exist in the Greek manuscript; the translator added it, under the influence both of lines 49a2–3 (where in the Arabic the dual is used, *kiltay hātayni*), and of his misreading of τὰ θέατρα as τὰ θάτερα in line 49a9 (see below), thinking that this whole paragraph is talking about these two genres. Margoliouth's attempt (1887, 52) to read αὐτώ for αὐτό in line 49a8 disregards the fact that this dual pronoun in Greek is masculine, whereas tragedy and comedy, both in Greek and in Arabic (*ṣināʿatu l-hiǧāʾ, ṣināʿatu l-madīḥ*) are feminine and the translator has an emphatic feminine pronoun. However, it is very likely that the translator did not read, or did not want to read, αὐτὸ, but read αὐτὰ, which, if his classical Greek was good enough, he may have taken as feminine dual rather than neuter plural. The conjunction "for" (*wa-ḏālika annahū*) at the beginning of the sentence is not in the Greek, but then neither is the preceding negative, οὔ in ἢ οὔ. But the Arabic does have a disjunctive structure, "either … or," which would imply that he read the ἢ as the beginning of the new sentence, especially if he read the second part of the disjunction in the ἢ ναί at the end of the line, as in manuscript A. He thus seems to have translated as if he read, ἢ γὰρ αὐτό … ἢ …, for *wa-ḏālika anna* is a frequent rendering of γὰρ. Now οὔ can hardly be mistaken for γὰρ, so we have to assume that the translator simply understood the passage thus.

Next, the critical word is what I translate as "[two] inquiries," *baḥṯayni* in Arabic. The word in the manuscript has no pointing (بحىں), and different editors have read it differently, but if it is assumed that the Greek text had something like κρίνεται, then *baḥṯ* would be an adequate rendering.[15] It thus seems certain that Σ did have a word whose root was κριν-, but its precise form cannot be determined. "By means of this"

[15] E.g., *baḥṯ* is one of many renderings of κρίνειν in Artemidorus' dreambook; see Schmitt (1970) 352.

(*bi-hāḏihī*) clearly renders καθ' αὑτὸ, except that it was understood as κατ' αὐτὸ. The next disjunctive "or" (*aw*), followed by the verb "it takes place" (*yakūnu*), most likely comes from a reading in Σ ἢ εἶναι (which would be either a variant or variant reading of the text in A, ἢ ναί), while the dual "both of them" (*kiltayhimā*) must arise from a misreading of τὰ θέατρα as τὰ θάτερα. "In different measure" (*bi-nisbatin uḫrā*), finally, is a rendering of ἄλλος λόγος, where the polysemous λόγος is not understood as "account."

On the basis of the Arabic translation, therefore, it seems that the Syriac translator *understood* the Greek sentence as follows, beginning with the disjunctive after ἱκανῶς: ἢ γὰρ αὐτό (αὐτά?) τε κατ' αὐτὸ κρίν— (?), ἢ εἶναι πρὸς τὰ θάτερα ἄλλος λόγος. The actual reading in Σ must have been close enough to this version to enable this understanding. In all likelihood, and given the presence in the Arabic of the second disjunctive ἢ at the end of line 8, Σ must have been very close to the reading of manuscript A.

49a9 θέατρα Ξ : θάτερα ut intell. Syr. | γενομένης Ω : γενομένη rec. | δ' οὖν B : οὖν Π : [Σ]
The word θέατρα in the Syriac, and hence in Abū-Bišr's translation, appears to have been misread as θάτερα, as Margoliouth (1887) 52, and Tkatsch I,227 note 43 suggest. Thus καὶ πρὸς τὰ θέατρα appears as, "or it comes about in both of them" (*aw yakūnu ʿinda kiltayhimā*). Neither Avicenna nor Averroes includes this passage in his paraphrase. For the (mis)translation of the word at 53a34 see below *ad loc.*

The Syriac translator read γενομένης, as in the Greek manuscripts, and punctuated after ἀρχῆς: γενομένης δ' οὖν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, αὐτοσχεδιαστικῆς, taking both feminine genitives to refer to τραγῳδία, and thus rendered: "as it came to be from the beginning, and developed all at once" (*fa-lammā ḥadaṯat munḏu l-ibtidāʾi, wa-naša⟨ʾa⟩t dufʿatan*[16]).

[16] The manuscript has no vocalization, and neither do the editions of Margoliouth (though he translates as *dufʿatan*, *subito*, in 1911, 241), Tkatsch (I,227, whose translation is ambiguous, *una vice*), and Badawī. ʿAyyād vocalizes *dafʿatan*, "at one go, with a single thrust," which may be equally acceptable, though in either case the meaning would be roughly the same in Arabic. It is difficult to guess what the underlying Syriac word was that suggested this translation in Arabic; the correct rendering would have been, of course, "it developed by itself," to render αὐτοσχεδιαστικῆς. In 1448b23 ἐκ τῶν αὐτοσχεδιασμάτων is similarly translated as, *mina llaḏīna allafūhā dufʿatan (dafʿatan* ʿAyyād*) wa-min sāʿatihī*, "from those which composed it all at once and on the spot."

49a10 καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ Π, Σ (*hiya wa- … ayḍan*) : καὶ αὐτὴ B | καὶ[3] Π : om. B : [Σ]

49a11–12 φαλλικά Paris. 2038 : φαυλικὰ BΦ, et ut leg. Syr.
The Arabic has *muzawwara* ("of little value, fake") for the word, which rather indicates that the Syriac translator understood it to mean φαῦλα (as suggested by Margoliouth in his Arabic apparatus and repeated by Tkatsch II,4a note 93), which in turn points to a reading φαυλικά in Σ.

49a12 διαμένει Φ Σ, Paris. 2038 : διαμένειν AB
The infinitive reading in AB, introducing indirect speech, arose from a misunderstanding of νομιζόμενα to mean "consider, deem." The Arabic translation has no trace of indirect speech, which indicates that Σ did, in fact, have the finite form of the verb, as this was corrected later by the more recent manuscripts.

49a15 αὑτῆς vel ἑαυτῆς Σ (*allatī taḫuṣṣuhā*)
The phrase *allatī taḫuṣṣuhā* leaves no doubt that Σ had one of the two reflexive forms. The Arabic text corresponding to ἐπεὶ … φύσιν ought perhaps to be emended to read, *min qibali annahū qad kānat* ⟨*lahā*⟩ *aṭ-ṭabīʿatu llatī taḫuṣṣuhā*.

49a17 ἠλάττωσε et τὸν λόγον non vertit Ar.

49a18 πρωταγωνιστεῖν ci. Sophianus : [Σ]
It is impossible to decide what Σ had on the basis of the Arabic translation. As it stands, it is clear that the words *wa-huwa ayḍan awwalu man aʿadda maḏāhiba l-ǧihādāt* ("he was also the first to prepare the ways of contests") stand for the Greek words καὶ τὸν λόγον πρωταγωνιστεῖ/ὴν παρεσκεύασεν, but there is no clear correspondence. It is obvious that the translator broke up the word πρωταγωνιστεῖ/ὴν into its elements, πρῶτος and ἀγωνίζομαι, in an etymological translation, as Immisch already suggested (as recorded by Kassel in his apparatus). But it is not possible to decide whether he read the second element as the infinitive of the verb or the accusative of the noun, as the two Greek variants have it. Immisch's further suggestion to read πρῶτος ἀγωνιστικὸν cannot stand, because by analogy with the preceding sentence in the Arabic, one would think that the translation should correspond to something like this in the Greek, καὶ πρῶτος τὰ τῶν ἀγώνων παρεσκεύασεν. The reason is that τὸν λόγον is clearly omitted in the Arabic, and the pronouns τὰ τῶν in

this reconstruction would stand for *maḏāhib* ("the ways of"), as in the preceding sentence, where τὰ τοῦ χοροῦ is translated by *al-maḏāhib allatī li-ṣ-ṣufūfi wa-li-d-dastaband* ("the ways of [bands of men] in line or in a circle [in celebration of a festival]"),[17] with *ṣufūf* and *dastaband* being a hendiadys for χορός. Thus, on this analogy, τὰ τῶν ἀγώνων would be translated by *maḏāhib al-ǧihādāt*, "the ways of contests." But it is almost certain that Σ did not read πρῶτος τὰ τῶν ἀγώνων; it is just that the translator understood this from either πρωταγωνιστεῖν or πρωταγωνιστὴν. It may be argued that since the Arabic does not refer to any individual(s), a notion that might have been elicited by the translator had he read πρωταγωνιστὴν, but rather that he refers to contests, the reading in Σ was most likely the infinitive, πρωταγωνιστεῖν. But there is no certainty in this.

49a18–19 τρεῖς δὲ καὶ σκηνογραφίαν Σοφοκλῆς Ξ : *atque etiam primus, qui manifestavit has species ludi et ioci, erat Sophocles* ut intell. Ar.

49a19–20 καὶ ἡ *** ἐκ λέξεως Σ (*wa-⟨ḍ-⟩ḍaǧīǧa wa-r-rahaǧa fī l-kalāmi ⟨mina l-kalāmi⟩ wa-l-maqūlāti = et strepitum et tumultum in sermone e sermone et dictionibus*) : καὶ λέξεως Ξ
The Arabic of this difficult passage reads as follows: *wa-ayḍan huwa awwalu man aẓhara mina n-našā'idi ṣ-ṣiġāri 'iẓama l-kalāmi wa-⟨ḍ-⟩ḍaǧīǧa wa-r-rahaǧa fī l-kalāmi ⟨mina l-kalāmi⟩ wa-l-maqūlāti d-dāḫilati fī bābi l-istihzā'i wa-l-hazli, wa-'amila ḏālika bi-an ġayyara šay'⟨an⟩ min šakli l-fanni l-musammā sṭ'wrrwr* [i.e., satyrikon]; *wa-ammā bi-l-aḫarati wa-bi-l-ibṭā'i, fa-sta'malū l-'iffata*,[18] which means, "He was also the first to develop grandiose speech from paltry hymns, and clamorous and dramatic speech from words belonging to the area of satire and humor, and he did this by changing something of the form of the genre called satyrikon; as for subsequently, they behaved with decency." This indicates that the Greek text in Σ stood as follows, ἔτι δὲ τὸ μέγεθος ἐκ μικρῶν μύθων, καὶ ἡ clamorous and dramatic speech ἐκ λέξεως γελοίας διὰ τὸ ἐκ σατυρικοῦ μεταβαλεῖν ὀψὲ ἀπεσεμνύνθη. But the translator, who parsed and punctuated it erroneously, understood it as follows: ἔτι δὲ τὸ μέγεθος (scil. πρῶτος παρεσκεύασε Σοφοκλῆς) ἐκ μικρῶν μύθων, καὶ τὴν clamorous and dramatic speech ἐκ λέξεως γελοίας, διὰ τὸ ἐκ σατυρικοῦ μεταβαλεῖν· ὀψὲ δὲ ἀπεσεμνύνθη. The Arabic text as transmitted in the manuscript needs

[17] *Dastaband*, a Persian term, was in use in Syriac, as Margoliouth (1887) 48 mentions by referring to Barhebraeus.
[18] The corrections and punctuation are mine.

two small corrections to yield this sense: the word *ḍaǧīǧ*, which occurs without the article, needs it in order to be of the same order as the next word, *ar-rahaǧ*, the two of which mean roughly the same thing and would appear to be a hendiadys translating a single Greek word: "clamorous and dramatic," i.e., speech, *fī l-kalāmi*, as added by the translator to specify the area in which the clamoring and dramatization apply, just as in the preceding clause he had added *al-kalām* after *ʿiẓam* to specify μέγεθος which by itself is not immediately comprehensible.[19] In the following phrase, *al-kalām wa-l-maqūla* form a hendiadys translating λέξεως (49a19–20; I add *mina-l-kalāmi*, which must have dropped out by haplography; cf. the same hendiadys for the same Greek word in 49a23), and the whole phrase, "belonging to the area of satire and humor" (*ad-dāḫila fī bābi l-istihzāʾi wa-l-hazli*), translates the word γελοίας (49a20). If that is so, the genitive of λέξεως γελοίας, which is governed by the preposition ἐκ, needs to be translated by *min*, like the genitive following ἐκ in ἐκ μικρῶν μύθων, and hence my addition of the preposition *min* in ⟨*mina l-kalāmi*⟩ *wa-l-maqūlāti*.

This reading of the Arabic presents a tolerably accurate (if not correct) translation of the Greek text as transmitted (and thus it is not the case that "omnia turbata in Ar" as Kassel writes in his apparatus), with the exception of the word which the hendiadys *aḍ-ḍaǧīǧ wa-r-rahaǧ* is supposed to translate. At first sight, the meaning of this hendiadys appears to be too specific to be merely an addition *ad sensum* by the translator simply to complete the implied thought—as far as I can tell, these two words do not occur elsewhere in the translation literature. However that may be, though, the hendiadys must correspond to something in the Greek text that was lost in the extant Greek manuscript tradition, and it should be added to the text. Specifically, the Arabic presupposes that the Greek text that has fallen out is an article, plus a word that means "clamorous and dramatic speech," plus the preposition ἐκ. The Arabic, as reconstructed above, has the article (*al-*) in both words that form the hendiadys that stands for a Greek word; this Arabic article in turn would

[19] Bywater, ed. 1909, p. xxxiii, suggested that *vociferatio* and *tumultus*, together with *magnitudo*, are "three alternative renderings for μέγεθος." But this can hardly be maintained, first, because μέγεθος is a common enough word whose meaning is well covered both by the Arabic word *ʿiẓam* and the added qualification, "in speech" (*fī l-kalāmi*), as just stated; second, because the Arabic syntax is wrong for the three nouns to be taken as referring to a single item; and third and most important, a hendiadys consists of rendering a word with *two* words and not three—in other words, a hendiadys is not a ἓν διὰ τριῶν, something which seldom, if ever, occurs in the translated literature.

be translating the emphatic state of the two words in Syriac (Syriac has a postpositive article), and the Syriac emphatic state would be translating the Greek article. Though it is not the case that every time a Greek word has the article that article is automatically translated in Syriac and Arabic, in the present context the definiteness is something that is required, as indicated by the article in τὸ μέγεθος. After the word standing for the hendiadys, finally, the preposition ἐκ is required by the following genitive in λέξεως γελοίας, and it is parallel to the preceding ἐκ in ἐκ μικρῶν.

It is noteworthy that independently of the Arabic translation Christ also thought that something had dropped out of the Greek text, namely, ἡ λέξις ἐκ, which is adopted in the present edition. Now the article and the preposition (ἡ … ἐκ) are assured by their presence in Σ, as just discussed, together with an intervening word, rendered in Arabic by the hendiadys mentioned above. Margoliouth also analyzed this hendiadys in the same way, and translated it at first as "vociferationem et tumultum" (1887, p. 53), and then as "clamorem et tumultum" (1911, p. 241), while Tkatsch I,229, translated it as "strepitum et tumultum." For the underlying Greek word behind the Arabic hendiadys Margoliouth initially suggested ὑψηγορία (1887, p. 54). This would have been very appropriate, had it not been for the fact that it seems that this word came later into use (after Aristotle) to mean this particular way of dramatic diction and is not something that Aristotle would have used. The same would apply to something like μεγαληγορία or στόμφος, which also appear to be later terms. It is possible also to think of μεγαλοφωνία, which Aristotle does use, but it seems to mean in his case a deep and bass voice rather than sublime diction, despite the fact that in *De Gen. Animal.* (786b30ff.) he does say that such depth of voice is more noble than a thin voice. It is thus not unlikely that λέξις may indeed be the missing word, and that the Arabic hendiadys would stand for an interpretive rendering, possibly following a marginal comment.

49a20 σατυρικοῦ B : [Σ]

49a25 μέτρων Ξ : μερῶν (*al-ağzā'*) Σ vel ut intell. Syr.

49a27–28 λεκτικῆς Ξ : διαλεκτικῆς (*al-ğadalī*) ut interpr. Ar.

49a28 ἀλλ' ὡς rec. : ἄλλα ὡς Σ (*al-uḫaru … naḥwa*)

49a30–31 ἔστω … εἴη non vertit Ar.

49a31 διεξιέναι Π : [Σ]

49a34 τό[1] Π : τι Σ (*šay'un*)
The Arabic reads, "But it [i.e., comedy] is something laughable [that falls] within the domain of just what is repugnant, being a part and laughable" (*lākin innamā hiya šay'un mustahza'un fī bābi mā huwa qabīḥun, wa-hiya ǧuz'un wa-mustahza'atun*), which clearly stands for ἀλλὰ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ ἐστί τι γελοῖον μόριον. The Arabic does not take γελοῖον as the subject of the clause but as predicate of μίμησις: μίμησις is something (τι) laughable, and it is a part (μόριον).

49a36 διεστραμμένον Φ, Σ (*munkar*), Paris. 2038 : δ' ἐστραμμένον A

1449b1 ἔλαθεν Π, Σ (*unsiyat wa-ġabā amruhā* [sic ed. ʿAyyād]) : ἔλαχε B | χορὸν Π, Σ (*ṣufūf ar-raqqāṣīn wa-d-dastaband*) : χρόνον B

49b6 Ἐπίχαρμος καὶ Φόρμις Ξ : non habet Σ
The Arabic translation understands the clause τὸ δὲ μύθους ποιεῖν Ἐπίχαρμος καὶ Φόρμις as one sentence, for it begins a new one with the words τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς. The clause itself is translated as follows: *wa-l-ʿamalu li-l-qiṣaṣi wa-l-ḫurāfāti huwa an yutraka* [or, less probably, *yunzala* or *yunazzala*] *ǧamīʿu l-kalāmi llaḏī yakūnu bi-l-iḫtiṣāri* (with the words *man kāna miṯla* being written after the word *ǧamīʿu* and crossed out by the scribe). This means, "The composing of myths and legends consists in that one abandon [or, alternately, diminish] all talk which is abridged." This translates accurately τὸ δὲ μύθους ποιεῖν part of the Greek (with μύθους being translated by the hendiadys *al-qiṣaṣ wa-l-ḫurāfāt*), but the rest in the Arabic is completely different from the two names in the Greek. There are three ways in which this could be explained.

(1) On the assumption that Σ had the two names, the Syriac translator wrote them in transcription but Abū-Bišr, the Arabic translator, misread those two names as meaning "that one abandon all talk which is abridged."[20] This cannot be maintained, for two reasons. The first is that the name Ἐπίχαρμος occurs once before in the text (1448a33), where indeed he is identified as a "poet", and there the Arabic translation has a very accurate transcription of the name: *'fyḫ'rms* (*Afīḫārmus*) *aš-šāʿir*. It

[20] Margoliouth (1887), Arabic p. 13, note d.

is therefore quite unlikely that either the Syriac translator or Abū-Bišr would have misread the name. Furthermore, the Syriac transcription of the name which Margoliouth suggested lay behind the alleged misreading of Abū-Bišr is quite different from the one which served as exemplar for the extant Arabic transcription at 48a33. Margoliouth suggested the Syriac transcription *ʾbykrmʾ* (a transcription that must necessarily be in this precise form if the allegedly misunderstood word in Syriac is to be derived from it), which normally would appear in Arabic as *ʾbyk/ḫrm, Abīkarm* or perhaps *Abīḫarm*,[21] not as *Afīḫārmus* as we have it in 48a33.

(2) The text in the Arabic translation that needs to be explained, "that one abandon all talk which is abridged," which could also mean "that one abandon all words which are abridged," is actually a translator's note, which somehow entered the text, referring to abbreviations in the Greek manuscript Σ and directing the scribe to disregard them. This explanation also is little plausible. It suggests that something—possibly the two names in the Greek text—was present in Σ in abbreviated form and that they could not be deciphered. But it is certain that the two names would not have been written in abbreviated form if Σ was in uncials: they are too uncommon names and unfamiliar enough (to Christian scribes) to be abbreviated.

(3) The text in the Arabic translation that needs to be explained, "that one abandon all talk which is abridged," either somehow reflects what was in the Greek text (in Σ) or is an addition by the translator or a marginal commentator (unclear whether in Syriac or Arabic) that echoes the text in the *Poetics* itself a few lines down, at 1449b8–9, ἀφέμενος τῆς ἰαμβικῆς ἰδέας καθόλου ποιεῖν λόγους καὶ μύθους.[22] The latter half of this alternative would appear to be the most likely. If my argument in (1) and (2) above is right and these two alternatives are to be discounted, then the two names were not present in Σ. Thus Σ either read nothing in their stead (i.e., it read, τὸ δὲ μύθους ποιεῖν, τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς), or at most had some word or words of general reference pointing forward, i.e., it may have read, τὸ δὲ μύθους ποιεῖν οὕτως· (or, οὕτως ἐγένετο·) τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς. The translator, or a marginal commentator, whether in Syriac or Arabic, felt the need to make the text more explicit by explaining either the word οὕτως

[21] For the transcription of Greek χ through Syriac into Arabic see Vagelpohl (2008) 156–157.

[22] Tkatsch (I,230, note 8, end) hints at this but does not develop the argument further.

(or something similar, if it existed), or the implications of the implied comma or colon after ποιεῖν, and added the phrase, "that one abandon all talk which is abridged," obviously paraphrasing what Aristotle himself says two lines down, "abandoning the lampooning mode" (ἀφέμενος τῆς ἰαμβικῆς ἰδέας). His new sentence, "The composing of myths and legends consists in that one abandon all talk which is abridged," is thus exactly parallel to what Aristotle himself says in 49b8–9, "[he] abandoned the lampooning mode and composed plots and myths of a general nature." There is one difficulty: whereas Aristotle in the latter passage says that it is the "lampooning mode" (ἰαμβικὴ ἰδέα) that was abandoned, the Arabic paraphrase says that what needs to be abandoned is abridged talk (*al-kalām … bi-l-iḫtiṣār*), not lampooning talk. The translator, or a commentator, knew what the Greek term used here, ἰαμβικὴ, meant because it is used by Aristotle himself two pages earlier, at 1448b32, ὅτι ἐν τῷ μέτρῳ τούτῳ ἰάμβιζον ἀλλήλους, which was correctly translated into Arabic as, *wa-bi-hāḏā l-wazni kānū yatahāwanūna baʿḍuhum bi-baʿḍin*, "in this meter they used to deride each other." The added phrase in the passage in question (49b6), therefore, purporting as it does to paraphrase 49b8, cannot mistranslate ἰαμβικὴ as "abridging" because the translator or commentator knew what the word meant from the previous passage just discussed. The word meaning "abridgment," therefore, *iḫtiṣār*, is in all likelihood corrupt. What must have stood there originally was most probably a synonym of *tahāwun*, another word meaning "to deride and disdain." This word is *iḥtiqār*, which is written in an almost exactly identical skeleton as *iḫtiṣār*. It appears therefore that the transmitted reading in the Paris manuscript of the Organon is to be read as *al-kalām allaḏī yakūnu bi-l-iḥtiqār*, and thus the sentence would read, "The composing of myths and legends consists in that one abandon all talk which is disdainful," a statement that parallels precisely the Aristotelian text in 49b8–9. From this the conclusion can be drawn with relative certainty that Σ did not contain the two names.

49b9 μὲν τοῦ ci. Tyrwhitt : μόνου Ξ, Σ ut vid. (*maʿdin* (?) *mā*) ||
See the discussion in the following comment.

49b10 μετὰ μέτρου ⟨καὶ⟩ λόγου ci. Tarán : μέτρου μετὰ λόγου B, Σ ut vid. (*al-wazn* [*min*] *maʿa l-qawl*) : μέτρου μεγάλου A
The syntax of this difficult and inadequately transmitted sentence was quite misunderstood by the Syriac and hence the Arabic translator. However, it is still possible to divine with relative certainty the particular

readings in Σ in the contested areas. The verdict is that Σ appears to be very close to B. The Arabic reads as follows in the manuscript, accurately copied by Tkatsch: *wa-t-tašabbuhu* [*tašbīhu* leg.?] *wa-l-muḥākātu li-l-afāḍili ṣārat lāzimatan li-ṣināʿati š-šiʿri l-musammāti "afī" fī ṣināʿati l-madīḥi ilā maʿdinin mā mina l-wazni muzmiʿi l-qawli*, which can be roughly translated as, "Imitation of virtuous people came to accompany the poetry called 'epic' in tragedies up to a certain core (?) of the meter intending(?) speech." This indicates that the translator understood the Greek as follows: τῇ μὲν οὖν ἐποποιίᾳ ἐν τῇ τραγῳδίᾳ μέχρι μόνου μέτρου μετὰ λόγου ἡ μίμησις σπουδαίων ἠκολούθησεν, which is very close to the text in B (ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐποποιία τῇ τραγῳδίᾳ μέχρι μόνου μέτρου μετὰ λόγου μίμησις εἶναι σπουδαίων ἠκολούθησεν). This reconstruction does not mean that this is the text that the translator read in Σ, only what he understood from it. Thus it is almost certain that the Greek manuscript did not have the initial article in the dative, or the preposition ἐν before τῇ τραγῳδίᾳ, or that it omitted εἶναι; the translator just understood the sentence as if this were the case. He thus took the subject of the sentence to be μίμησις σπουδαίων, disregarding εἶναι, and further took ἐποποιία as object of ἠκολούθησεν, with τραγῳδίᾳ seen as the greater unit which includes epic poetry. Unfortunate as this misunderstanding is for our ability to see precisely what Σ had, it does not seriously affect the two passages which are contested in the Greek transmission. These are,

(1) the word μόνου, attested in all Greek manuscripts and the Latin translation, but corrected to μὲν τοῦ by Tyrwhitt and accepted by Kassel. The Arabic does have a word after μέχρι, so that it is clear that Σ had there a word like μόνου and not μὲν τοῦ, which would not appear separately in Arabic. The problem is that the Arabic word purporting to translate μόνου is written in the Paris manuscript as *maʿdin*, which means 'mine' (i.e., of minerals) and, by extension, 'hoard,' 'trove,' 'source,' and 'essence'. Margoliouth suggested reading *miqdār*, 'amount', for *maʿdin*, and Tkatsch and ʿAyyād followed him, but the meaning is hardly served by the inclusion of the word 'amount' there. Badawī keept *maʿdin* in his edition, and perhaps it is to be kept for lack of anything better; understanding it to mean the 'core of the meter' does bear some resemblance to Greek μόνου μέτρου. In any case, Tyrwhitt's emendation is not corroborated by the Arabic translation.

(2) The word(s) after μέτρου are, μετὰ λόγου in B and μεγάλου in A. The Arabic has *muzmiʿi l-qawli*, 'intending speech,' which follows the

reading in B, since *qawl* obviously renders λόγου and not μεγάλου, the reading in A. So again there is no doubt about the reading in Σ, but the problem is once more the Arabic translation. The word *muzmiʿ* in the Arabic of the translations normally renders Greek μέλλει in the sense of intending or having in mind to do something,[23] so the question is raised whether Σ might not have read μέτρου μέλλοντος λόγου. But this seems quite implausible in context. Margoliouth, again, suggested reading *murammiġ* for *muzmiʿ*, but this can hardly be entertained. The verb *rammaġa* is very poorly attested in medieval Arabic; most medieval dictionaries do not have it, and it seems that it may have appeared only in the *Muḥīṭ* of Ṣāḥib ibn-ʿAbbād (d. 995 AD), as quoted in the *Tāǧ al-ʿarūs*, where it is defined as "putting together a speech/text from here and there" (*tarmīġu l-kalāmi talfīquhū min hunā wa-min hunā*), that is, making a patchwork composition. Apart from the fact that the Ṣāhib's dictionary did contain many rare (and unattested) terms and hence that it is quite doubtful that Abū-Bīšr would have known, let alone used, such a word in his translation, the meaning of this word does not fit the context. If one were to read, *al-wazn murammiġ al-qawl*, it would mean, "the meter putting together speech" (μέτρου συνάγοντος λόγου?) which makes little sense.

On the other hand, the word *muzmiʿ* itself may just as easily be read as two prepositions side by side, *min maʿa*, where the first would be the mistaken form of the preposition translating μετά, not crossed out in the manuscript, and the second the corrected version, *maʿa*, meaning "with." Interestingly, it would seem that Margoliouth himself may have come to this understanding of the situation, for in his 1911 Latin translation of the Arabic text (p. 243), he wrote, "metro *cum* sermone" (my italics), which indicates that he eventually opted for a reading like *maʿa* for the contested word *muzmiʿ*—but he did so without any explanation of the case: in his Introductionn (p. 86), he simply stated, "It is noticeable that in the Ar[abic] the word rendered *cum* [i.e., *maʿa*] is altered out of that for *de* [i.e., *min*]."

In sum, the Arabic translation of this passage strongly suggests that Σ was very close to B, and especially in the two contested passages, but fails to give us more precise information about details.

[23] See the glossaries of the translations of the *Rhetoric*, the Ps.-Plutarch *Placita*, Themistius's *De anima* commentary, etc. (for references see *GALex*, Inroduction, The Sources).

49b11 τῷ B : τὸ A Σ
The Arabic translates as if the text read, τὸ δὲ τὸ μέτρον ἁπλοῦν ἔχειν καὶ ἐπαγγελίαν [ἐπαγγελίας, pl.?] εἶναι, ταῦτα [*an* ταύτην?] διαφέρουσιν = *wa-kawnu l-wazni basīṭun* [or, *basīṭan*?] *wa-an takūna ʿuhūdun, fa-inna hāḏihī muḫtalifatun* ("the meter's being is simple and that there be promises—these are different"). Apart from the absence of the dative in the first article, it is clear that Syr./Ar. read ἐπαγγελίαν (or perhaps in the plural, ἐπαγγελίας, *ʿuhūd*, "promises," though this may be just a mistake from Syriac into Arabic only) for ἀπαγγελίαν (as Tkatsch II,6a noted), and possibly ταῦτα—or perhaps ταύτην, a reading accepted in his text by Margoliouth (1911), on the basis of a late manuscript (Ambrosianus B 78)—for ταύτῃ. That Syr./Ar. read τὸ rather than τῷ is also clear from the following sentence in the Greek, where τῷ μήκει (49b12) is translated *fī ṭ-ṭūl*, "with respect to length," the preposition *fī* rendering the dative; in the sentence in question, the preposition is absent.

49b15 ἐν[1] Π, Σ : ὅτι ἐν B

49b16 ταὐτὰ Paris. 2038 : ταῦτα AB, Σ (*hāḏihī*)

49b19 πάντα Π, Σ (*ǧamīʿuhā*) : πάντως B
The Syriac translator read οὐ πάντα; οὐ πάντως in 1451b23 is rendered, through the Syriac, as *lā maḥālata* in a negative sentence.

49b21 μὲν B, Σ (*wa-ammā … fa-*) : om. Π
For μὲν commonly translated in the *Poetics* with *ammā … fa-* see Tkatsch I,171a–172a; in general in Graeco-Arabic translations see *GALex* I,341–344.

49b23 ἀναλαβόντες ci. Bernays : ἀπολαβόντες AB Σ
At first sight the Arabic translation at this point appears problematic because of the actual reading in the manuscript. The translation as we have it omits the words περὶ δὲ τραγῳδίας λέγωμεν so that the Arabic word that stands for ἀνα-/ ἀπολαβόντες begins the following sentence. This word itself in the manuscript appears as *lʿṣb* (لعصب). All editors have followed Margoliouth in reading the word as *naʿṣibu*,[24] substituting the

[24] Except Badawī, who reads *bi-ʿaqibin*, "immediately following," completely without any textual justification and against the skeleton in the manuscript. Badawī simply took this word together with the preceding phrase, *wa-kaḏālika fī ṣināʿati l-hiǧāʾi bi-ʿaqibin*

letter *nūn* for the initial *lām* that appears in the manuscript. *Naʿṣibu* is a relatively uncommon way to say "we grasp," but because it translates, grosso modo, the element λαβόντες of the original ἀπολαβόντες or ἀναλαβόντες, it has gained acceptance. It is, however, wrong, and we can correct it by comparing it with another passage in the *Poetics* where the word in question in this passage (1449b23), ἀπολαβών, recurs, in 1459a35. There the reading in the manuscript is *taqabbaṣat* (تقبصت), a form from the root *qbṣ* that is not attested; or, if one reads *taqabbaḍat* by adding a dot on the *ṣād*, it would mean "to be contracted, drawn in," which is certainly wrong. Margoliouth, again, suggested reading for this passage *taqtaḍibu*, a different pointing of the same skeleton in Arabic (تقتضب), which in this case happens to be exactly correct; the word means "to cut off," the meaning intended by Aristotle here. This is the VIIIth form of the verb from the root *qḍb*, and the first form, *qaḍaba*, means the same thing. We thus can read the word in 49b23, transmitted as *lʿṣb* (لعصب) in the manuscript, not as *naʿṣibu*, but as *naqḍibu* (نقضب), "we cut off" (or perhaps, *naqḍiba* or *naqḍib*, depending on the syntax of the missing first half of the sentence). The Syriac (and consequently the Arabic) translator therefore read in his exemplar the same Greek word in 49b23 and 59a35, which he translated by two verbs from the same root, meaning exactly the same thing. Σ thus read ἀπολαβόντες in 49b23 just as it read ἀπολαβών in 59a35.

49b24 σπουδαίας Π, Σ^q (*ḥpīṭtā*), Σ (*al-ḥarīṣ*) : om. B
The Arabic consistently translates σπουδαῖος with the word *ḥarīṣ* (also in 48b17, 34, and 51b6) in the sense of "zealous, aspiring," and οἱ σπουδαίοι, when understood as a group of people, with *al-afāḍil* (in 48a2, 27, 49b10), "men of excellence."

49b25–26 ἑκάστῳ Pacius in versione, ci. Reiz : ἑκάστου Ξ Σ^q Σ (= Ω)
For the Greek, χωρὶς ἑκάστου τῶν εἰδῶν, the Syriac has, *sṭar men kolḥaḏ ḥaḏ men āḏšē* ("apart from each one of the species"), rendered into Arabic as, *mā ḫalā kulla wāḥidin wāḥidin mina l-anwāʿi* ("with the exception of each one of the species"), which indicates that the Syriac (followed by the Arabic) translator took the word χωρὶς as a preposition and not as an adverb, apparently because the preposition governs the genitive, which

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li-ḏālika. This reads better, but is unrelated to the extant Arabic translation of the *Poetics*. However, Badawī's instincts were correct in making him distrust Margoliouth's reading; see further below.

the Syriac translator must have seen in the word ἑκάστου in his text: see Bergsträsser's review of Tkatsch, p. 58. Cf. Tkatsch I,231n33 and II,6n84, and Gutas (1990).

49b26–27 ἀπαγγελίας Π : ἐπαγγελίας B, Σ^q (*šuwdāyā*), Σ (*mawāʿīd*)
Cf. the comment on 1449b11. For a discussion of the Syriac-Arabic translation of this passage see Gutas (1990), 95b–96a. Bergsträsser, in his review of Tkatsch, pp. 58–59, suggests that it is possible that Σ^q may have indeed had ἀπαγγελίας but that the Syriac translator confused the meaning of ἀπαγγελία and ἐπαγγελία. This seems unlikely, for the variant ἐπαγγελία is also found in the Greek manuscript tradition (in B) and thus the exemplar of the Syriac translation may well be related to that branch of the manuscript transmission. Second, it is quite unlikely that a Christian Syriac author would have confused the two words. Ἐπαγγελία, as in the locution "the promised land" (ἡ γῆ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας) is a very common Christian concept and hardly subject to being confused for something else.

49b28 παθημάτων B, Σ^q (*ḥaššā*), Σ (*al-infiʿālāt wa-t-taʾaṯṯurāt*) : μαθημάτων Π
The Syriac word for παθημάτων, *ḥaššā*, was translated by a hendiadys into Arabic: "passions and affects" (*al-infiʿālāt wa-t-taʾaṯṯurāt*, corrected from *al-infiʿālāt wa-t-taʾṯīrāt* in the manuscript by Bergsträsser in his review of Tkatsch, p. 59). Cf. Gutas (1990), 96a.

49b29 καὶ μέλος Ξ, Σ^q (*qīntā*), Σ (*wa-ṣawt wa-naġma*) (= Ω) : secl. Tyrwhitt, Kassel
This Arabic hendiadys for Syriac *qīntā* is used for μέλος again two lines down, at 49b31.

49b36 πᾶσαν Ω : πᾶσιν ci. Madius

1450a1–2 πέφυκεν … ἦθος Ξ Σ^q Σ (= Ω) : secl. Else, Kassel

50a2 διάνοια BΦ : διάνοιαν A : [Σ^q] [Σ] | ταύτας καὶ Π : ταῦτα καὶ Σ^q et Σ ut vid. : ταῦτα B
For the sentence 50a2–3, καὶ κατὰ … πάντες, the Arabic follows the Syriac closely. The Syriac has, "for it is according to these that they too are found [to be] such as all of them succeed by means of them and fail" (*l-pūṯ gēr hālēn āp hānōn meštaḵḥīn kaḏ ḥānēn kullhōn b-yaḏ hānōn*

w-pāddēn), which is echoed in the Arabic, with substitution of nouns for some pronouns, "for it is in accordance with ⟨these two⟩ that reports and stories are found to be such as all of them succeed through these two and fail through the two" (*wa-bi-ḥasabi ⟨hāḏayni⟩ tūǧadu l-aḥādīṯu wa-l-qiṣaṣu min ḥayṯu yastaqīmu kulluhā bi-hāḏayni wa-yazillu bi-himā*). In the Arabic, the manuscript omits a word after *bi-ḥasabi*, "in accordance with," which renders κατά, but it is clear from the Syriac that it must have been a demonstrative pronoun rendering Syriac "these," *hālēn*. Since Syriac at that stage no longer had a functioning dual but further down the Arabic uses the dual pronoun *hāḏayni* to refer to the two causes of actions, the missing pronoun was in all likelihood the dual *hāḏāni* (or, in its syntactical context, the genitive *hāḏayni*).[25] This means that the Arabic translator took the Syriac demonstrative pronoun *hālēn* in the sentence cited above to refer to the preceding "thought and habit" (διάνοια καὶ ἦθος), and if that is true for the Syriac, then we can surmise that the Greek exemplar of the Syriac translation, Σq, read ταῦτα for ταύτας. In addition, the Arabic translator over-translated the sentence: κατὰ ταῦτα is translated three times (*bi-ḥasabi ⟨hāḏayni⟩*, "in accordance with ⟨these two⟩"; *bi-hāḏayni*, "through these two"; *bi-himā*, "through the two"); and he follows the Syriac translator in translating τυγχάνουσι twice (*meštakḥīn kaḏ* = *tūǧadu min ḥayṯu*, "are found to be such as"; *ḥānēn* = *yastaqīmu*, "succeed"), once each in the two meanings of τυγχάνω. Furthermore, the Syriac has, "for it is according to these that they *too* (*āp*) are found …," which must render a Greek καί. In Arabic, this appears in the two verbs, τυγχάνουσι and ἀποτυγχάνουσι, each of which is translated with its own separate prepositional phrase repeated, "all of them succeed through these two and fail through the two," an apt rendition of καὶ τυγχάνουσι καὶ ἀποτυγχάνουσι, the repeated καί somehow being rendered by the repetition of the prepositional phrases. It thus seems that what the Syriac translator read in Σq was a mixture of the readings in A and B, ταῦτα καὶ (cf. also Bergsträsser's review of Tkatsch, p. 60), though given the complicated nature of the translation of this passage, some uncertainty exists ("ut vid.").[26]

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[25] I use the masculine form of the pronoun here because the manuscript uses that form two lines below, though the issue of congruence in gender between the Syriac version and the Arabic translation needs further study.

[26] Bywater's reconstruction of this phrase (1909, p. xxxv), on the basis of Margoliouth's Latin translation of the Syriac, as κατὰ γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ αὖται, simply translates back into Greek the Latin wording without the benefit of the analysis given here.

50a4 ἢ A : om. B, Σq et Σ ut vid.
The Syriac reads, *īṯēh dēn šuʿīṯēh d-ṯenyā metdammyānūṯā*, "the myth of the repetition is imitation," and the Arabic reads, *wa-ḫurāfatu l-ḥadīṯi wa-l-qaṣaṣi hiya tašbīhun wa-muḥākātun*, "the myth of the story and the narrative is imitation." Disregarding the disparity in the rendition of the word πράξεως in the two versions ("repetition" in Syriac as opposed to the hendiadys "story and narrative" in Arabic), it is clear that the Syriac translator annexed the genitive to the wrong noun (cf. Bergsträsser's review of Tkatsch, p. 60) and understood the syntax of the sentence as, ὁ μῦθος τῆς πράξεως μίμησις, in which he was followed by Abū-Bišr. However, it is also possible, but not as likely, that the Syriac translator would have understood the sentence in the same way even if he had read, ὁ μῦθος τῆς πράξεως ἡ μίμησις; the uncertainty remains, and hence "ut vid." in the notation in the apparatus.

50a5 ὃ AB, Σq (*pūṯ*), Σ (*mā ʿalayhi*) : ἃ Φ, rec.

50a6 ὅσοις Π : νόσοις B : [Σq] [Σ]
The words at 50a5–7, τὰ δὲ ἤθη … γνώμην are quite misunderstood in the Syriac/Arabic translations, which provide little guidance for the establishment of the Greek text.

The Syriac has the following translation for the lines in question: "[I use the term] 'habits' (τὰ δὲ ἤθη) [to refer to] according to what (καθ' ὃ) those who repeat (τοὺς πράττοντας) are said to be such (ποιούς τινας εἶναί φαμεν), [they] show ([ἀπο]δεικνύασιν) that they are in their thoughts (διάνοιαν) and look like their mind ([ἀπο]φαίνονται γνώμην) is like that" (*ʿyāḏē dēn l-pūṯ aylēn d-īṯayhōn [w-]meṯamrīn hālēn d-ṯānēn d-ḏ-a(y)ḵ hālēn, mḥawwēn d-īṯayhōn b-ṯarʿyāṯhōn wa-ḏ-ḏ-a(y)ḵ aykannā īṯaw⟨(hy)⟩ maddaʿhōn meṯḥzēn*).

The Arabic has the following for the same text: "As for the habits (τὰ δὲ ἤθη), they are in accordance with that on the basis of which (καθ' ὃ) one says (φαμεν) about the narrators and story-tellers (τοὺς πράττοντας)[27] who show ([ἀπο]δεικνύασιν) how they are (ποιούς τινας) [or how they

[27] The circumlocution is for the word πρᾶξις, which at 50a2 was translated as, "narrations and stories" (*al-aḥādīṯ wa-l-qiṣaṣ*); for πράττοντας the translator accordingly uses the active participles of the corresponding verbs, "the narrators and story-tellers" (*al-muḥaddiṯūn wa-l-quṣṣāṣ*). The translation of ἀποδεικνύασιν as δεικνύασιν, "who show" (*allaḏīna yurūna*) follows the Syriac version.

(the habits) are][28] with respect to their views (διάνοιαν)[29] and are seen ([ἀπο]φαίνονται) how they are with respect to their proofs (γνώμην)" (*wa-ammā l-ʿādātu, fa-bi-ḥasabi mā ʿalayhi* [*wa-*] *yuqālu l-muḥaddiṯīna wa-l-quṣṣāṣa llaḏīna yurūna kayfa hum* [*aw kayfa hiya*] *fī ārāʾihim wa-yurawna kayfa hum fī adillatihim*). If this analysis of what happened in the translation is correct, then it would seem that the words ἐν ὅσοις λέγοντες were not translated. In any case, it seems clear that the Arabic version we have was based on a revised version of the extant Syriac fragment.

50a7 ἀποδεικνύουσι B : ἀποδεικνύασιν A : [Σq] [Σ] | τι ἢ Π : τινα B : om. Syr./Ar. in lac. (?)

50a8 τῆς B, Σq, Σ : om. A
The Syriac reading is, *kollāh ṭraġōḏiya*, which could be ambiguous in that it could mean "all" or "every tragedy,"[30] depending on whether the noun following the pronoun *koll* is in the emphatic or absolute state. The word *ṭraġōḏiya*, though, being a transliteration of the Greek, cannot follow the rules of Syriac noun suffixes and thus it is not possible to tell its state. However, the Syriac translator also used the enclitic (feminine) pronoun *-āh* with *koll*, which is regularly employed in an anticipatory way when *koll* means "all;" thus, *kollāh ṭraġōḏiya* = "all of tragedy." That this was in fact the meaning intended by the Syriac translator (and hence an indication of how he read the Greek) is that Abu-Bišr also seems so to have understood it, for he translated the Syriac as, *ǧamīʿu aǧzāʾi ṣināʿati l-madīḥi*, "all the parts of tragedy," an interpretive translation of "the parts of all of tragedy" in the Syriac (*d-kollāh ṭraġōḏiya … mnawwāṯā*); had Abū-Bišr understood by the Syriac phrase "the parts of every tragedy," it is impossible that he would have so translated the phrase into Arabic. If,

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[28] "Or how they are," feminine gender (*aw kayfa hiya*) and apparently referring to the habits, is most likely a doublet for the preceding phrase, masculine plural (*kayfa hum*), and referring to the story-tellers; perhaps a marginal note that was incorporated in the body of the text.

[29] At 50a2 διάνοια was translated as "views" (*al-ārāʾ*).

[30] As evidenced by the Latin translation of the Syriac passage by Margoliouth (1887) 56, who opts for "every" (*unicuique*), and by Tkatsch I,155b, who prefers "all" (*omnis*). Neither discusses this passage, however, with Tkatsch only implausibly suggesting (I,156b, 205b) that in the Arabic version the word for "all" is misplaced due to a misunderstanding by Abū-Bišr of the Syriac syntax; see further below.

then, the Syriac phrase means "all of tragedy," the Greek for which it stands was almost certainly πάσης τῆς τραγῳδίας, including the article, in Σ.

50a12 οὐδέν om. Ar. | οὐκ ὀλίγοι non vert. Syr./Ar. ut vid.
The word(s) that would have translated οὐδέν are missing in the Arabic translation (as suggested by Tkatsch I,233 n. 29), but it is not possible to specify where the omission occurred. The manuscript at this point is damaged and has been repaired, and what remains of the text is discernible with little clarity even in the digitised images on the site of the Bibliothèque Nationale. Margoliouth and Tkatsch apparently were able to read the passage, and in Tkatsch's version, which corrects that given by Margoliouth, the Arabic reads, *wa-min hāḏā wa-hāḏihī*, "and from this (apparently translating παρὰ ταῦτα) and these (rendering τούτοις μὲν οὖν)." This as such makes no sense in Arabic, and thus one would think (as Tkatsch and, following him, ʿAyyād did think) that the lacuna, or omission, occurred in the *Arabic* text and not in the Greek. However, the Arabic text could just as easily be read *wa-min hāḏā, fa-hāḏihī* (the place where the *wa-* or *fa-* would be in the manuscript sems to be torn), substituting the conjunction *fa-* for *wa-* in what is claimed was the original text in the manuscript—a corruption very frequent in Arabic manuscripts—which would result in a complete sentence in Arabic and thus allow the possibility that the Syriac translator read in his exemplar Σ, καὶ παρὰ ταῦτα τούτοις μέν, in which case the omission could have occurred in the Greek tradition. Hence the notation "om. Ar." which expresses this ambiguity.

The remaining sentence, which has been much discussed, is transmitted in Greek as follows: τούτοις μὲν οὖν οὐκ ὀλίγοι αὐτῶν ὡς εἰπεῖν κέχρηνται τοῖς εἴδεσιν. It is rendered in Arabic, "these which he employs, he employs the species of these, how[ever] things are / as is the case" (*wa-hāḏihi llatī yastaʿmiluhā fa-innahū yastaʿmilu anwāʿa hāḏihī kayfa ǧarati l-aḥwālu*). Two things appear to be clear about the correspondence of the Arabic to the Greek. In the first place, the last qualifying phrase, "how[ever] things are/as is the case" (*kayfa ǧarati l-aḥwālu*) translates "ὡς εἰπεῖν," as already suggested by Tkatsch in his note.[31] Second, it is also clear that the Syriac

[31] Tkatsch I,233 note 30, who went on to suggest correcting the transmitted *aḥwāl*, "things, conditions," to *aqwāl*, "statements," presumably to have *aqwāl* translate εἰπεῖν, but there is no need for such an emendation. On this correspondence see further Diels (1888b) 51.

translator read αὐτῶν with τοῖς εἴδεσιν, i.e., τοῖς εἴδεσιν αὐτῶν, "the species of these", which indicates that he parsed the sentence as, αὐτῶν ὡς εἰπεῖν κέχρηται τοῖς εἴδεσιν as the main clause, with the additional (mis?)reading of the verb in singular rather than plural: "he employs the species of these, how[ever] things are / as is the case" (*fa-innahū yastaʿmilu anwāʿa hāḏihī kayfa ǧarati l-aḥwālu*).

This leaves only the Greek text τούτοις μὲν οὖν οὐκ ὀλίγοι to account for in the remaining Arabic sentence, *wa-hāḏihi llatī yastaʿmiluhā*, "and these which he employs." If "and these" (*wa-hāḏihi*) stands for τούτοις μὲν οὖν, the problem is to explain why the translator felt obliged to use the verb "to employ" twice in his translation; it certainly cannot be maintained that the word κέχρη(ν)ται was present twice in the Greek text. It most likely appears, since the translator otherwise does not translate the dative case of τούτοις, that he correctly saw it as the objective complement of κέχρη(ν)ται, and decided to add the verb to make the sentence more intelligible. This would mean that he did not see the words οὐκ ὀλίγοι in his exemplar Σ, which is likely, although it is just as likely that he saw the words and not knowing how to translate them in context (assuming he read κέχρηται in the singular and was confused by the plural number of ὀλίγοι) he simply disregarded them. There can be no certainty in this matter, and hence the notation "ut vid." However, what *is* certain, is that at least the word αὐτῶν was present in Σ, and hence the supposition, starting with Diels (1888b) 50–51, that the Arabic text did not have it, has to be abandoned. In all likelihood Σ had the text as transmitted in the Greek tradition.

50a13 γὰρ Π, Σ (*wa-ḏālika a⟨nna⟩*) : om. B | ὄψιν] [Σ], lac. unius verbi in charta cod. Ar.

50a16–17 πράξεων B, Σ (*bi-aʿmāl*) : πράξεως Π

50a17 εὐδαιμονία Σ (καὶ κακοδαιμονία ex homoioteleuton om. ut vid.; lac. 3–4 litt. in charta cod. Ar.)
The Arabic text is partly physically damaged here but it is possible to reconstruct it. In the first place, the translation of this entire sentence is quite literal in Arabic, and hence what is missing can be divined with certainty. In the Paris manuscript there is a hole in the place where the Arabic counterpart of the word εὐδαιμονία would be written, but for this passage the paraphrase in Avicenna is close enough to the Aristotelian text to allow the restitution of the word *as-saʿāda*, the regular word for

happiness in Arabic.[32] But the word for κακοδαιμονία is missing. There are thus two questions. First, whether the tear in the Paris manuscript is large enough to contain the Arabic equivalents for both εὐδαιμονία καὶ κακοδαιμονία, and second, whether *as-saʿāda* is indeed the word chosen by Abū-Bišr for his translation rather than another synonym for happines, such as *al-fawz*, given that three lines down in the text εὐδαίμονες at 50a20 is translated as *al-fāʾizīn* and not as *as-suʿadāʾ*. And if *al-fawz* is the word for εὐδαιμονία in the place where the tear is in the manuscript, which is short enough, then it is just possible that the Arabic for κακοδαιμονία might have fit in there as well. But apart from the evidence in Avicenna, according to which the word used is *as-saʿāda*, there is first, a letter *tāʾ marbūṭa* visible at the end of the tear in the manuscript, which would accord with the final letter of *as-saʿāda* but not of *al-fawz*, and secondly, the syntax of the Arabic sentence following the word *as-saʿāda* is such that it makes it clear that the subject is singular and not dual, which would have been required had εὐδαιμονία καὶ κακοδαιμονία both been present in the Arabic sentence. I.e., the text has, *wa-s-saʿādatu hiya fī l-ʿamali*, literally for καὶ εὐδαιμονία ἐν πράξει ἐστίν, whereas if the Arabic word for κακοδαιμονία, say, *aš-šaqwatu*, had also been present, we would have expected, *wa-s-saʿādatu wa-š-šaqwatu humā fī l-ʿamali*, a dual copula, *humā*, instead of the singular *hiya*. It appears clear that the Syriac, and hence the Arabic, did not translate καὶ κακοδαιμονία, which would point in all likelihood (*ut vid.*) to a similar omission in Σ by homoioteleuton.[33]

50a18–19 οὐ ποιότης non vert. Ar.

50a19 εἰσὶν Π, Σ (*wa-hum*) : ἔστιν B

50a21 συμπεριλαμβάνουσιν] [Σ]

50a26 πολλοὶ Ξ : ἄλλοι Σ vel ut intell. Ar.

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[32] Ibn Sīnā, *Aš-Šiʿr* p. 46.-3 Badawī (*li- … ḥayātihim wa-saʿādatihim*). Tkatsch I,233, note 36, was the first to suggest this restitution. Margoliouth (1887) 56, though he refers to the very passage in Avicenna, inexplicably suggests adding the word *vita* (i.e., *al-ḥayāt*) in the defective slot in the manuscript (instead of *felicitas*), and actually does so in his Latin translation of the text (1911, 247), thus misleading Butcher (3rd ed.) in accepting this artificial reading. Cf. also Edzard and Köhnken 245.

[33] Assuming, that is, that κακοδαιμονία, which does "not occur elsewhere in Aristotle" (Lucas (1968) 102) was there in the first place.

50a27 Πολύγνωτον B, Σ (*fwlġnwṭs* [= *Fūliġnūṭus*]) : Πολύγνωστον Π

50a28 Πολύγνωτος Σ ut vid. (*ḏāka* [*ille*], i.e., Πολύγνωτος; cf. 50a27) : πολύγνωστος Π : om. B
The Arabic does not write the name Polygnotos for a second time but refers to him as "that is a man who" (*ḏāka rağulun*). This, however, does not necessarily indicate that the word Πολύγνωτος was absent in the second instance in Σ, for the (Syriac) translator in a number of passages where the context was unambiguous (see Tkatsch I,178a, II,83b–84a) substituted a pronoun for an explicit substantive in the Greek for the sake of brevity. Margoliouth, who does not remark upon this passage in his 1887 comments on the Arabic translation (p. 56), nevertheless deletes the name from his 1911 edition (p. 246); Gudeman also secludes the name in his edition and justifies it in Tkatsch II,222a.

50a29–30 λέξει καὶ διανοίᾳ ci. Vahlen : λέξεις καὶ διανοίας Ω
The Arabic strings along the three terms in the same construction, *kalām⟨an⟩ mā fī l-iʿtiqādi wa-l-maqūlati wa-ḏ-ḏihni*, "some speech relating to belief (= ἠθικὰς!), word, and mind". Thus unless Sachau read in the Paris manuscript *wa-bi-l-maqūlati* instead of *wa-l-maqūlati* as reported in the editions and as I can verify in the excellent digital images available on the site of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Vahlen, who based his comments on Sachau's translation of Sachau's transcription of the Paris manuscript, is wrong to state that the Arabic indicates the dative in λέξει καὶ διανοίᾳ (Vahlen (1923), note on p. 638 of the original publication). The singular number of the Arabic terms, if not indicative of a failure to read the plural diacritics in the Syriac (*seyāmē*), in all likelihood indicates that the Syriac translator took the Greek words as expressing each a general concept rather than plural individual things.

50a30 οὐ B, Σ (*laysa*) : om. Π
The negative reading was noted by Margoliouth (1887) 56, and by Tkatsch II,49a.

50a31 ἡ Φ, Paris. 2038 : ἢ AB, et Σ ut vid.
The Arabic takes ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον η καταδεεστέροις τούτοις as a unit and separates it from the following κεχρημένη τραγῳδία, which indicates that the translator clearly did not read the η as the article for the noun τραγῳδία. The ἀλλά clause is then translated as, *lākin yakūnu t-tarkību llaḏī yu'tā fī hāḏā l-waqti aqalla min tarkībi llaḏī kāna yakūnu iḏ ḏāka*

bi-kaṯīrin, “but the composition which is available at this time is inferior by far to the composition which had existed at that time.” This indicates that the translator understood the ἀλλά clause as if it read, ἀλλὰ ποιήσει ῥήσεις πολὺ μᾶλλον καταδεεστέρας ἢ ταύτας. Although in this understanding of the clause the ἢ has to be read after καταδεεστέροις rather than before it, in all likelihood it must have been its presence that suggested this (false) reading to the translator.

50a34 ἐστίν A : εἰσίν BΦ : [Σ]

50a35 ὅτι καὶ Π : ὅτι B, Σ ut vid.

1450b1 τις ἐναλείψειε Π, Σ (*insānun*) : τι ἐναλείψει B

50b2 ὁμοίως Π : ὅτι B, et fort. Σ
There is a small hole in the manuscript at this point, so it is not possible to read the Arabic and say precisely what Σ read here. It is clear, though, that it did not read ὁμοίως; this word is consistently rendered in this translation as *ʿalā miṯālin wāḥidin* (cf. supra at 48b14), and there is no trace of, or even room for, such a phrase at this place. In all likelihood Σ read ὅτι.

50b5 καὶ τὰ Π, Σ ut vid. : καὶ B
The Arabic has for τὰ ἐνόντα καὶ τὰ ἁρμόττοντα, *al-mawǧūdatu wa-l-muwāfiqatu*. If ἁρμόττοντα had not had the article in Σ, one would have expected the Arabic to read, *al-mawǧūdatu l-muwāfiqatu*, without the conjunction *wa-*; its presence in Arabic suggests the presence of the second article in Greek as well, though there can be no certainty.

50b8 τὸ A, Σ (*allatī*) : om. B

50b9 ὁποία τις Φ, Σ (*ayyi šayʾin hiya*), Paris. 2038 : ὁποῖα τίς AB

50b9–10 ἐν οἷς … φεύγει Ξ : om. Σ et secl. Bekker
This omission is discussed and evaluated by Gallavotti (1954b) 329.

50b10–10^1 διόπερ … φεύγει Π Σ : φεύγει B

50b10^1 οἷς A, Σ (*allaḏī … bihī*) : *quibus quidem* Lat. | μηδ’ ὅλως ἔστιν Π : [Σ] | ὅ τι rec. : ὅ τις Π : ἔτι Σ (*wa-ayḍan*)

The Arabic translation of the διόπερ … ὁ λέγων clause is inconclusive about the precise reading of the Greek text underlying it. The Arabic has, *wa-ḏālika annahū laysa min ʿādatihim ḏālika fī l-kalāmi llaḏī* ⟨*lā?*⟩ *yaḫburu bihi l-insānu šay*ʾ⟨*an*⟩ *mā wa-yaḫtāru ayḍan aw yahrubu llaḏī yatakallamu*, which can be roughly translated as, "because that is not their custom with regard to speech in [or, by] which somebody knows ⟨not?⟩ something, and also the speaker chooses or flees." At the beginning and end of the clause it is possible to follow the Arabic as it translates ultimately the Greek; the words in the middle present a serious problem: "because (διόπερ) that is not their custom (οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἦθος, where the plural subject of the verb is misunderstood to refer to the people mentioned in the preceding sentence) with regard to speech (τῶν λόγων, where the partitive genitive as subject is misunderstood as relational) in [or, by] which (ἐν οἷς) somebody knows ⟨not?⟩ something (?), and also (ἔτι instead of ὅ τι) the speaker chooses or flees (προαιρεῖται ἢ φεύγει ὁ λέγων)."

First it is necessary to point to a mistake in the Greek transmission which is part of the problematic rendering in Arabic, a mistake that can be identified with relative certainty. This is the reading of ἔτι in Σ instead of ὅ τι, which is evident from the Arabic translation, *wa-* … *ayḍan*, in the last phrase, *wa-yaḫtāru ayḍan aw yahrubu llaḏī yatakallamu*, standing for ἔτι προαιρεῖται ἢ φεύγει ὁ λέγων. The mistake goes back to a faulty transcription of Σ, written in uncials, in which an *omikron* was mistaken for a rounded *epsilon* (ЄTI instead of OTI), another indication of the derivation of Σ from a branch in the transmission that is different from that of the other ancient manuscripts of the *Poetics*.[34] As for the Arabic version, the translator consistently renders ἔτι with *wa-ayḍan*, as in 48b19, 50a29, 50a35, 50b19, etc.

The main problem is in the center of the Arabic translation of this passage, where it is not clear what the words *yaḫburu* … *al-insānu šay*ʾ⟨*an*⟩ *mā* ("somebody knows something") translate. It should stand for μηδ' ὅλως ἔστιν, which are the only Greek words unaccounted for in the Arabic-Greek correspondence just given above, but it does not. Some suggestions have been offered to resolve the problem, but they do not seem convincing. Tkatsch (I,235 note 20) suggested that the words actually stand for οὐκ ἔστι δῆλον from line 50b9, on the assumption, presumably, that the doublet clause at b9–10 (ἐν οἷς … φεύγει), which

34 See the stemma codicum in this edition; for the mistake, see the example from the *Metaphysics* 1025b8 in Irigoin 186.

does not actually appear in the Arabic and was thus correctly secluded by Bekker, originally appeared in this place in Σ instead of the clause with the μηδ' ὅλως ἔστιν phrase that we have in the other manuscripts. For his part, Lobel proposed that the reading in Σ which was translated into Syriac and Arabic was μὴ δῆλος. For both of these suggestions to work it is necessary to assume that a negative particle, translating οὐκ or μὴ or even μηδ', has been lost from the Arabic translation, something which may be readily granted. The problem, however, is that δῆλον and δηλοῦν are not rendered in this translation of the *Poetics* by *ḫaba/ura, yaḫburu*, the verb we have here (which in any case does not mean to be evident or to declare but to know), but by *ẓahara* (48b7, 51b12) and by *dalla* (50b8, 57a7) respectively.

It is possible to think of other forms from the same root *ḫbr* here instead of *yaḫburu* (e.g., *yuḫbiru or yuḫbaru*), but the syntax does not work in their case, and even with *yaḫburu* one has to emend the transmitted text and read *šay'*⟨*an*⟩ in the accusative, as object of *yaḫburu* (as already suggested by ʿAyyād, 57 note 17). It is also possible that some other root lies behind the skeleton for *yaḫburu* (يحبر), which would correspond to what we have in the Greek text, but it does not readily suggest itself. On the other hand, and given the appearance of the words "somebody" and "something" in the Arabic (*insān, šay' mā*), which we do not have in the Greek, it is more likely that the Greek text underlying the Syriac/Arabic translation was different from, or was read by the translator differently from, the textus receptus, but that also does not readily suggest itself. One may think that the letters -τιν in ἔστιν were somehow read as τιν⟨α⟩, which may account for the presence of "somebody" (*insān*) in the Arabic, and this would solve part of the puzzle, but the general picture still evades us at this stage.

50b12 τῶν μὲν λόγων Ξ : τῶν λόγων vel τῶν μὲν λόγων Σ ut vid. (*anna li-l-kalāmi*)

The Arabic text here as preserved in the manuscript bears the signs of some corruption; it reads, *wa-r-rābiʿatu hiya anna l-kalāma hiya maqūlun*, roughly, "the fourth is that speech, it is a word," which is hardly what either the Syriac translated or the Arabic said originally. By analogy with 50b15 which introduces the second half of this μέν/δέ sentence (if that is the structure of the sentence) and which τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν is translated as, *ammā llaḏī li-hāḏihi l-bāqiyati fa-*, one should apparently read the word *kalām* in the first half with the preposition *li-*, *li-l-kalāmi*, to express the genitive of τῶν λόγων, just as *li-hāḏihī* translates the genitive in τῶν

λοιπῶν.[35] Next, μέν would normally be translated with *ammā … fa-*, as in the δέ response just cited, but since the μέν clause does not come first but after τέταρτον δέ, possibly *anna* may adequately cover it, though there can be no certainty. In this analysis, the second *hiya*, after *li-l-kalāmi*, is clearly superfluous and perhaps should be secluded either as a doublet of the initial *hiya*, or, what is perhaps more likely, as a scribal addition, after an initial mistaken transcription of the original *li-l-kalāmi* as *al-kalām*, intending to correct and make sense of the clause. The Arabic word for λέξις, finally, should clearly be *maqūlatun* and not *maqūlun*, as already suggested by Margoliouth (1887) in his apparatus (Arabic p. 18, note g), for this is the ubiquitous translation of the word. So the resulting clause would be, *wa-r-rābiʿatu hiya anna li-l-kalāmi* [*hiya*] *maqūlatan*, which is a tolerable translation, via Syriac, of the Greek τέταρτον δὲ τῶν μὲν λόγων ἡ λέξις, or, without the μέν, τέταρτον δὲ τῶν λόγων ἡ λέξις.

Other attempts at emending this corrupt passage include Tkatsch I,235, note 26, who suggested correcting to *wa-r-rābiʿatu hiya anna al-kalāma huwa maqūlun* (followed by ʿAyyād 57), and Edzard and-Köhnken 248, who propose reading, *wa-r-rābiʿatu hiya anna l-kalāma huwa (hiya) (l-)maqūl(a)*. Badawī (1973), finally, prints (p. 99), *wa-r-rābiʿatu hiya anna l-kalāma huwa l-maqūlu*.

50b15 λοιπῶν B, Σ (*li-hāḏihi l-bāqiya*) : λοιπῶν πέντε Π

50b16 ἡ μελοποιία Π, Σ (*ṣanʿatu ṣ-ṣawti*) | ἡ δὲ ὄψις A, Σ ut vid. (*al-manẓar*) : αἱ δὲ ὄψεις B
Although the Arabic has the word (*manẓar*) in the singular, uncertainty remains; on occasion the Arabic, through a misreading (or absence) of the double points for the plural in Syriac (*seyāmē*), renders the Greek word in the opposite number (cf. above, entry on 50a29–30).

50b18 ἡ B Σ : ὡς Π
The translation for ἡ γὰρ τῆς τραγῳδίας δύναμις reads, *min qibali annahū quwwatu ṣināʿati l-madīḥi*, "because the power of tragedy," without the

[35] For this reason, the explanation offered by Margoliouth, in Butcher, 3rd ed., p. xviii, for the omission of μέν cannot stand: the Syriac translation did not use the preposition *men* (of, from) to render the genitive of τῶν λόγων, but rather, on the analogy of τῶν λοιπῶν, as just mentioned, the preposition *l(a)-* (of, belonging to). Thus the particle *men* could not have been omitted by haplography—by "the translator or copyist" because it was identical with the preposition *men*—for the simple reason that there was no preposition *men* there at all.

presence of any word that would translate ὡς (cf. Tkatsch II,116b), while the *iḏāfa* construction *quwwatu ṣināʿati l-madīḥi* makes the word for δύναμις, *quwwa*, definite, reflecting the article ἡ in Σ. The phrase *min qibali anna* frequently translates γάρ in this version, as in 49a24, 50a16, 50a25, 50a27, etc.

50b22 τὴν A Σ : om. B

50b23 δὴ ci. Bywater : δὲ Ξ : [Σ]

50b28 γίνεσθαι Π : γενέσθαι B : [Σ]

50b29 αὐτὸ μὲν B, Σ (*ammā* … *fa-*) : αὐτὸ A
The Arabic reads in the manuscript, *innamā huwa fa-* for ὃ αὐτὸ μὲν, which Margoliouth rightly corrected to *ammā huwa fa-*, especially since the second half of the sentence is introduced by *wa-ammā* … *fa-*, for the translator frequently uses the expression *ammā* … *fa-/wa-ammā* … *fa-* to render the Greek μὲν/δὲ construction (which is in any case very common in the translation literature; see *GALex* I,341, § 1.1.1). Cf. above, comment on 49b21.

50b31 καὶ αὐτὸ Π, Σ ut vid. : καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ B

50b33 ὅπου Π, Σ (*ayna*) : ὅποι B

50b34 ἰδέαις B : εἰδέαις A : [Σ]

50b37 πάμμικρον rec. : πᾶν μικρὸν Π : [Σ] (πᾶν non vert. Ar.)
See the following comment.

50b39 ἀναισθήτου Π, Σ (*al-ġayr maḥsūs*) : αἰσθητοῦ B | παμμέγεθες rec. : πᾶν μέγεθος AB, Σ (*fī* [?] *l-kull ʿiẓam*)
The Arabic translation handles differently the two problematic words, πάμμικρον and παμμέγεθες. In the former case, it appears that either the Syriac or Arabic translator did not translate, or did not see in his source manuscript (it is not possible to specify which), the word πᾶν because he translates as if the sentence were, διὸ οὔτε μικρὸν ἄν τι γένοιτο καλὸν ζῷον, *wa-li-ḏālika laysa ḥayawānun mā ṣaġīrun huwa ǧayyidun*, "for this [reason], there is not any small animal that is beautiful." The translator clearly confused the subject and predicate of the Greek and took γένοιτο

in the existential sense ("there is"); but this misunderstanding apart, he translates literally enough the text (where the indefinite τι is translated by the indefinite particle *mā*). Also, it is clear that he would have translated the word πᾶν had he had it in his text, for he does so in the case of the second word, which he renders, *fī l-kull ʿiẓam*, where *kull* stands for πᾶν. But it is also clear that he did not understand this second phrase either; he writes, *min ḥayṯu yakūnu laysa fī l-kulli ʿiẓamun*,[36] "insofar as there is not in the whole magnitude," from which it appears that he punctuated the phrase after χρόνου and read it as if it were, ἐγγὺς τοῦ ἀναισθήτου χρόνου, γινομένη οὔτε πᾶν μέγεθος. He understood the participle as circumstantial and rendered it as "insofar as there is," and then translated each word literally, οὔτε = not, πᾶν = whole, μέγεθος = magnitude. It is not clear why he rendered πᾶν with the preposition *fī*, *fī l-kull*, "in the whole;" perhaps he took it as an accusative of respect. These misunderstandings apart, however, there can be little doubt that the Greek text in Σ read as in the Greek manuscripts A and B.

The interpretation of this passage by Avicenna is interesting. He says, "For this reason the small animal is not beautiful. A lesson that lasts a short while and which mixes up one part of the whole with another, reducing it to one because of its brevity, is not good. It resembles one who looks at an animal from a very long distance and cannot perceive it."[37] This clearly stands for the Greek text between 50b37 and 51a3. Since the mention of the small animal ends at 50b38 and the mention of the thousand-mile long animal begins at 51a2 (the Arabic translation misunderstood this as looking *at* the animal from one thousand miles away), Avicenna's sentence about the short lesson must represent the Greek text between 50b38 and 51a2. But the Greek text says nothing about a short lesson. The culprit would appear to be the Arabic phrase discussed above: γινομένη οὔτε πᾶν μέγεθος, which was translated as *min ḥayṯu yakūnu laysa fī l-kulli ʿiẓamun*, Avicenna understood as, "insofar as there is not, in the whole, magnitude." Since the Greek text goes next to speak about θεωρία, which was translated into Arabic with *naẓar*, which means both "look" and "looking into," or "theoretical investigation," Avicenna understood "the whole" to refer to the totality of a theoretical

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[36] The manuscript and all the editors read *ʿaẓīm*, the adjective, but there can be no doubt that this is a scribal error in our manuscript for *ʿiẓam*, magnitude, the usual rendering of the Greek word μέγεθος in the previous occurrences in this passage.

[37] Text in Margoliouth (1887), p. 98.11–14 (Arabic) = ed. Badawī (1973), p. 181.13–16.

investigation, and hence he interpreted it as "lesson," *taʿlīm*. Thus the phrase, "insofar as there is not, in the whole, magnitude," Avicenna understood as, "the lesson has no magnitude," or the lesson is short. The mistranslated πᾶν and ὅλον (in 51a2), which were both translated as *kull*, "whole," into Arabic, and the word ἓν (in 51a1), *wāḥid*, "one," appear in Avicenna's interpretation as the fossils which betray their textual origin in Abū-Bišr's translation. It thus appears that for this passage Avicenna did not have access to a second, revised translation of Abū-Bišr but used the one which has survived.[38] As for Averroes, he is completely dependent upon Avicenna's interpretation which, however, he embellishes with additional details on his own.

1451a3–4 καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ζῴων Ξ, Σ (*wa-ʿalā l-ḥayawān*)

51a5–6 εὐμνημόνευτον Π, Σ (*maḥfūẓ fī ḏ-ḏikr*) : ἀμνημόνευτον B

51a6 δὲ B, Σ (*wa-ammā*)[39] : om. Π | ὁ μὲν ci. Ellebodius, Bursian : μὲν Ω

51a7 οὐ Ξ : om. Ar.; sed ὅ pro οὐ in Σ prop. Margoliouth | ἑκατὸν Ξ : ἕκαστον ut intell. Syr.
The misreading of ἑκατόν as ἕκαστον was first noted (as far as I can verify) by Sachau in his unpublished German draft version of the Arabic translation, as reported by Vahlen in 1897 (see the reference in note 40 below); and first made known in a published report by Margoliouth (1887), Arabic p. 20 note d. See the discussion of this passage below at 51a9.

51a8 κλεψύδρας Ξ, Σ (*ālāt saʿāt al-māʾ*, pl. ut intell. Ar.) : κλεψύδραν rec.
For the form see the note at 51a9.

51a9 ὥσπερ ποτὲ καὶ ἄλλοτέ φασιν Ξ, et Σ dubit. Gutas
For 51a7–9, εἰ γὰρ ἔδει ... ἄλλοτέ φασιν, the Arabic has: "For if it had been required that each person struggle by means of tragedy toward water-clocks, then he would have struggled, as is our custom to say at some

[38] From this and similar instances it appears that Avicenna did not have at all at his disposal a different and second translation of the *Poetics* but, in addition to the original translation or its first revision, merely a copy of it with selected corrections or some appendix with selected glosses and revisions.

[39] Cf. Tkatsch II,106b, and especially *GALex* I,344 § 2.

time and when" (*wa-ḏālika annahū in kāna kullu wāḥidin mina n-nāsi qad kāna yaǧibu an yaʿmala bi-l-madīḥi l-ǧihāda naḥwa ālāti sāʿāti l-māʾi, la-qad kāna yastaʿmilu l-ǧihāda* [*qlāfsūdrā*], *ka-mā min ʿādatinā an naqūla fī zamānin mā wa-matā*).[40]

This indicates a Greek text that is essentially the same as in the Greek manuscripts, except for the last phrase. Noteworthy are the following:

"Each person" for ἑκατόν means the Syriac translator read, or understood (more likely), ἕκαστον (as pointed out already by Sachau and Margoliouth (1887) 57).

"Struggle by means of tragedy": the Syriac translator translated the theatrical term ἀγωνίζεσθαι literally as "to struggle," and he somehow interpreted the accusative of τραγῳδίας as an accusative of respect, so he ended up with "by means of tragedy."

"Toward water-clocks," is a literal rendering of the Greek πρὸς κλεψύδρας. It appears certain that Σ had the word with a sigma ending, which the translator took as the plural accusative; he accordingly translated the preposition πρός as governing an accusative, "toward" (*naḥwa*). It is to be noted that the Syriac translator punctuated after κλεψύδρας, not after ἀγωνίζεσθαι, thus reading, εἰ γὰρ ἔδει ἕκα(σ)τον τραγῳδίας ἀγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς κλεψύδρας. After "water-clocks," the Arabic text has the word κλεψύδρα inserted in transliteration in the text (*qlāfsūdrā*). This can only be a marginal note, giving the Greek word for "water-clock," which ended up inside the text; clearly it does not belong there.

For the final phrase, ὥσπερ ποτὲ καὶ ἄλλοτέ φασιν, the Arabic has, "As is our custom to say at some time and when" (*ka-mā min ʿādatinā an naqūla fī zamānin mā wa-matā*). This is difficult to interpret. There are two possibilities. One is that the Syriac translator did not understand the expression ποτὲ καὶ ἄλλοτε, so he rendered the phrase literally: ὥσπερ is rendered by "as" (*ka-mā*); ποτὲ, misunderstood as πότε, is translated as "when" (*matā*); while ἄλλοτε is translated as "at some [other] time" (*fī zamānin mā*); the only difference is that the order of ποτὲ καὶ ἄλλοτε is reversed in the translation, something which, rather than being indicative of a different text in Σ, points to a weakness in this

40 Sachau's translation of this passage runs as follows (Vahlen (1923), note on p. 641 of the original publication): "denn wenn jeder einzelne Mensch (ἕκαστος für ἑκατόν) müsste in der Tragödie den Kampf machen gegen drei Stunden des Wassers, er würde machen den Kampf [nach der] clepsydra, wie es unsre Gewohnheit, dass wir sagen, zu irgend einer Zeit oder wann." For the discrepancies see further below.

interpretation of the Syro-Arabic version. The other problem is with φασιν, for the Arabic has, "as is our custom to say." The Arabic word used here to express "is our custom," from the root *ʿwd*, is also used to translate all occurrences of the word εἴωθα in the *Poetics* (εἰώθασιν (1447b17) = *qad ǧarat ʿādatuhum*; τὸ εἰωθὸς (1458b4) = *mā ǧarat bihi l-ʿādatu*; τοῦ εἰωθότος (1458b5) = *al-muʿtād*; εἰωθότος (1458b21) = *qad uʿtīda*), so it would appear that the Arabic translates most likely εἰώθαμεν λέγειν. Remarkably, for there is no evidence that he knew the Arabic translation, Moritz Schmidt in his 1875 edition (p. 20,6 and note) corrected φασίν to εἰώθασιν (noted by Margoliouth (1887) 58). If this is so and the version implied by the Syriac and Arabic translations is the correct one, the problem remains how to explain the corruption from the allegedly original εἰώθαμεν λέγειν / εἰώθασιν to the transmitted φασίν (the attempts by Tkatsch II,144b–145a to explain it palaeoegraphically are not convincing). Vahlen rejected Schmidt's conjecture and the evidence of the Arabic translation only by saying, and without any argument, that the word φασίν was simply translated as "as is our custom to say" (Vahlen in note 40 above).

A second, and more likely, interpretation of the Arabic version would be the following. The Arabic phrase "at some time and when" need not necessarily translate the two words, ποτὲ and ἄλλοτε. "At some time and when" could equally well be a double translation of just ποτε: once indefinite, "at some time," and once interrogative, "when?" (πότε). The double translation may well be due to the translator's (or to the translator's and a reviser's) inability to decide whether ποτε is indefinite or interrogative, and he either wrote both, or, possibly, he wrote one of the two and the other was a marginal note correcting his version which ended up inside the text at some stage. That this sentence, as it finally appeared in the Paris manuscript at our diposal, contains marginal interpolations is further indicated by the appearance of the transliterated word *qlāfsūdrā* in it, as noted in the second preceding paragraph. If this is true, and the phrase *fī zamānin mā wa-matā* in Arabic stands for just ποτὲ, then ἄλλοτε stands for something else, which may be either εἰώθαμεν, as suggested above, or perhaps, even more plausibly, ἄλλοτέ φασιν was understood *together* to mean, "as is our custom to say," *ka-mā min ʿādatinā an naqūla*. The change of person from the third plural in the Greek to the first plural in the Syriac/Arabic may be due to the translator himself, intended to include Aristotle among those who say this. If this is the case, which seems most likely to be what happened, then Σ had the same text as the Greek manuscripts.

51a9–10 τὴν φύσιν τοῦ πράγματος Π : [Σ]

51a12 διορίσαντας Π, Σ (*ḥaddū*) : διορίσαντα B

51a13–14 ἐξ εὐτυχίας εἰς δυστυχίαν μεταβάλλειν Π : ἐκ δυστυχίας εἰς εὐτυχίαν μεταβάλλειν sic vertit Ar.
The Arabic reads, "arrives at the successful resolution/happy ending that comes about after bad fortune, or [at] the change of bad fortune to good" (*tanūbu ʿinda n-naǧāḥi l-kāʾini baʿda radāʾati l-baḫti aw taġayyur* [*vel* ⟨*ta*⟩*taġayyaru*] *radāʾat al-baḫt ilā ṣ-ṣalāḥ*). It is seen that the Arabic actually says the same thing twice—change from bad fortune to good. It is not clear at which stage the confusion occurred (if it is a confusion), but it would seem unlikely that in Σ itself there would have been a transposition of the prefixes δυσ- and εὐ- in the second half of the sentence. A possible misreading or an interpretive marginal annotation at some stage may be responsible.

51a17 ἑνὶ B, Σ (*li-wāḥid*) : γένει Π

51a18 ἐνίων Π, Σ (*li-l-baʿḍi wa-l-afrādi*) : ἕνι B

51a20 καὶ Θησηίδα B, Σ (*wa-l-maʿrūfīna bi-Ṯisīdā*) : Θησηίδα Π
The Syriac translator had no knowledge of the poems called *Heracleid* or *Theseid*, and so he took their titles, understandably in the context in which they occur, as referring to the names of the poets. He wrote the entire sentence as follows: "For this reason it seems that all the Heracleidai poets and those known as Theseidai and those who have composed the likes of these poems have erred." He thus translated as if the text read, διὸ πάντες ἐοίκασιν ἁμαρτάνειν τῶν ποιητῶν οἱ Ἡρακληίδαι καὶ οἱ καλούμενοι Θησηίδαι καὶ ὅσοι τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιήματα πεποιήκασιν (*wa-li-ḏālika qad yušbihu an yakūna zalla ǧamīʿu š-šuʿarāʾi l-ʾĪraqlīdā wa-l-maʿrūfīna* (*wa-l-maʿrūfūna* leg.) *bi-Ṯisīdā wa-llaḏīna ʿamilū miṯla hāḏihi l-ašʿāri*). This does not mean that the words and letters added in this reconstruction were actually present in Σ but that the translator could make sense of this sentence only in this way. But because of the presence in Greek manuscript B of the variant καὶ before the name of the second poem mentioned, it seems almost certain that it was also present in Σ; as a matter of fact, its presence made it easier for the translator to interpret the text as he did and add, "and *those known as* Theseidai."

51a27–28 ἦν ἢ B : ἦν A et Ar. ut vid.
The translator did not understand the sentence. For the words ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ἢ εἰκὸς θάτερον γενέσθαι he has something which apparently means (for it is not certain what he misunderstood), "necessity was calling for it to be set down in the image" (*kānati ḍ-ḍarūratu tadʿū ilā an yuṯbata fī l-miṯāli*). ἀναγκαῖον ἦν was rendered by "necessity was calling," while θάτερον γενέσθαι was somehow read to mean "to be or become fixed," where θάτερον was mistaken for some word (σταθερόν?) that was interpreted as meaning to set down, to register (at 1451b ὁ ἱστορικός is translated as "he who sets down reports and stories," *allaḏī yuṯbitu l-aḥādīṯ wa-l-qiṣaṣ*). And as Margoliouth (1887), Arabic p. 22, note c, originally and apparently rightly conjectured, εἰκὸς in all probability was misread as εἰκόνος "in the image." In all of this there is no word meaning "or" for ἢ, unless it was read as the article, ἡ εἰκών, though in all probability the genitive case was read which was translated with the Arabic preposition "in." In short, it is most likely that Σ did not have ἢ but read the text as in manuscript A, though there can be no certainty.

51a28 μίαν Π : μὲν μίαν B : [Σ]

51a29 λέγομεν B Φ : [Σ] | δὲ Π Σ : ὅτι δὲ B

51a34 διαφέρεσθαι Ξ : διαφθείρεσθαι Σ (*yafsudu*), Laur. 60.21 in marg.
In the translation of this passage κινεῖσθαι is rendered with the hendiadys, *yatašawwašu wa-yaḍṭaribu*, as noted by Tkatsch II,169a, together with the misunderstandings to which failure to realize this gave rise.

51a36 οὐ τὸ BΦ Σ : οὕτω A

51a36–37 γενόμενα Σ (*allatī kānat*), rec. : γινόμενα AB

1451b1 λέγειν ἢ ἄμετρα Π : [Σ]

51b2 γὰρ Π, Σ (*wa-ḏālika anna*) : om. B

51b3 καὶ Π, Σ (*wa-[laysa]*) : om. B

51b4 τούτῳ B Φ : τοῦτο A, Σ (*hāḏā*)
Tkatsch II,55 argues that despite the apparent support which the Arabic translation gives to the reading τοῦτο, the (Syriac) translator actually

could have seen τούτῳ in Σ and still translated the way he did because the following word *bi-an*, correctly translating τῷ, gives the meaning intended by the dative in τούτῳ. This assumes too much freedom of expression on the part of the literal Syriac translator: if he had seen the dative he would have translated *bi-hāḏā*, as elsewhere, not *hāḏā*.

51b7 τὰ καθόλου Ξ : καθόλου ut interpr. Ar. (*hiya kullīyatun*)

51b8 καθόλου Π, et ut interpr. Ar. (*wa-hiya bi-l-kullīya*) : τὰ καθόλου B
The translation of καθόλου in this treatise is uneven. When it is used with the article in the singular, as in 55b2 and 55b8, the translator renders it correctly by writing, *al-kull*, "the universal," as a noun. In these two passages, however (51b7 and 8), he uses the abstract substantive *kullīya* to render καθόλου, "universal", as an adjective, which means either that he did not have the plural neuter article in his text, in both instances or in either, or that he disregarded it. In the former passage (51b7) he translates, "poetry is more universal" (*ṣināʿat aš-šiʿri hiya kullīyatun akṯara*), making poetry itself universal rather than speaking *about* universals, and in the latter (51b8) he writes, "It is/they are universal/-ly" (*wa-hiya bi-l-kullīya*). This is ambiguous; first it is not clear what the pronoun refers to: it could be either singular or plural, and if the former, it could refer either to poetry or history, and if the latter, to the "particulars" (τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον, *al-ǧuzʾīyāt*) mentioned in the immediately preceding phrase. But it can't be the latter because particulars are not universals, and thus it must be taken to refer either to history or poetry. But again, as history is supposed to be talking about particulars, it cannot be universal, so the pronoun, given the logic of the passage in Arabic, must refer to poetry, which is a repetition of what has already been said. Whatever the case might be, however, it is clear that the translator did not understand the word καθόλου as the subject of the verb ἔστιν in 51b8, and this would support the conclusion that he did not see the neuter plural article in his text; however, since he mistranslated the word also in the preceding line, where presumably the article was present, we cannot conclude from the Arabic evidence about the text in Σ, and must be content to indicate only how the Arabic translator interpreted the passage.

51b9 οὗ Π, Σ ut vid. : οὐ B
The translation is again inaccurate, and it is not clear whether the translator read οὗ; what is clear, though, is that he did not read the negative,

and this should be sufficient support for reading the pronoun. The translation itself, however, reads, "that which is necessary, like the imagination which is present in poetry" for τὸ ἀναγκαῖον οὗ στοχάζεται ἡ ποίησις (*allatī hiya ḍarūrīyatun ka-t-tawahhumi llaḏī yakūnu fī ṣināʿati š-šiʿri*). "Imagination" here is supposed to stand for στοχάζεται, which may be acceptable, but the relative pronoun is not translated; instead we have "like," as if the translator read ὡς for οὗ. But many things can happen in a translation of a translation like this one, and the fact that there is no negative particle in the Arabic supports the reading of Π.

51b10 τὸ B : τὰ Paris. 2038, et ut interpr. Ar.

51b10–11 καθ' ἕκαστον Ξ : καθ' ἕκαστα ut interpr. Ar.
The Arabic translates "individuals and particulars" (*al-waḥīdāt wa-l-ǧuzʾīyāt*) as a hendiadys for τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον. The plural need not indicate that the text in Σ was necessarily τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα; especially in the case of generic terms like these (e.g., a man, mankind, men), it is usually a matter of style. See also below under 51b14.

51b13 οὕτω Ξ : οὐ Σ (*laysa*) | τυχόντα Π, Σ (*ayya … kānat*) : τιθέντα B
The Arabic has a straight negative, "they did not put down any name whatsoever" (*laysa ayya l-asmāʾi llatī kānat* [sic leg. pro *kānū*] *waḍāʿū*), which would indicate that the word in Σ was somehow garbled or written as to be read as οὐ, as Margoliouth (1887) first suggested, Arabic p. 23 note h. It seems unlikely that Σ would actually have read οὔπω, as suggested by Tkatsch I,240 note 9. A few lines down (51b17) οὔπω is translated correctly as "not yet" (*lam takun baʿdu*).

The normal translation for τυχών, -όν is *ayyu … kāna* (see *GALex* I,696 §7.3a), and thus the text in the Arabic translation should read, *laysa ayya l-asmāʾi llatī kānat*, correcting to *kānat* the *kānū* which appears in the manuscript, as correctly proposed by Margoliouth (1887), Arabic p. 23 note f.

51b13–14 ὑποτιθέασιν Π : τιθέασι B : [Σ]
The Arabic uses the generic verb meaning "to place," *waḍaʿū*, which can easily stand for either Greek verb in this context.

51b14 τὸν A : τῶν B : τὰ ut interpr. Ar. | καθ' ἕκαστον Ξ : καθ' ἕκαστα ut interpr. Ar.
See the comment at 51b10–11 above.

51b19 ἐνίαις Π Σ : ἐν ἐνίαις B
The Arabic omits the preposition as well: "in some individual tragedies" (*fī l-madā'iḥ al-afrād wa-l-ba'ḍ*), using the hendiadys "some individual" for ἐνίαις. In the translation of the same phrase, ἐν ἐνίαις, two lines down (51b21), the preposition is included this time, *fī l-afrād wa-l-ba'ḍ*.

51b21 οὐθὲν] [Σ] | ἐν τῷ Ἀγάθωνος Ἀνθεῖ] ἓν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ὃς ἂν θῇ ut intell. Syr. (*man yaḍa'u anna l-ḫayra huwa wāḥidun*) | ὁμοίως Π, Σ (*'alā miṯāl wāḥid*) : ὁμοίως ὅτι B
Ignorant of the proper names, the translator read the phrase as reconstructed above, and with minimal, to his credit, violence to the orthography: "whoever posits that the good is one" (cf. Gudeman (1920) 243).

51b23 ὥστ' οὐ BΦ, Σ (*ḥattā lā*) : ὡς τοῦ A

51b28 τὴν A : om. B : [Σ]
The Arabic has *bi-t-tašbīh*, with the article, but the Arabic article is also used to express general substantives and thus we cannot infer from this evidence the reading of Σ.

51b30 οὐθὲν] [Σ]

51b32 καὶ δυνατὰ γενέσθαι Ξ : om. Σ, secl. Vorlaender
For the omission cf. Tkatsch II, 176a–b, and Edzard & Köhnken 252–253.

51b33 ἁπλῶν Ξ, Ψ (*basīṭ*) apud Avicen. : ἐπεισοδιωδῶν (*ma'lūla*) ut intell. Ar., sed quid translator legerit nescimus (= [Σ]) | ἐπεισοδιώδεις Π, Σ (*ma'lūla*) : ἐπιδόσεις B
The Arabic translation of this sentence reads, "Of the episodic myths, the voluntary actions also are episodic" (*wa-ammā li-l-ḫurāfāti l-ma'lūlati, fa-l-af'ālu l-irādiyyatu ayḍan ma'lūlatun*), as if the Greek text in front of the Syriac translator had read, τῶν δ' ἐπεισοδιωδῶν μύθων καὶ αἱ πράξεις ἐπεισοδιώδεις εἰσίν, omitting χείρισται. Some of the peculiarities of this version need explanation. First, πράξεις is commonly rendered in this translation by the term *fi'l* or *'amal irādī*, "voluntary action," apparently to distinguish it from other kinds of actions (e.g. in 48a2, 49b24, 51b29, 53b16, 53b27); thus the presence of the word "voluntary" (*irādī*) in the translation does not correspond to anything in the Greek. Second, the word ἐπεισοδιώδεις is rendered by the Arabic *ma'lūl* ("sickened,"

"impaired,") from the root *ʿll* because the Syriac translation of the Greek word was also formed from the same Syriac root, *ʿll* (Tkatsch I,208a). The Syriac root, however, primarily means "to enter" and it was used originally with this meaning in mind to translate, etymologically, it seems, ἐπεισοδιώδεις, because of the word εἴσοδος ("entering, entry") from which it is derived. Thus the word ἐπεισοδιώδεις, its technical sense in literary criticism apart ("episodic"), which was clearly unknown to the translator, means "imported, adventitious," and, in this sense, it was correctly translated into Syriac. The Arabic translator, in his turn, erred in choosing the same root in Arabic as in Syriac (*ʿll*), because in Arabic this root does not have the meaning "to enter," but this mistake was apparently corrected early because in the Paris manuscript itself the word *madḫūl* (literally, "entered," and hence "imported, adventitious") is both written over *maʿlūl* (at 51b33) and later (at 51b34) used together with *maʿlūl* in a hendiadys to render ἐπεισοδιώδης. So much then can be explained philologically and is understandable.

The remaining problems resist explanation: How was the word ἁπλῶν misunderstood or misread as ἐπεισοδιωδῶν? For the fact that μύθων in Arabic also has an adjective to complement it means that there was a word in the place of ἁπλῶν in Σ. Next, why was the phrase καὶ πράξεων αἱ ἐπεισοδιώδεις read or understood as καὶ αἱ πράξεις ἐπεισοδιώδεις? And finally, why was χείρισται omitted? It is very likely, but it cannot be ascertained, that some major disruption must have occurred in the text at this place and perhaps the translator was translating as he best could. However, for the issue at hand, even if the word ἁπλῶν cannot be verified as having existed in Σ, at least it can be surmised that a word did exist in its place.

Avicenna had access to a revised translation, or to a critical note about this passage in his translation. Apparently somebody at some time was able to check this passage against what can only be assumed to have been a different Greek manuscript than Σ (to which the siglum Ψ is given) and read there the Greek word ἁπλῶν, which was properly rendered into Arabic as *basīṭ*. For this sentence in the *Poetics* the corresponding passage in Avicenna reads, "In poetic imaginative representation, there should be no need for these simple myths which are invented stories" (*wa-lā yağibu an yuḥtāğa fī t-taḫyīli š-šiʿriyyi ilā hāḏihi l-ḫurāfāti l-basīṭati llatī hiya qiṣaṣun muḫtaraʿatun*); pp. 55–56 Badawī (1966). The word *basīṭ* (simple) in Avicenna's text could only have come from a revised text of the Arabic translation of that sentence. It is proper therefore to indicate in the Greek apparatus the existence of the word ἁπλῶν in the other

manuscript from which the correction to Abū-Bišr's original translation was made.

Averroes, who did not have the revised translation—or at least the corrections of the Abū-Bišr translation—that Avicenna did, but only Avicenna's text, followed in general Avicenna's exposition (and frequently his words) in trying to understand this unintelligible passage in the Abū-Bišr translation, but he left out the word *basīṭ* in the appropriate place: "In poetic imaginative representation, there is no need for the likes of these invented myths" (*fa-laysa yuḥtāǧu fī t-taḫyīli š-šiʿriyyi ilā miṯli hāḏihi l-ḫurāfāti l-muḫtaraʿati*; p. 92 Sālim). Since he did not see the word "simple" in the Abū-Bišr translation he used, he must have thought that the word was Avicenna's and not Aristotle's and thus he did not copy it despite his quite literal following of Avicenna's text.

51b34 τὰ A, Σ ut vid. (*al-maʿlūlīn*) : καὶ B

51b38 παρατείνοντες B, Σ (*yamtaddūna*) : παρατείναντες A | τὸν B : om. A : [Σ]

1452a1 δὲ Ξ : non vert. Ar.
For the omission of δέ in Arabic see the following comment.

52a3 δὲ Π, Σ (*wa-*) : om. B | καὶ² Π : om. B : [Σ] | καὶ μᾶλλον Ξ, Σ (*akṯara*) : del. Ellebodius, Spengel
For ταῦτα δέ, the Arabic translation clearly has the particle (*wa-hāḏihī*), which makes of the sentence which it introduces another independent sentence in parataxis, and not the apodosis of the preceding protasis. However, because the Arabic translation does not have a conjunction to introduce the preceding ἐπεί clause (at 52a1), which then is naturally read in the Arabic syntax as a causal clause modifying the sentence before *it* (… διαστρέφειν ἀναγκάζονται), the ταῦτα δέ sentence does not need to be an apodosis to what preceded. That is, the Arabic translation reads as if the text at 51b38–52a3 were, τὸν μῦθον πολλάκις διαστρέφειν ἀναγκάζονται τὸ ἐφεξῆς ἐπεὶ οὐ μόνον τελείας ἐστὶ πράξεως ἡ μίμησις ἀλλὰ καὶ φοβερῶν καὶ ἐλεεινῶν· ταῦτα δὲ γίνεται καὶ μάλιστα καὶ μᾶλλον …, omitting δέ after ἐπεί. It is not clear whether this omitted δέ after ἐπεί was also missing in Σ or it was done deliberately by the (Syriac?) translator in order to avoid missing an apodosis for the ἐπεί clause.

As for the reading καὶ μάλιστα καὶ μᾶλλον, both μάλιστα and μᾶλλον were clearly in Σ (even if the presence of either or both καί cannot

be ascertained), for the translation reads, "And these [things] happen especially more than they happen because of glory" (*wa-hāḏihī takūnu ḫāṣṣatan* [*sic lege*, cf. Tkatsch II,190b, n. 1] *akṯara mimmā takūnu min aṯ-ṯanā'*), where "especially" (*ḫāṣṣatan*) translates μάλιστα, as elsewhere in this work, and "more" (*akṯara*) translates μᾶλλον, also as elsewhere.

52a5 οὕτως Π, Σ (*hākaḏā*) : οὔτε B

52a6 τῶν ἀπὸ τύχης A, Σ ut vid. : ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης B

The translation is ambiguous; it could be taken to support either reading, though one seems preferable. The translator translated the text at 52a4–6 (τὸ γὰρ … τύχης) as follows: "The reason is that those which are amazing are like this. Let their state, then, be more than that/those which is/are spontaneous and by chance" (*wa-ḏālika anna llatī hiya ʿağībatun fa-hakaḏā. fa-l-y/takun ḥāluhā ḫāṣṣatan akṯara min tilka llatī hiya min tilqā'i nafsihā wa-min mā yattafiqu*). That is, the Arabic translation means either that the state of the amazing things is better than the state that is spontaneous and by chance, or that their state is better than those things which are spontaneous and by chance. Thus, depending on whether one understands the key pronoun "that/those" (*tilka*) to refer either to the word "state" that just preceded or to the "things which are spontaneous and by chance," it can be seen that the translator read and punctuated the Greek as follows. (1) Reading the pronoun as singular and referring to the "state": Τὸ γὰρ θαυμαστόν, οὕτως ἕξει. Μᾶλλον ᾖ εἰ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης (reading of manuscript B). (2) Reading the pronoun as plural and referring to the amazing things: Τὸ γὰρ θαυμαστόν, οὕτως ἕξει. Μᾶλλον ᾖ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τύχης (reading of manuscript A).

In both cases, the crucial mistake appears to have been to read the disjunctive conjunction as the subjunctive of the verb to be (ᾖ for ἤ), which the translator then rendered as an imperative, "let it be" (*fa-l-yakun* or *fa-l-takun*, depending on whether or not one reads the following word *ḥāl* as feminine to agree with the pronoun *tilka* after that). This led him to disregard the real meaning of ἕξει in that sentence and end it after it. As a result, the subject of what he read as the subjunctive then became τὸ θαυμαστόν, which he rendered in the plural to agree with "these" things of the earlier sentence (ταῦτα, 52a3). In this context, the meaning of the Arabic then would be better served if one assumes that what the translator understood was that the state of the amazing things is not better than the *state* of being spontaneous and by chance (which would not

mean much) but that it is better than the state of *those things* which are spontaneous and by chance. If then the latter is the better meaning and thus the translator meant by the pronoun "those" (*tilka*) to refer to things and not to the state, then he could have been led to this interpretation only if he had seen the Greek article τῶν in his text which would also have referred to those things that are by chance. Hence, despite the ambiguity, it would seem that Σ had the reading of manuscript A. This does not mean that he necessarily also read τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου in the first half of the expression, but that he simply transferred before αὐτομάτου the sense of the article before τύχης. In this reading he also disregarded the meaning of εἰ and read the genitive plural article as that introducing the compared object after the comparative μᾶλλον.

52a7 ὡς ὁ A : ὥσπερ ὁ B : [Σ]

52a9 μίτυϊ B, Σ ut vid. (*My'ṭy's*) : μήτυϊ A
The Arabic, representing the Syriac spelling, has *Myṭy'ws* for Μίτυος in 52a8, and *My'ṭy's* for Μίτυι in 52a9. This would point to a *iota* or, at most, *ypsilon* in the first syllable rather than an *ēta* (in μήτυϊ), and thus support the μίτυϊ spelling.

52a10 γίνεσθαι B, Σ (*taǧrī hāḏā l-maǧrā*) : γενέσθαι Π

52a12 πεπλεγμένοι Π, Σ (*murakkaba*) : πεπλασμένοι B

52a16 πεπλεγμένην B : πεπλεγμένη Π : πεπλεγμέναι ut intell. Ar.

52a17 ἐξ ἧς B, Σ (*fīhā*) : λέξις Π | ἢ[2] Π, Σ (*aw*) : om. B

52a21 τὸ AB : [Σ]

52a22–23 πραττομένων Π, Σ (*al-aʿmāl*) : πραττόντων B

52a24 οἷον B : ὥσπερ Π, Σ ut vid.
The translator seems to use the expression *ka-mā*, just as, for ὥσπερ as he does at 52a30 a few lines further down, while he translates οἷον with *miṯla*, 'like,' in the immediately following line (52a24).

52a25 ἀπαλλάξων Π, Σ ut vid. : ἀπαλάσσων B[c]
The Arabic says, "he came to Oedipus with a view to bring delight to Oedipus and to rid him of the fear and alarm of his mother" (*ǧā'a ilā Udīfūs ʿalā annahū yufarriḥu bi-Udīfūs wa-yunqiḏuhū min ḫawfi wa-fazʿi ummihī* [sic, pro *min ḫawfi ummihī wa-fazʿihā*]). The Arabic imperfect in *yunqiḏuhū* for ἀπαλλάξων could theoretically also stand for ἀπαλάσσων, but if this second participle (ἀπαλλάξων) in the sentence was understood by the translator as having a different tense from the first (εὐφρανῶν), in all likelihood he would have changed the expression to avoid the parallelism intended with the first participle.

52a26 τοὐναντίον] [Σ]

52a27 λυγκεῖ Π, Σ ut vid. (non γλυκεῖ) : γλυκεῖ B
The Arabic has "in trial" (*fī miḥna*) for ἐν τῷ λυγκεῖ. Clearly the Syriac translator could not identify the title of the play and had something else in its stead which the Arabic translator understood to mean "trial". Margoliouth (1887), Arabic p. 27 note g, suggested that the Syriac translator simply transliterated the Greek word λυγκεῖ with something like *elinqōs*, which then the Arabic translator thought to be ἔλεγχος and translated it with *miḥna*. This is quite ingenious but perhaps not accurate. It is not certain that Abū-Bišr Mattā himself knew Greek (well enough or at all) to recognize such a Greek word underlying the Syriac transliteration; or if he did, he would not have rendered ἔλεγχος with *miḥna* because this is not attested. The Greek word is translated with *tawbīḫ* (rebuke) in the old translation of the *Rhetoric* (ed. Lyons 1982, vol. 2, Glossary, s.v.), and consistently with *tabkīt* in the translations of Aristotle's *Sophistics* stemming from the Baghdad school (Badawī (1948–1952), III,777–782), the one actually founded by Abū-Bišr himself. However, although it seems certain that ἔλεγχος is not the word behind the Arabic *miḥna*, it is difficult to say what is. In any case, it is clear that the Arabic translator did not see anything reminding him of sweetness in the Syriac version that would suggest a reading γλυκεῖ in the Greek exemplar (as in manuscript B), so it is almost certain that Σ did read λυγκεῖ by elimination.

Margoliouth (1911) 106 and 258–259 changed his mind and suggested, but without explaining how, that the Syriac translator read in Σ a transposition of the word λυγκεῖ into κλίνη, which he then transliterated as such into Syriac, and which the Arabic translator misunderstood to mean "litter" (i.e., couch). Though it is difficult to recreate Margoliouth's

thinking in this matter, I would guess that what he may have had in mind was that a transliteration *kln'* in Syriac may have been misread as *kylt'*, which, according to Payne Smith's *Thesaurus*, col. 1697, means "lectica muliebris," and this was translated properly as *miḥaffa* ("litter") in Arabic, which was then further corrupted to *miḥna* in the Paris MS. No comment.

52a28–29 τὸν … τὸν Π : τῷ … τῷ B : [Σ]
It is impossible to ascertain what the Greek behind the Arabic translation is, because it could be either. The Arabic says, "As for the latter (τὸν μὲν), … it happened to him (τῷ … συνέβη) that he died, and as for the former (τὸν δὲ), it happened to him (τῷ … συνέβη) that he was saved" (*ammā hāḏā … ⟨fa-⟩ʿaraḍa lahū an yamūta, wa-ammā ḏāka fa-ʿaraḍa lahū annahū salima wa-naǧā*.

52a31 ἢ[2] Π, Σ (*aw*) : om. B

52a33 περιπετείᾳ ci. Gomperz : περιπετεῖαι (sic) A : περιπέτεια B Σ | γένηται B Σ : γίνονται Π | οἷον Ξ, Σ (*bi-manzila*) : οἵαν ci. Bywater : ὡς Paris. 2038 | ἡ Π : om. B, Σ ut vid.
For the Greek text καλλίστη … Οἰδίποδι, the Arabic translates as follows: "A good recognition happens when the reversal takes place all at one go, as in the case of what is found in the story of the life of Oedipus" (*wa-l-istidlālu l-ḥasanu yakūnu matā kānati l-idāratu dufʿatan, bi-manzilati mā yūǧadu fī sīrati Ūdīfus wa-tadbīrihī*). From this it is clear that the translator read ἅμα περιπέτεια γένηται as in manuscript B (which he may have understood as ἅμα ἡ περιπέτεια γένηται), taking ἅμα adverbially to mean all together, without interruption. As for *bi-manzila*, it regularly translates οἷον. Finally, since the Arabic does not explicitly mention again either the reversal or the recognition to indicate that he read ἡ ἐν …, it appears that his exemplar omitted the article, though there is little certainty in this.

52a35 τὰ τυχόντα ἐστὶν ὡς ὅπερ εἴρηται συμβαίνει καὶ om. Σ
The omission appears to have been in the Greek manuscript, which otherwise follows the readings of manuscript A, and did not happen within the Syriac or Arabic tradition. It occurred most likely from a homoioteleuton in the Greek from καὶ after ἄψυχα to καὶ before εἰ.

52a36 ἢ Paris. 2038 : εἰ A : εἰ vel καὶ εἰ Σ (*wa-in*); cf. Lat. : *et si* Lat.

1452b1 οἵων B Φ : οἷον A Σ

52b2 ἔτι δὲ Ξ, Σ (*wa-ayḍan*) : ἐπειδὴ ci. Vahlen, Kassel

52b3 ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἀναγνώρισις Π, Σ (*min qibali* ⟨*anna*⟩) : ἔτι δὲ ἀναγνωρίσεις B | τινῶν ἐστιν ἀναγνώρισις Π Σ : om. B

52b4 εἰσι B : om. Π : [Σ] | ἅτερος] [Σ]

52b5 ὁτὲ Φ, Σ (*wa-immā*), Paris. 2038 : ὅτε A B

52b7 ἐκείνου ci. Bywater : ἐκείνῳ Ξ : [Σ] | ἔδει Π, Σ (*kāna yaḥtāǧu*) : ἔφη B

52b9 ταῦτ'] ταῦτα BΦ, fort. Σ : περὶ ταῦτ' A
For δύο … ὀδυνηρά, 52b9–12, the Arabic has (translating with only one word the hendiadys used by the translator), "These two which we have reported about are the two parts of mythos, i.e., recognition and peripety, while the third part is suffering. Suffering is a destructive or painful action" (*fa-hātāni llatāni ḫabbarnā bihimā humā ǧuz'ā l-ḫurāfati wa-ḥikāyati l-ḥadīṯi, a'nī l-istidlāla wa-l-idārata, wa-l-ǧuz'u ṯ-ṯāliṯu huwa nfi'ālu l-alami wa-t-ta'ṯīri; wa-l-alamu wa-t-ta'ṯīru huwa 'amalun mufsidun aw mūǧi'un*). From this it is clear that the translator combined the two Greek sentences, b9–10 (δύο μὲν … πάθος) and b10–11 (τούτων δὲ … εἴρηται), eliminating the redundance in the repetition of περιπέτεια and ἀναγνώρισις, and did not simply omit the words 52b10–11, τούτων … εἴρηται, as suggested by Margoliouth (1887) 59 (and followed by Butcher (3rd ed.) p. xvi): εἴρηται appears as "we have reported about."

Thus it appears that the translator read in line b9 ταῦτα with manuscript B rather than περὶ ταῦτ' because his words "we have reported about" translate εἴρηται (52b11), as just mentioned, and not a presumed περὶ in the περὶ ταῦτ' reading of manuscript A. If he had read περὶ ταῦτ' one would have expected him somehow to translate the preposition; but since in this sentence he takes the liberty to change the Greek word order in his translation, there can be no certainty in this conclusion; hence "fort." in my notation. Gallavotti (1954b) 327, explains the redundant περί as a peculiar error in A, caused by dittography from the following περιπέτεια, and is confident that it did not exist in Σ; if that is so, he may be right.

52b10 καὶ Π : μὲν καὶ B : [Σ]

52b10–12 τούτων … ὀδυνηρά] See above under b9.

52b11 ἢ AB, Σ (*aw*) : καὶ Φ

52b12 οἵ τε B, Σ (*alladīna*) : ὅτε A

52b13 τρώσεις A : αἱ τρώσεις B : [Σ]

52b16–17 χορικόν Ξ : χορικοῦ *ut intell. Syr.*
As noted by Tkatsch I,203b, the Syriac translator saw (or thought he saw) in Σ χορικοῦ instead of the transmitted χορικόν, and thus took the two words as a genitive construction, ἔξοδος χορικοῦ = *maḫrağu r-raqṣi* in Arabic. That this reading is not accidental in the Paris manuscript is corroborated by the text of Avicenna whose paraphrase also has *maḫrağ ar-raqqāṣ* (p. 58,9 Badawī).

52b17 τούτου Π, Σ (*li-hādā*) : τοῦτο B

52b18 ἴδια om. Ar. in lac. | ἀπὸ Π, Σ (*min*) : ὑπὸ B
For the lacuna see the following comment.

52b18–20 κομμοί … τὸ πρὸ om. Ar. in lac. | πρὸ χοροῦ παρόδου Φ, Paris. 2038 : ⟨***⟩ χοροῦ παρόδου Σ (⟨*qabla*⟩ [*wa-*] *mağāz aṣ-ṣufūf*), lac. in text. Ar. stat. Gutas
The Arabic text corresponding to ἴδια δὲ … τὸ πρὸ, 52b18–19 is lacunose. The Arabic has only: *fa-llatī mina l-maskani, wa-aṣnāf, wa-mağāz aṣ-ṣufūf*. Of this text, *fa-llatī mina l-maskani* corresponds to δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς, while *wa-mağāz aṣ-ṣufūf* corresponds to χοροῦ (or better: χορῶν, *ṣufūf*, pl.) παρόδου. Thus the word ἴδια, which, as the predicate of the sentence, comes at the end of the Arabic rendition, and then a whole line in Greek, from κομμοί to τὸ πρὸ are missing in the Arabic transmission (i.e., the Arabic translates as if the sentence read, τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ {κομμοὶ ἴδια, ἔστιν δὲ πρόλογος … τὸ πρὸ} χορῶν παρόδου, with the words in curly brackets missing), possibly by homoioteleuton, as Margoliouth (1887), Arabic p. 29, note f, suggests, though not in the place where he suggests it. It is unlikely that the homoioteleuton took place in the Greek transmission, because ἴδια does not appear in the Arabic translation whereas what comes after it, τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς, does, and thus the missing text can be justified only in a sentence construction in Arabic in which the translation of ἴδια came in a later position in the sentence, as I suggest

above, and thus fell within the omitted part. In the existing Arabic text the word *aṣnāf* is problematic, since it does not appear to correspond to anything in the Greek in the sentence in question. Margoliouth in his apparatus (note d) suggests that *aṣnāf* translates εἴδεα instead of ἴδια, which Tkatsch I,198a,-5 explains as an "Itazismus", but the word εἴδεσι in 52b14, to which Tkatsch refers, is rendered in Arabic as *anwāʿ*, not *aṣnāf*. Since κομμός at 52b24 is translated as *qayna*, it is likely that κομμοί at 52b18 had the plural, *qiyān*, so that it is possible to suggest that *aṣnāf* belonged to that construction in the form of *aṣnāf* ⟨*al-qiyān*⟩. The missing text would thus most probably have read, *fa-llatī mina l-maskani wa-aṣnāfi* ⟨*l-qiyāni, hiya ḫāṣṣatun lahū. fa-taqdimatu l-ḫuṭabi hiya ǧuzʾun kulliyyun min aǧzāʾi ṣināʿati l-madīḥī llaḏī qabla*⟩ [*wa-*] *maǧāzi ṣ-ṣufūfi*. In this reconstruction the conjunction *wa-* before *maǧāz* has to be secluded and explained as a scribal addition intended to make sense of the resulting lacunose text.

52b21 μέρος Π, Σ (*ǧuzʾun*) : μέλος B

52b22 μεθ' ὃ Π, Σ (*baʿdahū*) : καθ' ὃ B | μέλος Π, Σ (*ṣawtun*) : μέρος B | χορικοῦ Π, Σ ut vid. (*maǧāzu ṣ-ṣaffi*) : χορικὸς B
The Greek μεθ' ὃ οὐκ ἔστι χοροῦ μέλος is rendered quite literally as, "after which there is no melody of the [chorus-]group" (*allaḏī lā yakūnu li-ṣ-ṣaffi baʿdahū ṣawtun*, in which the last word, transmitted as *ṣawtan* in the manuscript due to scribal "overcorrection", has to be restored to the nominative).

For the next contested reading, χορικοῦ or χορικός, the Arabic translation, "as for the procession of the [chorus-]group" (*wa-ammā maǧāzu ṣ-ṣaffi*), renders most apparently the genitive (χορικοῦ δὲ πάροδος). However, it is also possible that χορικός as an adjective, followed by πάροδος, could have been translated in a similar fashion, though it is less probable. Hence the "ut vid." notation.

52b23 ὅλη ci. Susemihl : ὅλου Ξ, Σ (*li-ǧamīʿi*) | στάσιμον Π : στάσιμος B, Σ ut vid. (*al-waqfatu*) | μέλος Ξ : μέρος Σ (*al-ǧuzʾu*)
Σ read, together with the entire manuscript tradition, ὅλου, *li-ǧamīʿi*. The Arabic in the Paris manuscript reads *bi-ǧamīʿi*, but Margoliouth (1887), Arabic p. 29, note g, is doubtless right to propose *li-ǧamīʿi*, an otherwise common misreading.

As a rule it would be difficult, if not impossible, to decide whether the Syriac translator read the masculine or the neuter form for στάσιμον.

However, an indication that he might have read the masculine is provided by the fact that in the preceding instance where the neuter word occurs in this paragraph (52b17), he renders it in a way which appears in Arabic as *maqām*, a *nomen loci* (*ismu l-makān*), meaning "a place of standing," and hence clearly rendering the neuter στάσιμον. In this passage, however, the translator uses a different word, which by itself would indicate that he read something else in his text; in this entire paragraph the translator is careful always to render the same Greek words with the same corresponding Arabic ones. The word he uses here is *waqfa*, a *nomen vicis* (*ismu l-marra*), expressing the act of doing something once, "a standing" or "a stopping," and probably ("ut vid.") rendering the masculine στάσιμος.

Finally, the frequent confusion in this paragraph between μέλος and μέρος occurs in this line as well, but only in Σ.

52b24 κομμός] [Σ]

52b25 ὡς εἴδεσι rec. : om. Ω

52b26 εἴπαμεν Π : εἴπομεν B : [Σ]
The second aorist of this verb is the form used almost exclusively by Aristotle, according to the *TLG*; the first aorist is attested in only six passages in all of his extant works, of which this is one. Given the textual variation in the manuscript tradition of this passage, it would appear that the six instances of the first aorist in his works are due to scribal intrusion. The Arabic translation (*qad ḫabbarnā*), of course, cannot reflect the difference between the first and second aorist forms.

52b27 κεχωρισμένα, ταῦτ' Π, Σ (*at-talḫīṣ, fa-hiya hāḏihī*) : ταῦτα κεχωρισμένα B
The structure of the Arabic sentence, "as for … then" (*ammā … fa-*), makes it clear that the clause ταῦτ' ἐστίν is the apodosis, which reads, "then they are these" (*fa-hiya hāḏihī*). Κεχωρισμένα was thus clearly understood by the translator to belong to the preceding, protasis clause.

52b28 ὧν Φ, Σ (*hiya llatī*), Paris. 2038 : ὡς AB

52b31 δεῖ Σ (*yanbaġī an*)

52b32 πεπλεγμένην Π, Σ (*muzawwaǧ*) : πεπλασμένην B

52b35–37 δυστυχίαν … εὐτυχίαν Π, Σ : δυστυχίαν τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀρετῇ · B
The Arabic follows faithfully the word order in Π.

52b37 ἀτραγῳδότατον Π : ἀτραγῳδητότατον B : [Σ]
The choice would appear to be difficult. The Greek forms of the two alternative comparatives are not well attested in the positive degree and without the alpha privative. Τραγῳδός, which would be the form for the positive degree of ἀτραγῳδότατον in the affirmative, has a form with the alpha privative as ἀτράγῳδος. The other form derives from τραγῳδητός, ἀτραγῴδητος. The Arabic has *ġayr madīḥī*, "not of tragedy," disregarding the superlative. This could reflect either of the two forms in Greek.

1453a1 αὖ τὸν Paris. 2038 : αὐτὸν B, Σ ut vid. (nisi αὐτὸν ⟨τὸν⟩ leg.) : αὐτὸ Π
The Arabic reads, "nor, again, is it [i.e., the tragedy] about those who are very wicked that they should fall from good fortune into misfortune" (*wa-lā ayḍan hiya li-llaḏīna hum ardiyā'u ǧiddan min falāḥin ilā lā-falāḥin an yasquṭū* [corr. Badawī: *yasquṭūna* cod.]). The structure of the Arabic sentence is such that it is balanced syntactically with the preceding sentence at 52b36–37, οὔτε τοὺς μοχθηρούς, which is plural, and thus the translator is forced to render τὸν σφόδρα πονηρὸν at 53a1 also in the plural ("those who are very wicked"), against the letter of the Greek text. Thus we can be sure that he read the singular pronoun or article in his exemplar. Next, the turn of this very phrase, with the relative clause, indicates that he read αὐτὸν, as in B; indeed, it almost appears that he read, οὐδ' αὐτὸν τὸν σφόδρα πονηρὸν, "nor, again, [is it about] him who is very wicked," or in the plural, as I just described, "[about] those who are very wicked." Had he not read αὐτὸν but αὖ τὸν he would have translated, *wa-lā ayḍan li-l-ardiyā'*, as he does a few lines above in the parallel construction, *wa-lā ayḍan li-t-ta'ibīna* which renders οὔτε τοὺς μοχθηρούς at 36–37. The word "again" (*ayḍan*) in this sentence, finally, does not render a presumed αὖ, but the δέ part of οὐδέ in οὐδ' αὐτὸν, as in the preceding sentence at 36–37 just cited, where "again" (*ayḍan*) translates the τε in οὔτε.

53a4 περὶ Π, Σ (*ilā*) : παρὰ B
All the instances of the preposition περὶ used in this sentence (53a4–6) are rendered in Arabic with the same preposition, *ilā*, which indicates that the translator read the same preposition throughout.

53a5–6 ὅμοιον … ὅμοιον Π Σ : ὅμοιον B

53a11 οἰδίπους B, Σ (*ʾwdīfūs*, اودىفوس) : δίπους Π

53a13 τινές φασι edd. : φασὶ τινὲς B : [Σ]

53a15 μοχθηρίαν A, Σ ut vid. : μοχθηρίας B
The mistake in the genitive case appears to be one peculiar to B because when the preposition is repeated two words later with the same function it is used with the accusative also in B. The Arabic translates διὰ both times with "by reason of," "because of" (*bi-sabab*), which is the correct meaning, and so it appears that he read the same case for both nouns following the preposition. However, since διά with the genitive has a causal meaning as well (though not one that fits exactly the context here), there cannot be absolute certainty in the reading of Σ so the notation "ut vid." is called for.

53a16 οἵου Π, Σ (*miṯla llatī*, scil. *al-ḫurāfa*) : οἵου ὡς B | ἢ^{2} om. Σ
The Syriac translator mistook the masculine οἵου to refer to μῦθον at 53a12, so he understood, οἵου μύθου εἴρηται βελτίονος, and translated "like the one (*mythos*) that was told of/by good men" (*miṯla llatī* [scil. *al-ḫurāfa*] *qīlat li-l-afāḍil* [corr. Badawī: *al-afāḍil* cod.]).

53a17 πρῶτον Π, Σ (*awwalan*) : πρότοῦ (sic) B

53a19 κάλλισται Ξ, Ψ apud Avicen. : om. Σ : del. Christ
The Arabic translation is particularly inaccurate here. The sentence, νῦν δὲ περὶ ὀλίγας οἰκίας αἱ κάλλισται τραγῳδίαι συντίθενται appears as, "but now the tragedies are composed little at the houses" (*wa-ammā l-āna fa-qad turakkabu l-madīḥātu qalīlan ʿinda l-buyūti*). It is clear, first, that κάλλισται is not translated, most likely because of its absence in Σ. But the misunderstanding of περὶ ὀλίγας οἰκίας is difficult to account for. Rather than assuming that Σ had a different reading here, it is possible that the translator could not accept the literal meaning of the phrase and thus thought that it would be best to take ὀλίγας adverbially (i.e., understand the Greek to mean "little at the houses" rather than the literal "at/about little/few houses").

This passage in Arabic was in any case unintelligible, and it is clear that Avicenna had a better and corrected text at his disposal. In the corresponding passage, he paraphrases the lines πρῶτον μὲν … νῦν δὲ …

οἷον περὶ Ἀλκμέωνα … (53a17–21) as follows: "He (Aristotle) mentioned that the ancients (πρῶτον μὲν) used to set little store[41] in the matter of myths in order to attain the goal; but as for the moderns after them (νῦν δὲ), they were so skillful (κάλλισται) that they reached the goal in the matter of tragedy with moderate speech (περὶ ὀλίγας οἰκίας). He gave an example and mentioned some of the people (οἷον περὶ Ἀλκμέωνα) who excelled in the transition [just] mentioned." From this passage it is clear, first, that Avicenna could not have gotten this meaning from the Abū-Bišr translation. Second, it is also clear that the "skill" of the moderns reflects the Greek κάλλισται, which means that Avicenna's copy of the *Poetics* was corrected from a Greek manuscript that did include this word in the text. However, the difficulties with Abū-Bišr's translation persisted, for the περὶ ὀλίγας οἰκίας still did not come out right, but appears as "moderate speech." It may be that the word for "houses" *buyūt*, the plural of *bayt*, which means both "house" and "verse", was understood as *abyāt*, the other plural of the word which means "verses," and thus "few, or little, verses" could be construed as "moderate speech," but this is far from certain. Averroes has something very generic on this passage which means that he avoided it for lack of understanding, even with Avicenna's elaboration.

What this evidence indicates for the Greek text is that Σ certainly omitted κάλλισται, but that this would appear to be a mistake peculiar to Σ rather than representative of a real variant in the tradition (cf. Tkatsch I,194b), insofar as the other Greek source on the *Poetics* (Ψ) available to translators did contain the word.

53a20 Ἀλκμέωνα ci. Bywater : Ἀλκμαίωνα AB : [Σ] (*Alqāmān*)

53a22 τὴν A : om. B Σ

The Arabic has, "as for the fine tragedy that comes about by art" (*wa-ammā l-madīḥu l-ḥasanu llaḏī yakūnu bi-ṣināʿatin*). The indefinite *bi-ṣināʿatin*, "by art," must reflect κατὰ τέχνην, without the article, for if the meaning κατὰ τὴν τέχνην is to refer to the art of tragedy specifically, then the Arabic would also have used the article, *bi-ṣ-ṣināʿati*.

[41] The reading is doubtful here. The verb used is *yastahīnūna*, 'to belittle something,' and it clearly is intended to represent the Greek ἀπηρίθμουν in Aristotle's text. The Abū-Bišr translation has the technically correct *yuḥṣūna*, they count. It is not known how in Avicenna's corrected version *yuḥṣūna* became *yastahīnūna* or some other related word.

53a24 τὸ αὐτὸ Ξ : om. Ar. (fort. om. Σ)
In the Arabic translation, it is clear that τὸ αὐτὸ is not translated. In such cases of omission, it is very difficult to say conclusively where it occurred: it may have been absent in Σ, or the Syriac or Arabic translator may have omitted it, or it may have been omitted in the course of transmission within the Syriac or the Arabic tradition. One has to weigh the practice of the translator(s) against both the significance of the omitted word or phrase and the possibility of a chance omission. The occurrence of τὸ αὐτὸ in this passage is significant for the meaning and cannot be easily disregarded. Tkatsch I,176 discussed in detail the passages in the *Poetics* where the translators did in fact translate the occurrence of this pronoun when used both in the sense of "self" and of "same". Prima facie, then, the Syriac/Arabic translators should have translated the word (Tkatsch's examples at II,145b–146a where similar occurrences of the pronoun are not translated do not convince; αὐτός in these passages means "self" in a weak sense and it can be disregarded with almost no loss of meaning). Thus most likely the pronoun was either missing in Σ or dropped out in Syriac/Arabic transmission due to some palaeographic accident; accordingly both alternatives should be presented to the reader, as listed above.

53a25 ἐν ΒΦ, A^c (ν in ras.), Σ ut vid. | ταῖς A^c (τ in ras.), Σ ut vid. : αἷς B| καὶ αἱ ci. Knebel : καὶ Π : αἱ B : [Σ] : αἱ γὰρ ut intell. Ar.
For ὅτι τοῦτο δρᾷ ἐν ταῖς τραγῳδίαις the Arabic has, "he made his tragedies in this fashion" (*ǧaʿala madāʾiḥahū ʿalā hāḏā ḏ-ḍarbi*). This is not a word for word translation of what the Greek says; nevertheless the meaning is the same, and in all likelihood Σ did read ἐν ταῖς, but it is still necessary to add the cautionary "ut vid."

For the reading καὶ αἱ the Arabic has a causal connection, reading, "because many of them" (*wa-ḏālika anna kaṯīran minhā*), thus corroborating neither of the readings transmitted in the Greek tradition. The phrase *wa-ḏālika anna* almost invariably translates γάρ in this and in most Graeco-Arabic translation literature. It is thus very likely that the translator understood, even of he did not actually read in Σ, αἱ γὰρ πολλαὶ.

53a29 μὴ Ξ : om. Ar.

53a31 ἡ Φ, Σ (*hiya*), Paris. 2038 : ἥ B : ἢ A | τε A : om. ΒΦ : [Σ]

53a32 καὶ Π, Σ (*wa-*) : om. B

53a32–33 ἐξ ἐναντίας Π, Σ (*min at-taḍādd*) : εἰς τοὐναντίον B

53a34 τῶν A : om. B : [Σ]
For διὰ τὴν τῶν θεάτρων ἀσθένειαν the Arabic has, "because of the weakness of what is known as *theatra*" (*bi-sababi ḍuʿfi l-maʿrūfi bi-ṯiyaṭrā*). Obviously the translator took the word to be a proper name or a name that is specific to the Greek context, and he simply transliterated it. Although the transliterated word does not carry the Arabic article, it is impossible to tell whether or not the Syriac translator read in Σ the Greek article in genitive plural. In the revised translation available to Avicenna there was an attempt to define the word, but if what Avicenna writes is an accurate reproduction of that definition, it too, was wrong. Avicenna's text reflects the passage διὰ τὴν τῶν θεάτρων ἀσθένειαν as follows: "The reason for it was the weakness in the natural disposition of the poets," with the word "poets" reflecting ποιηταί further down the line (*wa-kāna s-sababu fīhi ḍuʿfa naḥīzati š-šuʿarāʾi*, p. 60 Badawī). Thus the transliterated word *theatra* in Abū-Bišr's translation was glossed in the revision available to Avicenna as "natural disposition" (*naḥīza*), which is difficult to explain (Averroes skips this passage, for obvious reasons). That the Syriac and Arabic translators did not know the word θέατρον in any of its meanings is indicative of their complete lack of familiarity with the very basic context of a work like the *Poetics*; but the fact that they could not find out needs explanation.[42]

The Greek word θέατρα occurs once more in the *Poetics*, at 49a9, but in Abū-Bišr's translation it appears to have been misread as ἑκάτερα; see the commentary on that passage above.

53a37 οἳ ἂν ci. Bonitz : ἂν οἱ AB Σ
The Arabic translates οἱ ἔχθιστοι as the subject in a hendiadys, "the enemies and haters" (*al-aʿdāʾu wa-l-mubġiḍūna*), without separating the subject (οἳ) and the predicate (ἔχθιστοι).

1453b3 πρότερον καὶ Π, Σ ut vid. : καὶ πρότερον καὶ B
The Arabic translates literally ὅπερ ἐστὶ πρότερον, "something which is from hoary antiquity" (*mā huwa munḏu qadīmi d-dahri*), and there is

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[42] The precise meaning of the word θέατρον may not have been known, but something very similar to its meanings as "theater" and "audience" was known to the translator of Artemidorus's *Oneirocroticon*, who rendered it both as a gathering and a place of gathering (*maḥfil, maǧmaʿ*), Schmitt (1970) 198.

no particle interposed in the Arabic that would normally indicate that the translator saw an extra καὶ in Σ. A slight doubt remains insofar as the translator is not always consistent in rendering καί.

53b4 οὕτω Π, Σ (*ʿalā hāḏā n-naḥwi*) : τοῦ B | συνεστάναι A : συνιστάναι B : [Σ] (*an tuqawwama*) : [Φ]
The Syro-Arabic translation does not make the distinction between present and perfect infinitive; for this instance see Tkatsch I,168a.

53b6 ἅπερ ἂν πάθοι τις Π, Σ (*allatī yanfaʿilu bihā l-insānu*) : ἅπερ ἂν καὶ χορηγίας δεόμενόν ἐστι … πάθοι τίς (sic) B

53b6–7 ἀκούων τὸν τοῦ Οἰδίπου μῦθον Π : τὸν Οἰδίπου μῦθον ἀκούων B : [Σ]

53b7 δὲ Π, Σ ut vid. (*wa-*) : om. B
Connective δὲ without preceding μὲν is translated in a number of ways into Arabic, one of which is the simple Arabic conjunction "and," *wa-*, as here. In addition, the translator understood the break between the two sentences properly, without running the one into the other (as relatively frequently in this translation), which is an additional indication that he did read the Greek particle in his exemplar. But there can be no absolute certainty.

53b10 πᾶσαν A : ἅπασαν B : [Σ]

53b12 ἀπὸ ἐλέου] [Σ]

53b15 δὴ ci. Spengel : δὲ Ξ : γὰρ ut intell. Ar. (*wa-ḏālika anna*)
The Arabic has, "because" (*wa-ḏālika anna*), an expression which not only in this translation but in most Graeco-Arabic literature translates γάρ (cf. 1453b36, 54a3, 54a22, 54a24, 54a26, 55a23, 55a27, 55a33, 55b16, 61b4, 61b11, 61b15, 61b29, 62b1, etc.). It is conceivable that γάρ was present in Σ, but it is very difficult to explain it palaeographically if the Greek paradosis has δὲ. In the absence of certainty, it is safer to assume that the Syriac or Arabic translator interpreted the particle as γάρ.

53b17 οὐδὲν ἐλεεινὸν Π, fort. Σ : ἐλεεινὸν οὐδὲν B
In all probability Σ followed here the reading in Π because the variant in B brings the words ἐχθρὸν and ἐλεεινὸν one right next to the other, with the possibility of making the adjective seem to modify ἐχθρὸν. The Arabic,

however, translates correctly, avoiding the error, and he may have been helped in this by the word order in the reading in Π.

53b19 ἐγγένηται A : ἐγγίγνεται B : [Σ]

53b21 ἀποκτείνῃ ἢ μέλλῃ B : ἀποκτείνει ἢ μέλλει A : [Σ]

53b22 δρᾷ Φ, rec. : δρᾶν AB : [Σ]

53b23 λύειν Π, fort. Σ : λύειν δὲ B | Κλυταιμήστραν Σ (*ʾqlūṭīmisṭr⟨ā⟩*) : Κλυταιμνήστραν Ξ
The Arabic does not have any break in the structure of the sentence that would indicate the existence of the particle δὲ after λύειν. However, particles show very dimly through the double translation of this work, and there are numerous instances of run-in sentences where they are completely disregarded, so there can be little certainty about the reading in this case.

53b24 Ἐριφύλην Π, Σ (*ʾĀrīfīlī*) : Ἐριφύνην B | Ἀλκμέωνος] ἀλκμαίωνος AB : [Σ]
The Arabic in this translation, following the Syriac, normally does not distinguish in its transliteration between an *epsilon* and *alpha iota*. Thus the *epsilon* in names like Δικαιογένης (55a1), Ἰφιγένεια (55a7, 18), and Θεόδεκτος (55b29) is transliterated with an *alif*, but then so is *alpha iota* in the names Χαιρήμων (60a2 *Ḫārīmūn*) and Λακεδαίμονα (61b6 *Lāqādāmūniyā*). The last name, as matter of fact, contains both the single vowel and the diphthong, and they are both transliterated in the same way, with an *alif*. This clearly reflects the identical actual pronunciation (as an /*e*/ phoneme) of these two sounds by Greek speakers during the translation period under the early ʿAbbāsids.

53b26 εἴπωμεν Φ, Σ (*wa-l-nuḫbir*), Paris. 2038 : -πω- B : εἴπομεν A

53b29–30 ἔστιν δὲ πρᾶξαι μὲν] ἔστιν δὲ μὴ πρᾶξαι μὲν γιγνώσκοντας Σ vel scriptor quidam Graecus (*allā yufʿala bi-l-irādati ʿinda mā yaʿrifūna*)
The passage 53b29–30, ἔστιν δὲ πρᾶξαι μέν, ἀγνοοῦντας δὲ πρᾶξαι τὸ δεινόν, reads in Arabic as follows: "As for the theme that there would be no act when they know, and that they act without knowing but later realize the love and friendship, it is a bad state" (*wa-ammā maʿnā allā yufʿala bi-l-irādati ʿinda mā yaʿrifūna wa-an yafʿalū min ḥayṯu lā yaʿrifūna*

ṯumma yaʿrifūna l-maḥabbata wa-ṣ-ṣadāqata ⟨*a*⟩*ḫīran*,[43] *fa-huwa ḥālun radīʾatun*). From this it is clear that the translator understood the Greek text as follows, even if the word order in Σ need not have been as he understood it: ἔστιν δὲ μὴ πρᾶξαι μὲν γιγνώσκοντας, ἀγνοοῦντας δὲ πρᾶξαι εἶθ' ὕστερον ἀναγνωρίσαι τὴν φιλίαν, δεινόν. The translator missed, misread, or ignored the article before δεινόν and accordingly took the word as the predicate of the sentence even if it is almost certain that that word occurred in the sentence in the place which it occupies in the extant Greek manuscripts. However that is, though, it is clear that the first part of the sentence in Greek had two segments, one depicting inaction with knowledge and the other action without knowledge. The revised translation used by Avicenna also had the same understanding of this sentence. In his paraphrase it reads, "knowledge without action and action without knowledge" (*ʿilmun bi-lā fiʿlin wa-fiʿlun bi-lā ʿilmin*).[44] Given the structure of the Arabic in the translation and the corresponding Greek, it appears that only two words dropped out from the latter, as supplied in the reconstruction above.

This understanding of the text must go back to a Greek original, whether in Σ itself or in a marginal note; the Syriac (and much less the Arabic) translator could not be assumed to have tampered so much with the text in interpreting this complicated passage. It is to be noted that the structure of the Greek as reconstructed[45] and as reflected in the Arabic translation shows that Aristotle was understood to be dealing *as a unit* with two of the four alternatives talked about: these are the two intermediate "mixed" alternatives: no action but knowledge and action but no knowledge, as opposed to the two extreme cases, where action and knowledge are both either present or absent (these four alternatives being spelled out by Aristotle himself, 53b36–37: ἢ γὰρ πρᾶξαι ἀνάγκη ἢ μή, καὶ εἰδότας ἢ μὴ εἰδότας). Thus Aristotle was seen to be taking these

[43] Addition proposed by Margoliouth 1887, Arabic p. 35, note e.

[44] *Aš-Šifāʾ, aš-Šiʿr* 61 Badawī. Averroes (p. 106 Sālim) completely misunderstood the passage, mostly owing to the Abū-Bišr translation which rendered πρᾶξαι as *fiʿlun irādiyyun* (as is customary with Abū-Bišr), "voluntary action," something which confused Averroes.

[45] Gudeman's suggested emendation, also following the Arabic and based on a presumed omission by homoioarcton (ἔστι … ἔστι), is on the right track but it appears too verbose: ⟨ἔστι δὲ μὴ πρᾶξαι εἰδότας⟩, ἔστι δὲ πρᾶξαι μέν, ἀγνοοῦντας δὲ πρᾶξαι τὸ δεινόν. It says more than the Arabic does and it makes distinct the two intermediate "mixed" alternatives, thus making it impossible to call the "fourth" alternative third, as will be mentioned next.

intermediate alternatives as one, and then, when he talks about the last (and actually the fourth) alternative, he can call it the "third" (53b34). On this understanding, there would accordingly be no need either to emend the Greek text, or seclude [τρίτον] as Gudeman does, or "doctor" the translation, as, e.g., Janko does (p. 18), who says, "Again, *fourth* beside these."[46]

53b33 ἀλκμέων ὁ ci. Victorius (sed ἀλκμαίων scr.) : ἀλκμαίωνος A, B ut vid. (ἀλκμ—νος) : [Σ] | ὁ τηλέγονος A, B ut vid. (ὁ τηλέγ—) : ὅτι vel ὅτε λέγοντος ut intell. Syr. (*ḥayṯu yaqūlu*)
The Arabic has, "Alcmai/eon and Astydamantos" (*'lq'm'wn w-'sṭwd'mnṭs*, i.e., *Alqāmāwun wa-Asṭūdāmanṭus*), with the translator not recognizing the genitive in the name of Astydamas. But it is not clear whether he read the genitive in the case of Alcmeon. In the immediately preceding passage, 53b31, ὁ Σοφοκλέους Οἰδίπους, which is exactly parallel to the transmitted reading here, the Arabic also has "Sophocles *and* Oedipus," missing the genitive in Σοφοκλέους. Thus we cannot be sure whether he read ἀλκμαίωνος or ἀλκμαίων ὁ because in either case, it seems, he may have rendered the passage in the same way.

53b34 τὸ τρίτον B, Σ (*allatī hiya ṯāliṯatun*) : τρίτον Π | τὸ² Σ (*amr*), ci. Theod. Rentius, Bonitz : τὸν A B
For τὸ μέλλοντα ποιεῖν τι τῶν ἀνηκέστων the Arabic has, "it is a matter of that [person] who is intent on doing something of those [things] which are without cure" (*fa-hiya amru ḏālika llaḏī kāna muzmiʿan an yafʿala šay'an min hāḏihi llatī lā bur'a lahā*). The insertion of the expression "it is a matter of" makes it certain that the translator had the neuter Greek article in his exemplar; τὸ as a substantive maker is frequently translated by the generic noun in Arabic, *amr* (cf. *GALex* I, 378 ff., § 34). As a matter of fact, the Arabic translation reads almost as if the translator had read, τὸ τοῦ μέλλοντος ποιεῖν τι.

53b35 ποιεῖν τι τῶν ἀνηκέστων δι' Π, Σ (*an yafʿala šay'an min hāḏihi llatī lā bur'a lahā … bi-sababi*) : τι ποιεῖν δι' ἀνήκεστον δι' B^c

[46] Cf. a similar emendation by addition in the translation by Butcher (1911), "Again, there is a third case,–⟨to be about to act with knowledge of the persons and then not to act. The fourth case is⟩ when some one is about to do an irreparable deed through ignorance …".

1454a2–3 βέλτιον … πρᾶξαι Π Σ, sed βέλτιον δὲ τὸ⟨ν⟩ ἀγνοοῦντα [μὲν] πρᾶξαι ut intell. Ar. (*wa-l-ḫayru li-man huwa ġayru ʿārifin bi-an yafʿala*) : om. B

For βέλτιον … ἀναγνωρίσαι the Arabic has, "it is best for him who is not aware that he would act, to come to realize once he has acted" (*wa-l-ḫayru li-man huwa ġayru ʿārifin bi-an yafʿala an yakūna, iḏā faʿala,* [*an*] *yataʿarrafa*) which indicates that he read, or understood, the Greek as follows: βέλτιον δὲ τὸ⟨ν⟩ ἀγνοοῦντα [μὲν] πρᾶξαι πράξαντα [δὲ] ἀναγνωρίσαι. He thus read τὸν for τὸ, and he did not take at all into account either μὲν or δὲ; as a result, he took πρᾶξαι as the object of ἀγνοοῦντα and πράξαντα ἀναγνωρίσαι as the predicate of βέλτιον. It is possible that Σ may have had τὸν for τὸ, but it is difficult to envisage that it would have omitted both particles; in all likelihood the Syriac translator simply misunderstood the Greek sentence. If that is the case, then perhaps the misunderstanding extended even to misreading τὸν for the τὸ in Σ.

54a3 δὲ] non vert. Ar., Lat. | τό τε A : τότε Φ (*tunc*), Σ (*ḥīnaʾiḏin*) vel ut intell. Syr.

See the preceding comment.

54a4 καὶ ἡ ἀναγνώρισις ἐκπληκτικόν Σ

The Arabic has, *wa-ammā l-istidlālu wa-t-taʿarrufu fa-huwa aʿǧabu wa-aǧwadu*, "as for recognition and realization, it is more astonishing and better," where both ἀναγνώρισις and ἐκπληκτικόν are rendered with a hendiadys: "recognition and realization" stand for ἀναγνώρισις, and "more astonishing and better" for ἐκπληκτικόν. In the former instance, *istidlāl* alone is used throughout the translation to render ἀναγνώρισις, so there is no question here of a different Greek text. The need for a hendiadys may have arisen from the fact that *istidlāl* normally means inference and deduction, and the second word, *taʿarruf*, which itself properly means recognition and realization, may have been added to indicate this particular meaning of ἀναγνώρισις. In the case of the second word, *aʿǧabu* by itself means astonishing and hence is a proper translation for ἐκπληκτικός, while the word "better," *aǧwadu*, may have been added to cover the more general sense of excellence (to this day, in Greek as in other languages, something "excellent" is described as "marvellous, astonishing," etc.). It is not clear why the translator chose to render the adjectives in the comparative degree. In all likelihood, it must have been felt in context to render more precisely the meaning of the Greek.

54a6 μέλλει … ἀποκτείνει A, B ut vid. : [Σ]
From τhe Arabic, which is quite accurate, it is not possible to tell whether the translator read the infinitive or not.

54a6–7 ἀνεγνώρισε A[c] Φ, Σ (*taʿarrafat*) : ἐγνώρισε B
The Arabic uses *taʿarrafa* for ἀναγνωρίζω in the preceding passage 54a3 (see above, under 54a2–3), and also in what follows.

54a9 ὅπερ πάλαι Π, Σ ut vid. (*ʿinda mā … mundu qadīmi d-dahri*) : ὃ_____άλαι B

54a14 συστάσεως Π, Σ (*qiwām*) : στάσεως B
The word *qiwām* was used to translate σύστασις also above, at 53b2 and ff.

54a16 ἐστιν A : εἰσὶν B : [Σ]
The Arabic, as is normal, does not use the copula to render this nominal sentence.

54a17 καὶ Π : om. B, et fort. Σ
For ἓν μὲν καὶ πρῶτον the Arabic has, "the first of them" (*al-awwalu minhā*), which appears to be closer to the reading of B which omits the conjunction. However, if the translator disregarded or misconstrued the force of καὶ πρῶτον in the sentence, he could have just as easily translated the phrase with the conjunction in the same way as without it.

54a18–19 προαίρεσιν Π : πρὸς αἵρεσιν B, Σ (*fī l-iʿtiqād*)
In the only other instance in the *Poetics* where προαίρεσις occurs, 50b9, it is rendered as 'will' (*irāda*), not 'belief, faith, conviction' (*iʿtiqād*), as here, a translation which renders the religious connotations of αἵρεσις. On the other hand, αἵρεσις itself does not occur elsewhere in the work, but the verb αἱρεῖσθαι at 60a5 is rendered as 'choice' (*iḫtiyār*), and αἱρετώτερον at 61b11 as 'more by way of asking and convincing' (*akṯar fī bāb al-masʾala wa-l-iqnāʿ*), both of which are proper translations of the word. Thus it is clear that the translator was well aware of the difference in meaning between προαίρεσις and αἵρεσις and that in this passage he read πρὸς αἵρεσιν.

54a19 τινα ⟨ἥ τις ἄν⟩ ᾖ ci. Vahlen : τινα ᾖ AB, Σ (sed τινα, ᾖ ut interpr. Ar.)
The translator had a very tortuous understanding of the sentence ἕξει δὲ … αἵρεσίν τινα ᾖ at 54a17–19. He translated as follows: "Each one of

them [i.e., the 'customs' or ἤθη] will—if the statement of the thing that is better known affects belief somewhat by means of voluntary action—each one of the customs will be like this" (*wa-yakūnu kullu wāḥidin minhā—in kāna qawlu l-amri llaḏī huwa aʿrafu qad yuʾaṯṯiru bi-l-fiʿli l-irādiyyi fī l-iʿtiqādi šayʾan mā—an yakūna ḥālu kulli wāḥidin mina l-ʿādāti hāḏihi l-ḥāla*). If we disregard the translator's peculiar rendering of ἦθος as 'custom' (*ʿāda*)[47] and of πρᾶξις as 'voluntary action,' which is his habit, the Arabic version indicates that he understood the Greek sentence somehow as follows: ἕξει δὲ ἦθος μὲν ὥσπερ ἐλέχθη, ἐὰν ποιῇ ὁ φανερὸς ὁ λόγος τῇ πράξει πρὸς αἵρεσίν τινα. The transposition of ἐὰν with ὥσπερ ἐλέχθη may be due merely to the translator's (mis)understanding of the text, while the dative of the article in τῇ πράξει may be accounted for by a misreading, perhaps already in Σ, of the two *ētas* in ἢ ἡ πρᾶξις; but the final ᾖ in the Greek sentence as transmitted in the manuscripts is read not with τινα but with the following sentence in the Arabic: the Arabic punctuates, that is, τινα, ᾖ. However that might be, in the Arabic rendering the introductory main sentence (or actually, apodosis), "Each one of them will" (*wa-yakūnu kullu wāḥidin minhā*) is interrupted by the conditional protasis, "if the statement of the thing …" (*in kāna qawlu l-amri …*), and then repeated at the end after the conditional clause is finished: "each one of the customs will be like this" (*an yakūna ḥālu kulli wāḥidin mina l-ʿādāti hāḏihi l-ḥāla*). Thus assuming that there is no textual corruption in which the first part of the main clause (i.e., "each one of the customs will [be like this]") was re-inserted by mistake at the beginning of the entire sentence ("each one of them will"), this understanding of the main clause is based on the Greek, ἕξει δὲ ἦθος μὲν … ὥσπερ ἐλέχθη, "it will have a character / 'custom' as has been said," i.e., "it will have a custom like this" or, "each one of the customs will be like this," as the Arabic says. Thus the main clause, or apodosis ("each one of the customs will be like this"), actually translates ἕξει δὲ ἦθος ὥσπερ ἐλέχθη, and it does not stand either for what Vahlen conjecturally added to the text in this place, ⟨ἥ τις ἂν⟩ (as suggested by Margoliouth (1887) 60), or for what Tkatsch II,149, thought should be added, ⟨ὁποία τις ἂν⟩ ᾖ.

The final ᾖ in this sentence (ἕξει δὲ … αἵρεσίν τινα ᾖ), as just stated, is read in the Arabic with the following sentence, which accordingly is also

47 Which indicates that he most likely read, or understood, ἔθος instead of ἦθος. In the revised Arabic translation available to Avicenna the word was corrected, properly, to *aḫlāq*, 'character traits, *mores*' (p. 61,12 Badawī).

rendered inaccurately. The Arabic says, "And if the good exists, it exists as good in every genus" (*wa-l-ḫayru wa-l-ǧayyidu in kāna mawǧūdan, fa-huwa mawǧūdun ḫayran fī kulli ǧinsin*), which indicates that the translator read the Greek as follows, ᾖ χρηστὸν δὲ ἐάν, χρηστήν ἐστιν δὲ ἐν ἑκάστῳ γένει, understanding it as if it were, ἐὰν δὲ ᾖ τὸ χρηστὸν, χρηστόν ἐστιν ἐν ἑκάστῳ γένει, where the second δὲ is clearly disregarded. The mistaken rendering of this sentence was not corrected in Avicenna's copy of the Arabic translation, for he repeats in the appropriate place, "The good, for all its variation, exists in every class and species" (*wa-l-ḫayru mawǧūdun fī kulli ṣinfin wa-nawʿin ʿalā tafāwutihī*, p. 61.12–13 Badawī). And Averroes, as is to be expected, has a similar understanding: "Every genus contains some good, even if it contains things which are not good" (*wa-kullu ǧinsin fa-fīhi ḫayrun mā, wa-in kāna fīhi ašyāʾu laysat ḫayran*, 108.2–3 Sālim).

54a22 τὸ B, Σ (*ḏālika llaḏī*) : τὰ A | ἀνδρεῖον Ξ, Σ (*li-r-riǧāl*) : ἀνδρείαν (sc. εἶναι γυναῖκα) ci. Kassel

54a23 οὕτως ci. Vahlen : οὑτῶ B : οὐδὲ τῷ ut intell. Ar.
For ἔστιν γὰρ ἀνδρείαν … δεινὴν εἶναι (54a22–24) the Arabic has, "for the custom which is manly does exist, except that it is not appropriate for a woman, nor also that sagacity be manifest in her" (*wa-ḏālika anna l-ʿādata llatī hiya li-r-riǧāli qad tūǧadu, illā annahā lā taṣluḥu li-l-marʾati, wa-lā ayḍan an yurā fīhā n-nubhu*[48]). The underlying Greek was apparently understood as follows: ἔστιν γὰρ ἀνδρεῖον μὲν τὸ ἦθος, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἁρμόττον γυναικί, οὐδὲ τῷ δεινὴν εἶναι. The words ἀνδρείαν ἢ were omitted in the translation because they must have seemed redundant to the translator (rather than that they were absent from Σ): the text has just finished saying that manly custom is not appropriate for women, so that it is pointless to repeat that the qualities of manliness and sagacity are not appropriate for them.

54a25 ὡς προείρηται B², Σ (*ka-mā taqaddama fa-qīla*) : ὥσπερ εἴρηται Ξ

54a27 ὑποτεθῇ B, Σ (*wuḍiʿa*) : ὑποτιθεὶς Π | ὅμως Ξ : ὁμοίως Σ (*ka-ḏālika*)

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[48] For δεινήν, the skeleton *ʾlṯyh* in the manuscript is to be read as *an-nubhu*, and not as *al-battata*, as first suggested by Margoliouth (1887), Arabic p. 38 note f, and then read by all the editors.

54a29 ἀναγκαίας ci. Vorlaender, Thurot : ἀναγκαῖον Ω (Σ *miṯāl ḍarūrī*) | μενέλαος Ξ : μὲν ἔλεος ut intell. Syr. | ὁ ἐν Π : ἐν B, Σ ut vid. nisi om.
For 54a29 the Arabic reads, "as was mercy for Orestes" (*ka-mā kānati r-raḥmatu li-ʾŪrisṭis*), which reflects a reading in Σ of, οἷον ὁ μὲν ἔλεος τῷ ʼΟρέστῃ, but presumably the translator would have translated in the same way even if he had read ἐν τῷ. Bywater (1909 ed., p. xxxviii and in the crit. app.) sees in the misreading of the Arabic (μὲν ἔλεος for Μενέλαος) traces of an "antique orthography," Μενέλεως (as suggested by Margoliouth 1887, Arabic p. note h). However, the μὲν ἔλεος reading is much more likely due to the Syriac translator's misreading of ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟC as two words than to an actual spelling Μενέλεως in Σ: not recognizing the name, the translator took the first part as the particle and the remaining ελαος he could only interpret as ἔλεος. As a matter of fact, had he seen an omega in the final syllable he may have paused to think twice about his reading.

54a33 ὁμοίως] om. Π Σ

54a34 ἀεὶ Π, Σ (*dāʾiman*) : om. B

54a35 ὥστε … ἀναγκαῖον Ξ : om. Syr. vel Ar.
For 54a34–36, ἢ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ἢ τὸ εἰκός, ὥστε τὸν τοιοῦτον τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγειν ἢ πράττειν ἢ ἀναγκαῖον ἢ εἰκὸς καὶ, the Arabic has, "either what is according to truth, or what is necesary, or the similar (i.e., what is like something), and" (*immā mā huwa ʿalā l-ḥaqīqati wa-immā mā huwa ḍarūriyyun wa-immā š-šabīhu wa-*). The expression "according to truth" (*ʿalā l-ḥaqīqa*) translates manifestly εἰκός (as elsewhere in this translation, e.g., at 51a12 and 38, 55a7and 18, and in other places with derivatives from the root *ḥaqq*, truth or reality), so the phrase "either what is according to truth, or what is necessary" is a rendering of ἢ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ἢ τὸ εἰκός in line 54a34, with the terms transposed (as noted by Tkatsch I,181b). The next phrase in the translation, "or the similar" (*wa-immā š-šabīh*) translates the first ἢ εἰκὸς at the beginning of line 54a36, for it is repeated at the end of the line, ἢ εἰκὸς = *aw šabīh*. The rendering of the two occurrences of εἰκὸς in this line as *šabīh* is not surprising, as it is a literal translation of the Greek word, "what is like something"; what is surprising is why there is a change of translation from the previous occurrences of the same word, and indeed one line previously, for the meaning as far as anyone could tell was the same. It may be that one version is the original Arabic rendering and the other a revision, but

there is no certainty. Whatever the case, though, it is clear that the words from the entire line 54a35, ὥστε τὸν τοιοῦτον τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγειν ἢ πράττειν ἢ ἀναγκαῖον, are missing in the translation. Where the omission occurred is difficult to gauge. The presence of both εἰκός in the translation, the one at the end of line 34 and the other at the beginning of line 36, make it unlikely that the omission is due to homoioteleuton in Σ—i.e., the Greek text would not have read ἢ τὸ εἰκὸς ἢ εἰκός, for one of the εἰκός should have been missing. It is thus more likely that something went wrong either in the Syriac transmission or in the Arabic.

54a36 καὶ … εἰκός Π Σ : om. B

1454b1 μύθου Ξ : ἤθους Σ (*al-ʿāda*), et ci. Ueberweg

54b2 ἀνάπλουν Σ (*inqilāb al-marākib*), Paris. 2038 : ἀπλοῦν Ξ : ἀπόπλουν rec.
The Arabic translates etymologically the Greek word ἀνάπλουν, "return of the ships" (*inqilāb al-marākib*), which is also the reading of the Paris. 2038. The Arabic expression *inqilāb*, which literally means, "turning around" is used here in the sense of "return," rendering the Greek preposition ἀνά in ἀνάπλουν. However, in the context with ships, it can also be mistaken to mean "turning around" in the sense of "turning upside down," i.e., sink, so somebody added in the Paris manuscript of the Arabic translation the explanatory gloss, which entered the text itself, *lā li-l-ġaraq*, "not sinking." This makes it quite certain that the Greek in Σ did in fact read ἀνάπλουν, and that it was so translated into Syriac.[49] The reference would thus be to the ships sailing back from Troy, not setting sail for it.[50]

54b3 ἐπὶ τὰ B, Σ (*naḥwa*), Paris. 2038 : ἔπειτα Π

54b4 ἃ οὐχ Π : ἢ ὅσα οὐχ B, Σ (*wa-immā bi-mablaġi mā lā*) | οἷόν τε BΦ, Σ (*yumkinu*) : οἴονται A

54b5 ἅπαντα A : πάντα B : [Σ]

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[49] As already suggested by Margoliouth (1913) 220a.

[50] As correctly translated, on the basis of the Arabic, by Janko in his 1987 translation, p. 20 ("sailing home"), and commented upon on pp. 111–112.

54b6 μηδὲν εἶναι Π : μηδὲν ⟨δεῖ⟩ εἶναι (ci. Gudeman) vel μὴ δεῖν εἶναι Σ (*lā yanbaġī an yakūna*)
The Arabic contains the verb "ought", "must" (*yanbaġī*), which doubtless stands for some form of δεῖ/ν in Σ. The second alternative may be more likely, as it is closer to μηδὲν εἶναι palaeographically (although Gudeman's suggestion rests on a simple haplography) and the Arabic does not contain the emphatic negative implied in μηδὲν.

54b7 τὸ A[c] (ex τω) Φ, Σ (*mā atā bihī*) : τὸν B

54b9 ἢ ἡμεῖς B : ἡμᾶς Π : ἢ ὡς Σ (*aw ka-mā*)
For βελτιόνων ἢ ἡμεῖς, δεῖ the Arabic has, "most virtuous, or as it is necessary" (*fī ġāyati l-faḍīla, aw ka-mā yaǧibu*), which reflects a reading, βελτιόνων, ἢ ὡς δεῖ. It would appear that the reading in Σ was close to that in Π, ἡμᾶς, which was further corrupted to ἢ ὡς.

Stahr's conjecture to read ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς for ἢ ἡμεῖς is not corroborated by the Arabic, as Tkatsch II,174a–175a would like to claim. The same expression, ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς at 1448a4, is translated as *minnā* in Arabic, not as *ka-mā*, the word we have here. By contrast, *ka-mā* is used regularly to translate ὡς or ὥσπερ, as in 1448a5.

54b10 ἰδίαν Π, Σ ut vid. : οἰκείαν B
The Arabic has no separate adjective to render ἰδίαν, but uses the personal pronoun instead; so for ἰδίαν μορφὴν it has the hendiadys, "*their* forms and *their* external appearance" (*bi-ṣuwarihim wa-ḫilaqihim*), which is closer in meaning to ἰδίαν than it is to οἰκείαν.

54b12 τοιαῦτα Π Σ : τοιαῦτα ἤθη B

54b14 παράδειγμα σκληρότητος Ξ, Σ (*miṯāl aṣ-ṣuʿūba*) | ἀχιλλέα Π : ἀχιλλέα μὲν B : [Σ] | ἀγάθων Φ, Paris 2038 : ἀγαθὸν B, Σ (*ḫayr*) | καὶ] ἔδειξε vel similia ut interpr. Syr./Ar
The Arabic shows that Σ in all likelihood had the same readings as B, though it is impossible to tell whether there was a μὲν following ἀχιλλέα. For the rest, the word order in the Arabic, reflecting the Syriac, is largely similar to that in the Greek manuscripts, with one exception: the Arabic has a verb where the Greek has καὶ, describing what Homer did. The word is unclear in the manuscript, but it appears to be either *abāna*, "he made clear," or, less plausibly in the context, *aǧāza*, "he permitted." Thus after παράδειγμα σκληρότητος, which the Arabic has in the same place

as the Greek, the translation reads, "like the goodness of Achilles which Homer made clear" (*bi-manzilati mā abāna ʾŪmīrus min ḫayri Aḫīlaws*), which would appear to reflect the transmitted Greek text, παράδειγμα σκληρότητος, οἷον τὸν ᾿Αχιλλέα ἀγαθὸν καὶ [?] Ὅμηρος. If καὶ is substituted with a word that means roughly "he made clear" or even "set forth," then the Greek and the Arabic versions would coincide. However, since it is highly unlikely that Σ actually had such a word, it rather appears that the translator interpreted καὶ, in context, in this way.

As for the Arabic text of this passage just quoted (*bi-manzilati mā abāna ʾŪmīrus min ḫayri Aḫīlaws*),[51] it is not clear whether this was the original reading of the translation or the one that was somehow emended, but that was clearly what Avicenna read in his (revised) copy, because he paraphrases as follows: "as Homer says in making clear the goodness of Achilles" (*ka-mā yaqūlu ʾŪmīrus fī bayāni ḫayriyyati Aḫīlaws*; p. 62.7 Badawī). Averroes, who had the same version as the one in the Paris manuscript of the Arabic translation, and thus the same text as Avicenna (as just described), is not as explicit. He says, "[Aristotle] gave an example of this from a poem by Homer who recited it describing something that befell some man" (*wa-ḏakara miṯāla ḏālika fī šiʿrin li-ʾŪmīrus qālahū fī ṣifati qaḍiyyatin ʿaraḍat li-raǧulin*; p. 111.1 Sālim). Averroes does not mention anything either about Homer "making clear" or about Achilles' goodness. But it is likely that in his copy of the translation, he read the word for "goodness" (*ḫayr*) as "report" (*ḫabar*) if the skeleton of the word had no diacritics, and thus he understood the sentence to mean, "as Homer says in making clear the report about Achilles" (*ka-mā yaqūlu ʾŪmīrus fī bayāni ḫabari Aḫīlaws*), something which can be properly paraphrased as he does, "[Aristotle] gave an example of this from a poem by Homer who recited it describing something that befell some man."

54b15 δὴ διατηρεῖν Π : δὲ δεῖ τηρεῖν B, Σ (*yanbaġī an tuḥfaẓa*)

54b15–16 τὰ παρὰ τὰς rec. : τὰς παρὰ τὰς Π : τὰς πάντας B Σ
The Arabic has, "and in addition to these, also, the feelings which necessarily accompany them [humans] in the art of poetry" (*wa-maʿa hāḏihī ayḍan al-iḥsāsātu llatī talzamuhum fī ṣināʿati š-šiʿri mina l-iḍṭirāri*).

[51] This text, which is clearly the correct one (see what follows), is printed only by ʿAyyād. Margoliouth, Tkatsch, and Badawī give different selections of the available variants.

Here there is no indication that the words τὰς παρὰ were at all translated, and thus the reading cannot be that of Π. On the other hand, the word πάντας in B also is not translated, but the addition of the plural masculine pronoun "them" (*-hum*) in "accompany them" (*talzamuhum*) is clearly intended to substitute for it: "accompany them" instead for "accompany all of them," which the Greek sentence read with τὰς πάντας means.

54b17 κατ' αὐτὰς Π : κατὰ ταῦτα B : [Σ]
The Arabic has, "in these" (*fī hāḏihī*), where the singular feminine pronoun, which is used to refer to plural inanimate things, can stand for either αὐτὰς (these feelings) or ταῦτα (these things).

54b20 ᾗ πλείστῃ BΦ, Σ ut vid., sed ᾗ πλεῖστοι ut intell. Ar. : ἡ πλείστη A
In all likelihood Σ had the same reading as B, for the Arabic translates, "which is the one used by many [men]" (*wa-huwa llaḏī yastaʿmiluhū kaṯīrūna*). It would seem that the translator (mis)interpreted πλείστῃ as πλεῖστοι rather than that he actually read πλεῖστοι in Σ.

54b21 ἡ Φ, Paris. 2038 : ἢ A, B : om. Ar. ut vid.
The Arabic reads, "used by many [men] because of doubt by means of signs" (*yastaʿmiluhū kaṯīrūna bi-sababi š-šakki bi-tawassuṭi l-ʿalāmāti*), where the last of the two phrases, "by means of signs" (*bi-tawassuṭi l-ʿalāmāti*) follows the preceding one without indication of any intervening word, either "or" for ἢ (*aw*), or "the one which" for ἡ (*huwa llaḏī* or *allaḏī huwa*), as in the preceding line (ἡ ἀτεχνοτάτη). It is certain that the translator did not see a disjunctive ἢ in his text (Σ); it is, on the other hand, likely that he may have seen ἡ but simply did not translate it.

54b24 οἷον² B Φ, Σ (*bi-manzilat*) : om. A | περιδέραια BΦ : περιδέρρεα A : [Σ]
The Arabic (and apparently the Syriac) translation for the text in this line is quite corrupt. It is discussed at length by Tkatsch at I,211–212. It is not unlikely that Σ, or the translator as he was reading Σ, skipped the words οὐλαί, τὰ δὲ ἐκτός, οἷον by haplography. But whatever the case, it is clear that Σ did have both οἷον, and the corruption of this line in the Arabic translation does not immediately affect the establishment of the Greek text.

54b25 οἷον Paris. 2038 : οἷ A : οἷα B : *que* Lat. : [Σ]
For καὶ οἷον ἐν τῇ Τυροῖ διὰ τῆς σκάφης the Arabic has only "and the sword in hand" (*wa-s-sayf bi-l-yad*). The word for sword is *sayf*, and it is the same in Syriac, but as Margoliouth originally explained (1887), Arabic p. 41 note f, and Tkatsch later approved (I,212b), the word was originally written in Syriac *sqf*, a transliteration of σκάφη, which was then misread by the Arabic translator as *syf*, sword. It is not clear how the phrase "in/by hand" (*bi-l-yad*) originated in Arabic; clearly the Greek ἐν τῇ Τυροῖ was not understood by the Syriac translator, and *bi-l-yad* would appear to stand for whatever it is that he understood (perhaps ἐν τῇ χειρί?). However that might be, it appears that Σ did not have οἷον in the text, for the Arabic phrase that is consistently used in this passage to translate the term, *bi-manzilat* (in construct state), is absent. But given the misunderstanding of this entire clause in the Arabic, it is not clear what Σ might have had.

54b27 ἀνεγνωρίσθη Π : ἐγνωρίσθη B, fort. Σ
The Arabic translates the word as *ʿurifa*. Γνωρίζω does not occur elsewhere in this work, but ἀναγνωρίζω is. In 1452b2–8 it is rendered in a hendiadys *istadalla wa-taʿarrafa*, and even the noun ἀναγνώρισις is translated with the same hendiadys, *istidlāl wa-taʿarruf*. It would seem that the translator used mostly the Vth form of the verb, *taʿarrafa*, to render ἀναγνωρίζω, which is also the proper way. The indication would thus be that the Ist form of the verb *ʿarafa*, translates γνωρίζω and that Σ read ἐγνωρίσθη. However, there does not seem to be consistency in the translation in this regard. At 1455a3–4 ἀνεγνωρίσθησαν is translated as *ʿarafa baʿḍuhum baʿḍan*, using *ʿarafa*. Besides, in Byzantine, as in later Greek, γνωρίζω also came to mean "recognize", and similarly in Arabic *ʿarafa* means "recognize" as well, so there can be no certainty in this case about the reading in Σ.

54b29 καὶ αἵ Π, Σ (*allatī hiya*) : καὶ B

54b30 ἥ A, Σ (*hāḏihi llatī*) : οἱ B : *qui* Lat.

54b31 ὀρέστης Π : om. B Σ
The Arabic starts the clause, "for example, at the [woman] known as Iphigeneia" (*miṯlu ǧānibi l-maʿrūfati bi-Bāǧāniyā*), which translates οἷον ἐν τῇ Ἰφιγενείᾳ, omitting Ὀρέστης. As Tkatsch I,213b explains, the Arabic word used for the preposition ἐν, *ǧānib*, is a literal translation of the Syriac

g(n)b ("on the side of, at"), which has given rise to some misunderstanding by classical scholars not working directly from the Arabic.[52]

54b35 διό τι ἐγγὺς ci. Bywater : διὸ ἐγγύς (sed τι incertum) Σ
The translator certainly read διό in Σ, but it is not clear if he also read τι and whether he read it before or after ἐγγὺς. The translation of διὸ (τι) ἐγγὺς τῆς … ἁμαρτίας is quite accurate: "For this reason this is close to the error" (*wa-li-hāḏā s-sababi ṣāra hāḏā bi-l-qurbi mina z-zalali*), where "for this reason" (*li-hāḏā s-sabab*) translates διό, as it did in the second preceding sentence (54b31). But τι is either left untranslated—and it is not certain whether this is so because it was not there or because the translator did not bother with it—or it was translated by the demonstrative *hāḏā*, "this", in an Arabic sentence in which the antecedent would be far from clear. But it would be almost unprecedented to have enclitic τι translated by the Arabic demonstrative *hāḏā*, and it appears most likely that the translator added *hāḏā* to supply a subject as required by the sense.

54b36 ἂν Π : om. B, Σ ut vid.
For this difficult sentence the Arabic has, "[for] indeed there are others that are improvised in accordance with this view" (*wa-qad tūǧadu uḫaru tuqtaḍabu bi-ḥasabi hāḏā r-ra'yi*): this is the best reading that can be gotten out of the skeleton text in the manuscript. The (mis?)translation of ἐξῆν as simply ἦν is difficult to account for. In the only other passage in the treatise where this verb is used, 1462a15, ἔξεστι, the Arabic manuscript is defective, though Tkatsch claimed (I,283 note 62) to be able to see the words *yumkinu an*, "it is possible," the proper translation. In any case, it would be difficult to believe that the translator would not know the meaning of ἔξεστι. I would thus tend to think that here, as in the rest of this difficult sentence, the translator simply approximated as best as he could what he thought the text would be saying. Next, γάρ, although normally translated with *wa-ḏālika anna*, here, as elsewhere, it is rendered by the use of emphatic *qad* with the imperfect, which does have the effect of providing a reason for what has just been said: "(for) indeed the case is that …"; ἄν, by contrast, seems to be absent. There

[52] In particular J. Vahlen, "Hermeneutische Bemerkungen zu Aristoteles' Poetik. II", *SB der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Berlin 1898, 260–262; reprinted in Vahlen (1923), II,501; reprinted in Hildesheim/New York: Georg Olms, 1970, whose comments about the Arabic evidence are to be discounted (as was done by Butcher, 3rd ed., p. xix).

is no conditionality indicated in the Arabic version. ἔνια is translated by reading the next word in the plural, *uḫaru*, "other things," intended apparently to be understood, in context, as "some things other than those that have already been mentioned." καὶ ἐνεγκεῖν, finally, literally "also to have borne," is difficult to understand even in the Greek, as the widely divergent modern translations indicate. In all likelihood, and given the poetic context of the treatise and in particular this paragraph, where the tragedian is criticized for putting words in the mouth of the character and not letting the story dictate the events, the translator thought that what this sentence says is that there are other things, more appropriate, that can be improvised or recited to make the poem better. The Arabic word that translates ἐνεγκεῖν, *tuqtaḍabu*, in literary context means to improvise and recite ex tempore. So in all likelihood the translator thought that what the poet "brings," ἐνεγκεῖν, is what he improvises, and simply added the words "in accordance with this view" to fill out the sense in the Arabic sentence.

54b37 τῆς A, Σ : τῇ B | τρίτη δὲ ἡ Σ (*wa-t-ṯāliṯu huwa*) : τρίτη ἡ Paris. 2038 : ἤτοι τῇ AB | αἰσθέσθαι Paris. 2038 : αἴσθεσθαι AB : [Σ]
The Arabic has the construct state for the word *ṣawtu*, φωνή, followed by a noun in the genitive standing for κερκίδος.

The reading in Σ was most likely τρίτη δὲ ἡ. The Arabic does have the conjunction (*wa-*; see the text given in the next paragraph), although it is very difficult to decide from this with certainty that the Greek also had the particle. But it would be unnatural to begin the new section about the third type of recognition without a connecting particle (cf. line 55a4, τετάρτη δὲ ἡ), so in all likelihood τρίτη δὲ ἡ was the reading in Σ as properly reflected in the Arabic.

The Arabic has, "the third is ⟨through memory⟩, that a sensation should come upon a man when he sees" (*wa-t-ṯāliṯu huwa ⟨bi-t-taḏakkuri,⟩*[53] *an yakūna yanālu l-insāna an yuḥissa ʿinda mā raʾā*). The indefinite and roundabout way of expressing the infinitive in the Greek (αἴσθεσθαι or αἰσθέσθαι) indicates that the translator understood the indefinite pronoun τι with the infinitive, not with ἰδόντα, which anyway is translated as "when he sees" only, not as "when he sees something." But the Arabic cannot inform us about which of the two infinitives the translator

[53] The addition is from Averroes' paraphrase, *wa-n-nawʿu ṯ-ṯāliṯu … bi-t-taḏakkuri*. Both Avicenna and Averroes mention memory at this place, so it is certain that the word existed in the original translation and merely dropped out of the Paris manuscript.

read in his exemplar, tough statistically it should be αἰσθέσθαι, since the other form is relatively rare.[54]

1455a1 τι ἰδόντα A Σ : ἢ εἰδόντα B | ὥσπερ Π, Σ (*ka-*) : om. B | ἡ A Σ : ἢ B | τοῖς Σ (*ahl*), rec. : τῆς AB
The indefinite pronoun τι was present in Σ, but, as mentioned in the preceding note, the translator understood it with the infinitive, not with ἰδόντα.

For ὥσπερ ἡ the Arabic has, "as in the case of" (*ka-l-ḥāl*), with "case" clearly referring to recognition (through memory), indicating that Σ did read ἡ.

For τοῖς Δικαιογένους the Arabic has, "the people of Dicaeogenes" (*ahl Dīqūġānis*), where the plural concept in "people" indicates that Σ had τοῖς. For ἐν Κυπρίοις the Arabic has, "in Cyprus" (*fī Qubrus*), which need not necessarily imply that Σ read ἐν Κύπρῳ. Since the translator misunderstood the following phrase as "the people of Dicaeogenes," he could make sense of ἐν Κυπρίοις perhaps only by reading it as "in Cyprus."

55a2 ἡ Π Σ : om. B | ἀπολόγῳ B : ἀπὸ λόγων A, Σ (*min al-qawl*)
For καὶ ἡ the Arabic has, "and similar is the matter of" (*wa-ka-ḏālika amru*), which refers to the preceding sentence, "as in the case of," indicating that Σ did have the article. Similarly, the translator read ἐν 'Αλκίνου as parallel to the preceding ἐν Κυπρίοις, which, as mentioned above, he understood as ἐν Κύπρῳ, and translated the prepositional phrase as, "the people of Alcinous" (*ahl Alqīnus*).

55a4 χοηφόροις B, Σ (*al-mukaffinīn li-l-insān*) : χλοηφόροις Π
The Arabic translates the sentence οἷον … ἐλήλυθεν as follows: "like that someone has come who resembles those who shroud a man" (*bi-manzilati annahū atā man huwa šabīhun bi-l-mukaffinīna li-l-insān*), which indicates that he understood the Greek sentence as if it read, οἷον, ὅτι ὅμοιός τις ἐλήλυθεν χοηφόροις, disregarding or missing ἐν. Χοηφόροις itself is approximately translated as "those who shroud a man;" the translator apparently knew that the term had something to do with funeral rites, but either he did not know precisely what or did not wish to describe it. Both Avicenna and Averroes skip this particular reference in their paraphrases.

[54] The occurrence of αἴσθεσθαι in *Rhetoric* 1382a8 unfortunately is misread and mistranslated by the translator so it is not possible to compare the two renderings.

55a5 ὀρέστης B : ὁ ὀρέστης A : [Σ]

55a6 οὗτος Π, Σ (*hāḏā huwa*) : οὕτω B | Πολυίδου ci. Tyrwhitt : πολυείδους Ξ, fort. Σ : πολυείδου rec.
The Syriac translator, as reflected in the Arabic, translated etymologically the unrecognized proper name, "as for the sophist, when he looked at things for a long time" (*wa-ammā s-sūfisṭā'iyyu fa-ʿinda mā naẓara fī l-umūri naẓaran kaṯīran*), analyzing it as a compound of πολύ and a form of εἶδον. It is clear that he read a final *sigma* in the word, for he translates "*when* he looked" (*ʿinda mā naẓara*), which indicates, first, that he read the second half of the word as a participle (e.g., ἰδόντα at 55a1 is translated in exactly the same fashion as "when he saw," *ʿinda mā ra'ā*), and that he understood the participle to be in the genitive, having a final *sigma*, to accord with the genitive of σοφιστοῦ. Thus he understood the compound word as being either πολυειδότος or πολυϊδόντος. Since the verb to see has both stems, ἰδ- and εἰδ-, it is difficult to guess which of the two forms he thought he saw in Σ. But palaeographically πολυειδότος is closer to the transmitted reading πολυείδους than πολυϊδόντος, so it is more likely that Σ simply had this reading, even though the translator should have perhaps translated πολυειδότος as "when he *knew* many things."

55a7 ἔφη B, Σ (*ẓanna*) : om. Π

55a9–10 Τυδεῖ … ἐν om. Ar.
The sentence in the Arabic translation is broken, indicating that a whole line dropped out in the Arabic transmission (most likely due to a homoioteleuton) rather than that the omission was already in Σ.

55a10 Φινείδαις ci. Reiz : φινίδαις AB : [Σ]
The Arabic cannot distinguish between *iota* and *epsilon-iota*, especially for the Greek of the time of the translations when iotacism was dominant. The translator clearly did not know the name, for he transliterates *Sfīnīdas*, taking the final *sigma* of the preceding article as part of the proper name.

55a13 θεάτρου Ξ, Σ (*li-ṯa'āṭrun*) : θατέρου ci. Hermann
The Arabic simply transliterates the word, in the nominative, with the preposition *li-* translating the genitive.

55a14–14[2] τὸ τόξον … τὸ τόξον B Σ : τὸ τόξον Π
The Arabic translates a Greek sentence that is very similar, if not exactly identical, to the text in B. The main difference is that, given the tight syntax of the original, the translation punctuates differently and may have read a variant differently. It reads as follows: "The reason is that the stretching of the bow, he claimed that it is impossible [for] another man; the poet said that. Also, the report that has come about that, he reported in it the affair with the bow in order to recognize what he did not see" (*Wa-ḏālika anna madda* [corr. Gutas* (ἐντείνειν): *mr* or *mn* manuscript] *l-qawsi, zaʿama annahū laysa yumkinu insānun āḫaru; fa-qad qāla ḏālika š-šāʿiru. Wa-l-ḫabaru ayḍani llaḏī atā fī ḏālika, qad ḫabbara fīhi amra l-qawsi li-yaʿrifa mā lam yarā*). This indicates that the translator understood the text as follows, even if he did not read it exactly like that: Τὸ μὲν γὰρ τὸ τόξον ἐντείνειν, ἄλλον δὲ μηδένα, πεποιημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ. Καὶ ἡ ὑπόθεσις καὶ ἥ γε (or ἥδε?), τὸ τόξον ἔφη (ἵνα?) γνώσεσθαι ὃ οὐχ ἑωράκει. The first half of the text is identical in both Greek and Arabic. The only difference is that the Arabic adds, "*he claimed* that it is impossible" (*zaʿama*), which might point to the presence of something like ἔφη in the Greek: ἄλλον δὲ ἔφη μηδένα. But even in this case the addition is something that can be elicited from the Greek context (and in particular from the accusative of ἄλλον, implying indirect speech) and does not prove the actual existence of such a word in the Greek of Σ. In the second half of the text, the translator's major mistake was to start a new sentence with καὶ ὑπόθεσις, which made him then read the rest of the sentence quite differently; in particular it made him see τὸ τόξον as the object of ἔφη in the sense of "he talked about the bow," and was consequently led to seeing the following infinitive in γνώσεσθαι ὃ οὐχ ἑωράκει as introducing a final clause ("in order to recognize") and not as a verb in indirect speech after ἔφη ("he said that he would recognize"). The main difficulty in this second half of the text was the elliptical words καὶ εἴ γε, as transmitted in B. The Arabic has for these words, "(the report) that has come/that exists about that," which would be difficult to elicit from καὶ εἴ γε. Given that the translator took these words to refer to ὑπόθεσις, the "report," it is very likely that he read, and perhaps even actually saw in Σ, something like καὶ ἥ γε or καὶ ἥδε. This would be the only probable textual variant between manuscripts B and Σ.

55a14[2] εἴ γε B : fort. ἥ γε vel ἥδε Σ | γνώσεσθαι A, Σ (*yaʿrifa*) : ἐντείνειν B
See the discussion in the previous comment.

55a16 παραλογισμός B, Σ (*fī hāḏā kānat al-muġālaṭatu fī l-qiyās*) : παραλογισμόν Π | πασῶν A : πάντων B, Σ (*ʿalā kulli šayʾin*) | δὲ Π, Σ (*ġayra anna*) : om. B | αὐτῶν non vertit Ar.
See the analysis of the sentence in the following entry.

55a17 ἐκπλήξεως Φ, Paris. 2038 : πλήξεως AB : πράξεως Σ (*al-fiʿl al-irādī*) | εἰκότων B Φ : εἰκόντων A, fort. Σ (εἰκ⟨άζ⟩οντος vel εἰκον⟨ίζον⟩τος ut intell. Ar.)
The Syriac (and Arabic) translator did read in Σ the entire sentence at 55a16–18 (πασῶν … Ἰφιγενείᾳ) and did not omit the words τῆς … εἰκότων, as initially suggested by Margoliouth (1887) 63, defended by Tkatsch II,85a–b, and repeated subsequently by Kassel, but he (mis)understood it as follows: "however (δὲ), the recognition that excels (βελτίστη ἀναγνώρισις) over everything (πασῶν) is the one taken (ἡ … γιγνομένης) from the things (ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων) of voluntary action (τῆς πράξεως for τῆς [ἐκ]πλήξεως), and for this reason (δι' = διὸ?) Sophocles made a representation (εἰκάζοντος?) like this (οἷον) in Oedipus and also in Iphigeneia" (*ġayra anna l-istidlāla l-fāḍila ʿalā kulli šayʾin fa-hiya l-maʾḫūḏatu min umūri l-fiʿli l-irādiyyi, wa-li-ḏālika miṯla hāḏā arā Sūfuqlis fī ʾŪdīfus wa-fī ʾĪbāġāniyā*); that is, he understood and punctuated the text as if it read, πάντων δὲ βελτίστη ἀναγνώρισις ἡ ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων τῆς πράξεως γιγνομένης, δι' (διὸ?) εἰκ⟨άζ⟩οντος / εἰκον⟨ίζον⟩τος (?) οἷον ἐν τῷ Σοφοκλέους Οἰδίποδι καὶ τῇ Ἰφιγενείᾳ. In the first half of the sentence the translator in all probability did not translate αὐτῶν, perhaps because he did not think it added anything rather than that he missed it in his exemplar, Σ, and he clearly read πράξεως for the transmitted πλήξεως in AB: throughout Abū-Bišr's translation the word πρᾶξις is regularly rendered as "voluntary action," *fiʿl irādī* (references listed in Tkatsch I,186a).

The second half is more problematic. From the Arabic it appears that he read the preposition δι' as if it were διὸ, "therefore," and he completely misread the next word, εἰκότων or εἰκόντων. The way he translated it is *arā*, "he showed," or "he represented," and, since there is no object, "he made a representation." This could hardly have been elicited from εἰκότων, which is not transitive; in addition, the translator regularly renders εἰκός as "really," "according to truth" (*ʿalā l-ḥaqīqa*; see above at 54a35), as in the following line and at 55a7. It thus seems more likely that he read εἰκόντων in Σ, and, not knowing its precise meaning or how it was to fit in that sentence, he understood it as if it were a participle deriving from εἰκάζω, or perhaps, given that he was a Christian, εἰκονίζω in the Christian Greek sense of make a representation. It is certain, however,

that he read the genitive plural ending as a genitive singular, to agree with Σοφοκλέους, because he makes Sophocles the subject of the participle. The second half of the sentence was therefore understood by him as if it were, διὸ εἰκ⟨άζ⟩οντος / εἰκον⟨ίζον⟩τος Σοφοκλέους οἷον ἐν τῷ Οἰδίποδι καὶ τῇ Ἰφιγενείᾳ.

55a18 ἐν B, Σ (*fī*) : ὁ ἐν A | οἰδίποδι Π : οἰδίπω B : [Σ]
See the analysis of the sentence in the preceding entry.

55a20 σημείων Ξ : om. Ar. | περιδεραίων B Φ : δέρεων A, fort. Σ
The Arabic has "without things that are made and without things on the neck" (*bilā ašyāʾ maʿmūla wa-bilā ašyāʾ fī l-ʿunuq*), translating ἄνευ τῶν πεποιημένων καὶ (περι)δεραίων / δέρεων. The genitive plural case of the Greek article and nouns is properly translated as "the things", so the question is whether the translator read περιδεραίων or δέρεων. Since on the preceding occasion at 54b24–25 he translated τὰ περιδέραια correctly as *aṭ-ṭawq fī -l-ʿunuq*, "collar in the neck, neckband," but in this passage he did not use the word *ṭawq*, "band, collar," it would appear that he read δέρεων, or something similar which he took as the plural of δέρη, neck, and thus τῶν δέρεων became "the things on the neck."

55a24 ἂν Π : om. B : [Σ] | ἐναργέστατα B : ἐνεργέστατα Π : om. Ar. | ὁρῶν Φ, Paris. 2038 : ὁ ὁρῶν AB, Σ (*ʿinda mā yarā aš-šāʿir*) | παρ' Π, Σ (*ʿinda*) : γὰρ B
For οὕτω … ὁρῶν the Arabic has, "for in this way, when the poet sees" (*wa-ḏālika annahū ʿalā hāḏihi l-ǧihati, ʿinda mā yarā š-šāʿiru*). The Arabic does not allow us to see whether the Syriac translator read ἄν, but it is clear that it omits ἐναργέστατα and adds a subject for ὁρῶν, the poet. In this very literal translation it is doubtful that the translator would have taken it upon himself to add the subject; it rather looks as if he did see the masculine article in the text (Σ), and simply supplied the substantive for it, *understanding the text as if it read*, οὕτω γὰρ ὁ ποιητὴς ὁρῶν, not that Σ actually had the word ποιητὴς (as supposed by Spengel, ap. Tkatsch / Gudeman II,225).

55a25–26 λανθάνοι rec. : λανθάνοιτο B, fort. Σ (*yaḏhabu ʿalayhi*; an λανθάνοιτο τοῦ ὑπεναντίου?) : λανθάνοι τὸ A
It would seem that the Syriac translator read the middle form of the verb in Σ (λανθάνοιτο) insofar as the way in which it appears in Arabic, *yaḏhabu ʿalayhi*, means, "it escapes his memory, he forgets," rather

than "it escapes his notice" (λανθάνοι). On the other hand, the two meanings are close enough, in both Greek and Arabic, to preclude certainty. Adding to the uncertainty is the fact that for the verb in the middle voice the object (τὰ ὑπεναντία) should have been in the genitive rather than in the accusative, but it is not clear whether the translator was aware of this; and finally the Arabic translates the object in the singular rather than in the plural, "that which is contrary to these" (*al-muḍāddu li-hāḏihi*), which would normally translate τὸ ὑπεναντίον τούτοις (though as mentioned frequently before, little store can be set by the singular/plural variation vetween the Syriac and Arabic). As it is, the Arabic can most likely be seen as a translation of λανθάνοιτο τοῦ ὑπεναντίου, with "to these" added by the translator, but it is difficult to be certain.

55a26 ἐπετιμᾶτο Σ (*yubakkatu bihī*), rec. : ἐπιτιμᾷ τῷ Ξ

55a27 ἀνῄει B, Σ (*ṣāʿid*) : ἂν εἴη A | ὁρῶντα τὸν θεατὴν Ξ, Σ (… *yakun yarā … an-nāẓir*)

55a33 μᾶλλον ἢ Σ (*akṯar min*), ci. Gudeman ex Ar. : ἢ AB
The Arabic manuscript has the following for this sentence at 55a32–33 (διὸ εὐφυοῦς … μανικοῦ): *wa-li-ḏālika fa-inna ṣināʿata š-šiʿri hiya li-l-mʾhw akṯara minhā li-llaḏīna hum xlhbn al-maʿqūl* (where the *x* stands for an unpointed ridge that can stand for five letters, *b, t, ṯ, n, y*). The two key words in this sentence, εὐφυής and μανικός are miswritten in the manuscript as *l-mʾhw* and *xlhbn al-maʿqūl* respectively. The correction of the first one to *al-māhir* was already made by Margoliouth (1887), Arabic p. 44 note e (and followed by all subsequent editors), and rightly so; the word εὐφυΐα at 1459a7 is translated by the hendiadys *al-ḥiḏq wa-l-mahāra*, skill and aptitude, and hence *al-māhir*, one who has aptitude, is clearly the proper reading of the Arabic word (the letters *wāw* and *rāʾ* in manuscripts are frequently mistaken one for the other).

The word μανικός is rendered by the genitive construction *xlhbn al-maʿqūl*, which, though corrupt in the form transmitted in the manuscript, can hardly mean anything other than "erring or bereft of mind." Margoliouth and Tkatsch read the words as *talihīn* (?) *al-maʿqūl*, and translate as "dementius" (Margoliouth (1911) 277) and "perculsi mente" respectively. However, the form of the word *talih* as an adjective is not attested (though theoretically the pattern *faʿil* is used for adjectives). Badawī prints a non-sensical form, *ylhbn*, but corrects the second half of the construction to *ʿuqūl*. ʿAyyād prints the correction *tāiʾhīn al-ʿuqūl*

in his text and in a note suggests reading properly in the nominative case, *tāʾihū l-ʿuqūl*. ʿAyyād is on the right track, though it is clear that the last letter of word *xlhbn* in the manuscript is a *yāʾ*, not a *nūn* (as grammar in any case requires), and that the word in question is not derived from *tāha* (root *tyh*) but from *taliha* (root *tlh*). Thus the proper reading is, *tālihī l-ʿuqūl*. This is technically incorrect insofar as the noun should be in the nominative (i.e., *tālihū l-ʿuqūl*) and not in an oblique case, but in the Middle Arabic of the translators this is frequently to be seen and it could well have stood in Abū-Bišr Mattā's autograph. The participle *tālih* is preferable to ʿAyyād's *tāʾih* because the expression *tālihu l-ʿaqli* is well attested in the dictionaries in the sense of "bereft of mind" (qui a perdu sa tête).[55]

The whole sentence thus reads in Arabic, "For this reason, then, the art of poetry belongs more to the one who has aptitude than it does to those who are bereft of mind." It is to be noted that the expression *tālihū l-ʿuqūl* in Arabic does not have the connotation of "inspiration" like the Greek term which it translates. Perhaps it is for this reason that neither Avicenna nor Averroes (who appears to be following Avicenna in the selection of which passages to interpret in this chapter) picks up on this or stops to interpret it, despite the fact that the idea of inspiration for poetry was quite wide-spread in Arab culture from pre-Islamic times. Apparently even the revised version of the Arabic *Poetics* which was available to Avicenna did not have a more accurate translation of the word in question and hence he did not feel the need to make any comments. This applies even more to Averroes who in all probability had only the Abū-Bišr version to work with.

The Arabic text, however, suggests a different Greek original than the one transmitted in the Greek manuscripts. The Greek exemplar from which the Syriac translation was originally made clearly had μᾶλλον ἤ instead of just ἤ, for the Arabic says, *akṯar min*, which in the following four passages in the work translates μᾶλλον ἤ: 1447b19, 1452a5, 1453a16, and 1456a28. It is quite unlikely that either the original translator into Syriac or Abū-Bišr Mattā would have tampered with the text or "overinterpreted" it; the translation is so full of misunderstandings due to the difficulty of the Greek text and the unfamiliarity of the translators with Greek poetry and poetic language that it would hardly have crossed the mind of anyone to tamper with the text, without motivation, especially

[55] However, cf. the rendering of μανικός in *Categories* 10a2 as *tāʾih al-ʿaql* (Badawī 1948–1952, ad loc.), which would make ʿAyyād's reading the correct one.

in a passage where the translators more or less did understand its basic meaning. As mentioned, Avicenna and Averroes do not comment on the passage, so it is not possible to know what they read, but there can hardly be any doubt that the Greek exemplar of the Syriac translation read μᾶλλον ἤ. This was also recognized by Gudeman, apparently on the basis of Tkatsch's Latin translation ("*magis quam*"), who adds ⟨μᾶλλον⟩ to his text.

55a34 ἐκστατικοί B : ἐξεταστικοί Π : [Σ] | τούς τε B Σ : τούτους τε Π | πεποιημένους Ξ : πεποιημένους μύθους ut interpr. Syr. (*al-ḫurāfāt allatī ʿumilat*) :
The Arabic text has a serious corruption in this passage, though the overall structure is clear. For the sentence at 55a33–34, τούτων … πεποιημένους, it reads, "The reason is that these (people), some of them are simple … (undeciphered word), I mean with regard to the statements and the plots that have been made" (*wa-ḏālika anna hāʾulāʾi minhum man huwa basīṭun ʿḥsn/y aʿnī fī l-aqāwīli wa-l-ḫurāfāti llatī ʿumilat*), which implies an understanding of the Greek as follows: τούτων γὰρ οἱ μὲν εὔπλαστοι οἱ δὲ ἐκστατικοί εἰσιν τούς τε λόγους καὶ τοὺς πεποιημένους μύθους. δεῖ καὶ … . From this it is clear (a) that the first part of the sentence was understood correctly; (b) that in the last part the words τούς τε λόγους καὶ τοὺς πεποιημένους μύθους, wrongly parsed as belonging to the preceding sentence rather than to the following one (i.e., the translator starts the new sentence with δεῖ καὶ), were taken as accusatives of respect, explaining whatever stood for the adjectives εὔπλαστοι and ἐκστατικοί / ἐξεταστικοί, and hence the addition in the Arabic, "*I mean* the statements (λόγους);" and (c) that the participle πεποιημένους was seen as modifying an explicit noun, which the Syriac translator interpreted as being the word μύθους, *ḫurāfa*, introducing the entire paragraph (at 55a22).

In this latter instance it is doubtful that Σ actually had the word μύθους after πεποιημένους; certainly not in the text, though possibly as a marginal gloss explaining λόγους in that line, if λόγους in that context was understood to mean μύθους. However, it is much more likely that the unnaturalness that was felt by the Syriac translator in the unaccompanied participle τοὺς πεποιημένους, his misunderstanding of λόγους as "speeches" rather than as stories or plots, and his wrong parsing of the sentence, which separated τοὺς πεποιημένους from its counterpart αὐτὸν ποιοῦντα, induced him to add the word to refer to a previous antecedent, μύθους, at the beginning of this paragraph (as suggested by Tkatsch I,190b, repeated in II,126a).

There remains to see how the words εὔπλαστοι and ἐκστατικοί / ἐξεταστικοί were translated.[56] For these the Arabic has two words, the first of which is "simple" (*basīṭ*) and the second undecipherable in the form in which it appears in the manuscript. The word *basīṭ* in this translation, as frequently in others, translates Greek ἁπλοῦς (e.g., at 49b11, 52a14, 52b31, 53a13, etc.; see *GALex* II,248), and thus it seems quite certain that the translator read, or understood, something like ἁπλοῖ for εὔπλαστοι, perhaps ἁπλούστατοι.[57] The next word has not been deciphered, but clearly there is something missing here because the Arabic syntax is incomplete. The binary structure of the sentence (οἱ μὲν … οἱ δὲ in Greek) requires that it read, "some of them are X and some of them are Y," but in the Arabic text as we have it in the manuscript the second "some of them" is missing. So one ought to emend to, *minhum man huwa basīṭun* ⟨*wa-minhum man huwa*⟩ *ʿḥsn/y*. The undeciphered final word thus should stand for ἐκστατικοί / ἐξεταστικοί. Since no real candidate can be readily thought for either meaning it is not possible to decide. I would tend to favor the latter of the two Greek alternatives (ἐξεταστικοί) because, first, the skeleton of the Arabic word could plausibly be read as *mumtaḥin*, "examiner," and second, if the reading had been ἐκστατικός, it would have been most likely translated as *tāʾih al-ʿaql*,[58]—"one who has lost his mind," as in the translation of the *Categories*, 9b36–10a3, where both words, μανικός and ἔκστασις occur side by side and they are both translated in the same way, *tāʾih al-ʿaql*—and the undeciphered word in this passage cannot be read as *tāʾih al-ʿaql*. Still, though, there can be no certainty.

Another possibility would be to take the undeciphered Arabic word as complementing *basīṭ* and to assume that the entire second half of the

[56] The lengthy exchanges that took place among classical scholars about this passage and the possible contribution of the Arabic translation to its establishment are discussed at unnecessary length by Tkatsch II,116b–120a. His own reading, on whose justification he spends only a brief paragraph, 119a–b, *wa-ḏālika anna hāʾulāʾi minhum man huwa basīṭun fa-ḥasanun*, is quite implausible. See below.

[57] Tkatsch, loc. cit., cites the opinion of some scholars (e.g., Bywater (1909), p. xxxvi) who thought that behind the Arabic *basīṭ* there may lie the misreading of ἄπλαστοι for εὔπλαστοι, but it seems unlikely. First, ἄπλαστος does not mean simple, and second, the Syriac and the Arabic translators rendered words beginning with privative alpha in two words, the first of which was a negative particle.

[58] In *Rhetoric* 1390b29 μανικώτερα ἤθη is translated as *aḫlāq al-maʿtūhīn* (Lyons 1982, 126 ad loc.) in which the word *maʿtūh* rendering μανικός, in addition to having a slightly different sense than the one intended in the *Poetics* passage, does not fit the skeleton of the undeciphered word here.

binary structure has dropped out; i.e., to suppose that the text read, *min-hum man huwa basīṭun fa-ḥasbu* ⟨*wa-minhun man huwa mumtaḥinun*⟩. In this case, *fa-ḥasbu* (a likely reading of the undeciphered word), "plain and simple, just" could be taken to render the superlative in ἁπλούστατοι if that was indeed the word which the translator read instead of εὔπλαστοι, and that the second half of the binary structure dropped out by homoioteleuton between *fa-ḥasbu* and *mumtaḥinun*. However, although it is possible to localize the corruption relatively accurately, there can be no certainty in the specific proposed emendations and thus we cannot be sure about the reading ἐκστατικοί / ἐξεταστικοί in Σ.

1455b1–2 ἐπεισοδιοῦν B, Σ (*an yattaḫiḏa tadaḫḫula šay'in*) : ἐπεισοδίου A

55b2 παρατείνειν B : περιτείνειν A : [Σ]
The Arabic has what appears to be *yurakkiba*, which does not really fit either of the transmitted Greek readings (*pace* Tkatsch I,209b); it means "to put together," "to put one thing on top of another," and hence "to ride," "to compound," etc. At this stage it is not possible to guess what the translator saw in his exemplar.

55b4 ἱδρυνθείσης A : ἱδρυθείσης B : [Σ]

55b7–8 διά … καθόλου Ω

55b9 ἀνεγνώρισεν Ξ : ἀνεγνώρισε τὴν ἀδελφὴν Ar. : [Σ]
The Arabic does have an object for the verb, "his sister," though Kassel may be right in assuming that this might be a gloss in Σ and not part of the original text as written by Aristotle. The addition of "his sister," which we have in the Arabic version extant in the Paris MS, could have been made at any stage in the transmission of the text, Greek, Syriac, or Arabic. Even if such an addition was beyond the abilities of the Syriac translator, as Tkatsch II, 200b–201a argues, this still does not prove that the reading was in Σ, much less that it was what Aristotle wrote.

55b10 πολύιδος edd. : πολύειδος Ξ : [Σ]
The name is translated etymologically in the Arabic, "many of ?", but the word that corresponds to ειδος/ιδος in Arabic is undecipherable (*'ʿw'ḥ* in the manuscript, for which the unsatisfactory *aʿrāǧ* and *ifrāǧ* have been proposed) so no precise identification can be made. Cf. the same problem above at 55a6.

55b11 μόνον Π : μόνην B : om. Ar.

55b14 ἐν τῷ AB : τῷ ci. Victorius, Σ ut vid.
The Arabic has *bi-manzilat mā li-ʾŪrisṭis*, "as in the case of that of Orestes," where the phrase "of Orestes" translates simply the dative in the Greek, and there is no word to correspond to ἐν in the Arabic. It thus seems that Σ did not have the preposition ἐν, though there can be no certainty here.

55b15 δράμασι B, Σ (*qaynāt*) : ἅρμασιν Π
For *qayna*, a transcription of the Syriac word, translating δρᾶμα and related words, see Tkatsch I,149b note 2, and II,58b.

55b17 οὐ Σ (*laysa*), ci. Vulcanius : om. Ξ | ἐστίν Π : om. B : [Σ]

55b19 ἔτι Σ (*wa-ayḍan*), rec. : ἐπεὶ A

55b20 ὑπὸ μνηστήρων Φ, Σ (*fī* [*min* leg.] *l-ḫuṭṭāb*), Paris. 2038 : ὑπομνηστήρων A B

55b21 δὲ Π, Σ (*wa-ammā … fa-*)[59] : τὲ (sic) B : om. Paris. 2038

55b21–22 ἀναγνωρίσας ⟨εἰς⟩ τινὰς ci. Tarán : ἀναγνωρίσας τινὰς Π, Σ (*taʿarrafa unās mā*) : ἀναγνωρισθεὶς B
For 21–22, αὐτὸς δὲ … τινὰς the Arabic has the reading of Π: "as for him, he arrived after having wandered much, and when he recognized[60] some people," (*wa-ammā huwa, fa-balaġa baʿda an tāha tīh⟨an⟩ kaṯīran, wa-lammā taʿarrafa unās⟨an⟩ mā*).

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[59] See *GALex* I,344, § 2.

[60] There is some ambiguity about the precise use of the word *taʿarrafa* for ἀναγνωρίσας, which, like the Greek word, can mean both to recognize and reveal oneself, but in Arabic the government is different in the case of the two meanings. In the sense to recognize it takes the accusative, and in the sense to reveal oneself (to others) it governs the preposition *ilā*. In the transmitted text neither construction is registered, so the text has to be emended with the addition either of the accusative to the word for "people" (*unās⟨an⟩*) or of the preposition ⟨*ilā*⟩ *unāsin mā*, "he revealed himself to some people." The former omission is much more frequent in the middle Arabic used by most scribes of medieval manuscripts. There is also the question, yet to be determined, whether the translator was aware of the intransitive meaning of the Greek verb, "to reveal oneself," a meaning current only in classical Greek and presumably not in the Greek of the translator's time. Whatever the case, though, the reading in Σ was without any doubt ἀναγνωρίσας τινὰς.

55b22 ἐπιθέμενος αὐτὸς μὲν B : αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπιθέμενος Σ (*ammā huwa fa-šaqā šaqyan ʿaẓīman*) : αὐτὸς ἐπιθέμενος αὐτὸς μὲν Π
After ἀναγνωρίσας τινὰς the Arabic has, "as for him, he gained completely the upper hand" (*ammā huwa fa-šaqā šaqyan ʿaẓīman*), which corresponds to a Greek word order of, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπιθέμενος. The reason is that in the Arabic sentence "as for him" (*ammā huwa*), which renders αὐτὸς μὲν, comes *before* and is answered by "he gained the upper hand" (*fa-šaqā*), which stands for ἐπιθέμενος. And this would seem to be the proper word order, avoiding the awkward succession of two participles in ἀναγνωρίσας τινὰς ἐπιθέμενος, in which ἐπιθέμενος is forced to serve by the translators as a finite verb. In the word order αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπιθέμενος, the finite verb ἐσώθη functions more naturally as a response to both preceding participles.

55b25–26 ἡ δέσις … λέγω δὲ om. Σ vel Ar. ex homoioteleuton

55b27 μεταβαίνει Φ, Σ (*yakūnu l-ʿubūru*), Paris. 2038 : μεταβαίνειν A B

55b28 ἢ εἰς ἀτυχίαν B, Σ (*wa-immā ilā lā-naǧāḥ wa-lā falāḥ*) : om. Π

55b29 λυγκεῖ Paris. 2038 : λυκεῖ Π, Σ (*lūqī*, corr. Margoliouth) : γλυκεῖ B

55b31 αὐτῶν αἰτίασις, λύσις δ᾽ ἡ Σ (*ʿillatuhā, wa-ammā l-inḥilālu fa-ḏāka*) : αὐτῶν δὴ Ξ | αἰτιάσεως Π : αἰτήσεως B : [Σ]
There are two cruxes in this line, the manuscript readings of καὶ πάλιν ἡ αὐτῶν δὴ and αἰτιάσεως/αἰτήσεως. Of the first one, the second half has been easily and readily resolved: δὴ is to be read as λύσις δ᾽ ἡ, which corresponds precisely to the Arabic translation, "as for the solution, that is" (*wa-ammā l-inḥilālu fa-ḏāka*). The question is what to read after καὶ πάλιν ἡ αὐτῶν, which in Arabic is literally rendered as, "and again, that which [is] … of them" (*wa-ayḍan fa-llatī ʿlx-hā*). That something is to be read is clear, because the Arabic does have an extra word in the phrase; the problem is how to read it. The skeleton of the word is *ʿlx-hā*, in which *x* stands for a letter that can be read in a number of ways depending on the diacritical points one places above or beneath it. Of the possible readings, one is hardly to be considered because it yields no acceptable sense, namely, *ʿalayhā*, "upon them" (i.e., making the final phrase read, "and again, that/those which is/are upon it/them," depending on how the pronoun *-hā* following the word is understood).

The reading suggested by Margoliouth (1887), Arabic p. 47 note f, *ʿalanuhā* (root *ʿln*), found wide acceptance. It means "to be made public," and has been thought to translate δήλωσις. With regard to this proposed reading, *ʿalan*, there are two considerations which need to be kept separate. The first is the suggested emendation of the passage on the merits of the Greek text alone, namely, the emendation proposed by Christ, καὶ πάλιν ἡ αὐτῶν δή⟨λωσις, λύσις δ' ἡ⟩ ἀπὸ, which prima facie appears to be an excellent suggestion on its own. The second is the evidence of the Arabic translation and whether it supports this emendation. However, this seems very dubious. In the first place, the Arabic word *ʿalan*, an infinitive of the verb *ʿalina*, "to make public, to make manifest," could be thought to translate δήλωσις, if δήλωσις is taken to mean one of the root meanings of the verb δηλόω, "to make manifest, to reveal," but not if it is taken to mean (which it normally does, according to LSJ), "to explain." Thus if ἡ αὐτῶν δήλωσις is taken to mean "their [i.e., τῶν προπεπραγμένων] being made public," this would correspond precisely to the Arabic, but it is not clear how much sense it would make in the Greek context. That is why, apparently, Janko selects not the meaning of "making public" but rather translates (p. 24), the child's "parents' explanation." This meaning, however, is impossible for the Arabic word *ʿalan* (if *ʿalan* is indeed to be read), and Janko incorrectly states (p. 119) that "explanation" is in the Arabic.

Secondly, and more importantly, in this translation of the *Poetics* the Greek words δήλωσις and δηλόω are never translated by the root *ʿln*, as Margoliouth suggests here, but for the most part by the root *dll*. At 59a23, in particular, δήλωσις is rendered by *istidlāl*, and at 50b8 and 57a7, the verb δηλοῖ is rendered by the verb *dalla*. At 52a26, finally, δηλώσας is translated by the phrase *atā bi-š-šiʿr*, unrelated to the root *ʿln*. It is thus almost certain that if the reading of the word in the Arabic text is, as Margoliouth suggests, *ʿalan*, this does not provide evidence for reading the Greek as δήλωσις. What this means is that if the editor of the Greek text wishes to read the text as emended by Christ (i.e., δή⟨λωσις, λύσις δ' ἡ⟩, as Janko does in his translation, p. xxv), the emendation as such may be defensible on a number of grounds but not on the basis of the Arabic evidence. And if the Arabic evidence is to be taken seriously, which it must, then the reading δήλωσις loses its likelihood.

A third possible reading of the skeleton word in the Arabic, and one which has not been entertained, is *ʿillatuhā*, "their cause," making the final phrase read as, "and again, that which is their cause," "their" referring, again, to the prior incidents, τὰ προπεπραγμένα. The word *ʿilla* normally translates, in this translation as elsewhere, Greek αἰτία (as, for

example, in the occurrence of the word a few lines previously, at 55b7). Αἰτία thus would seem to be a good candidate for the missing word in the Greek text, and indeed even better would be αἰτίασις, on the assumption that the translator did not distinguish between the two words. This reading was already suggested by Spengel (ap. Tkatsch II,163a), and it makes eminent sense in this passage where it is repeated twice in the line. Just as in the previous sentence Aristotle uses μετάβασις twice (from the beginning to the μετάβασις and from the μετάβασις to the end), so also here he is saying that the δέσις lasts from the beginning to the αἰτίασις, and the λύσις from the αἰτίασις to the end. By the same token, this analysis also establishes the second occurrence of the word as αἰτιάσεως and not as αἰτήσεως.

As for the reading in Σ αἰτιάσεως / αἰτήσεως, the Arabic does not allow us to decide. Tkatsch would seem to be right in suggesting that the translator misunderstood the word as a proper name followed by the word ἕως (Tkatsch II,15 notes 107 and 164b), which he properly translates as *ilā*, "up to." If we eliminate ΕΩC from the word in uncials, this leaves us to decide between ΑΙΤΙΑΣ and ΑΙΤΗΣ. The Arabic skeleton reads *'wġy*, as suggested by Tkatsch, but I would suggest reading it as *lwġy* or *lwfy*, indicating a reading of the Greek as either ΛΙΓΙΑΣ / ΛΙΓΗΣ or ΛΙΠΑΣ / ΛΙΠΙΣ. Because the final letter in the Arabic transliteration is *y* (i.e., *ī*) rather than *y'* (i.e., *iā*), the readings ΛΙΓΗΣ or ΛΙΠΙΣ would appear to be more likely than ΛΙΓΙΑΣ or ΛΙΠΑΣ (thus suggesting a reading in Σ αἰτήσ-εως rather than αἰτιάσ-εως: i.e., ΑΙΤΗΣ- rather than ΑΙΤΙΑΣ-), but there can be no certainty. In any case, as suggested in the discussion above, the reading αἰτιάσεως is ascertained through the context and style of Aristotle's argument.

55b32–33 τοσαῦτα … ἐλέχθη] Σ

1455b34–1456a1 οἷον … οἷον] οἷον Σ vel Ar.

1456a2 ἡ ἁπλῆ ci. Susemihl : ΟΗΣ B : όης A : spat. vac. in Lat. : non vert. Ar. : ὄψις ci. Bywater | ὁ B : om. A : [Σ]
For the passage 56a2–4, τὸ δὲ τέταρτον … ἔχειν, the Arabic has, "[As for] the fourth, it is the affairs of Phorcides and Prometheus and what was said to the two of them; and this is that the [things] which are in hell are tested and tried with regard to everything" (*wa-r-rābi'u, fa-umūru Furqīdis wa-Afrūmīṯaws wa-mā qīla lahumā, wa-huwa anna llatī fī l-ǧaḥīmi hiya mumtaḥanatun muǧarrabatun fī kulli šay'in*). The translator clearly did

not understand the Greek, which, in addition, appears to have been corrupt at the beginning, just as in the surviving Greek manuscripts. He thus read the Greek, and punctuated it, as follows. In the first part, he simply disregarded not only what must have been the unintelligible OHC, or something like it, in his source, but he even overlooked οἷον, because his usual translation of the word as *bi-manzilat* (as in the preceding sentence) is missing. He translated only τὸ δὲ τέταρτον, αἵ τε Φορκίδες καὶ ὁ (?) Προμηθεὺς, taking αἵ to refer to "things," "affairs" (*umūr*), and the two proper names, which he did not know, as singular and possibly as referring to protagonists in tragedies. So it appears that he understood the sentence as if it were, "And the fourth, it is the affairs of [the tragedies:] *Forcides* and *Prometheus*."[61]

What comes after the word "Prometheus" is surprising. There are clearly more words in the Arabic than in the Greek ("and what was said to the two of them"), and it is difficult to believe that such an addition would be due to the translator alone, for it would serve no purpose in making the sense of the Greek any clearer especially since the translator did not understand it. If this addition translates a Greek phrase, it would be something like, καὶ ὅπερ εἴρηται αὐτοῖς; this, however, would not seem to add anything to the Greek text, unless it is assumed that this was a marginal gloss of sorts. Margoliouth (1887) Arabic p. 47 note k, tried to explain the problem by suggesting a misreading of a Syriac word by the Arabic translator (for which he was later rightly criticised by Tkatsch I,210b–211a), while in his 1911 edition of the Greek text he changed his mind and corrected the reading οης οἷον of the Greek MSS into οἰκεῖον, claiming in his apparatus that this is the reading in MS D (Laurentianus xxxi.14) and that it is indicated by the Arabic translation. I have not seen the Laurentianus, but the Arabic certainly presents no basis for a reading οἰκεῖον. What Margoliouth (1911) 104 suggests, that the word *umūr*, which he interprets as "the private affairs of" and says "seems to represent οἰκεῖον," is simply not tenable. In this notoriously corrupt passage, the Arabic evidence adds yet another piece in the puzzle.

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[61] Gudeman (1934) 318 is wrong to suggest that the Arabic supports his emendation ⟨οἱ⟩ Προμηθεῖς (p. 55 of the edition). The phrase that follows this name in Arabic, "and what was said to the two of them," which uses the dual to refer to the two preceding names, as well as the particular transliteration of the name of Prometheus, indicate that he took the two proper nouns as masculine proper names in the singular nominative (Προμηθεὺς, -*aws*, not Προμηθεῖς).

The following sentence is punctuated wrongly by the translator. He reads the passage ὅσα ἐν ᾄδου … ἔχειν as one sentence, overlooking the words μάλιστα μὲν οὖν, δεῖ, and the final ἔχειν at 56a4; he thus translates as if the text were, ὅσα ἐν ᾄδου ἅπαντα πειρᾶσθαι, with the verb rendered in a hendiadys, "tested and tried."

Avicenna and Averroes paraphrase variously the passage, each enumerating the different kinds of tragedy. It is clear that Avicenna had a somewhat improved translation on hand, but not in the place of the main crux in the Greek.

56a4 ἄλλως τε Φ, Paris. 2038 : ἄλλως γε B, fort. Σ : ἀλλ' ὥσγε A
For ἄλλως τ/γε καὶ ὡς νῦν the Arabic has, "in another way as now" (*ʿalā ǧihatin uḫrā ka-mā l-āna*), translating the adverb literally. Assuming that the translator knew that ἄλλως τε means something different from plain ἄλλως, it would appear that Σ most likely had ἄλλως γε rather than ἄλλως τε, but there can be no certainty. It is clear, though, that it did not have ἀλλ' ὥσγε.

56a6 ἑκάστου Paris. 2038 : ἕκαστον Ξ, Σ (*yuʾahhilūna kulla insānin*) | ἰδίου A, Σ (*al-ḫāṣṣ*) : οἰκείου B

56a8 οὐδενὶ ὡς ci. Zeller : οὐδὲν ἴσως A B : οὐδὲν Σ (ἴσως non vert. Ar.) | τοῦτο Π, Σ (*hāḏā*) : τούτων B
The Arabic normally renders ἴσως properly with *laʿalla* (as at 61a11, 61b6), which is absent in this sentence. The sentence is also negative, indicating that the translator read οὐδὲν in his exemplar.

56a10 ἀμφότερα ἀρτικροτεῖσθαι ci. Immisch : ἀμφότερα ἀντικρατεῖσθαι Σ (*umsikā kilayhimā bi-t-tabdīl*)
The Arabic has, "and badly, if they are both held/seized alternately" (*wa-ammā ʿalā ǧihatin radīʾatin in umsikā kilayhimā* [read: *kilāhumā*] *bi-t-tabdīl*), reading the Greek as follows: κακῶς δ' εἰ ἀμφότερα ἀντικρατεῖσθαι. The translator, first, punctuated the Greek wrongly and read κακῶς with what follows rather than with what precedes, second, read ΔΕΙ as δ'εἰ rather than as δεῖ,[62] and third, and consequently, disregarded δὲ before ἀμφότερα. As for the verb, he translated it etymologically, breaking it into

[62] Another indication that the manuscript from which the Syriac translator was working, Σ, was in uncials. See the summary account and examples in Gudeman (1935) 48.

its two components, with *umsikā*, “they are both held/seized” translating κρατεῖσθαι (interpreting κρατέω in the common later Greek meaning of “to take hold of”) and the adverbial phrase *bi-t-tabdīl* rendering the prepositional prefix ἀντι-. The preposition ἀντί itself is regularly translated by the word *badala*, “instead of,” from the same root as *tabdīl* used here.[63] The final letter of the word *tabdīl* is clearly written as a *lām* in the manuscript, but it was misread as a *dāl* by both Margoliouth in his 1887 edition (though he corrected it in his 1911 *Poetics*, 84) and by Tkatsch, reading *tabdīd*, which caused much misunderstanding.

There is thus little doubt that the underlying reading in Σ was ἀντικρατεῖσθαι, with the dual number of the Arabic verb translating ἀμφότερα. Margoliouth already suggested ἀντικρατεῖσθαι in the apparatus of his 1911 *Poetics* edition, though he did not properly explain the ἀντι-/*bi-t-tabdīl* part (on p. 84), which led to his analysis not being taken seriously by either Tkatsch II,171 or Gudeman (in app. crit.).

The Arabic of this sentence itself is relatively vulgar, what is commonly called Middle Arabic. Properly it should have read ⟨*fa-*⟩*in* to answer the initial *wa-ammā* translating the particle δὲ in the misread δ’ εἰ, and the word for ἀμφότερα, *kilayhimā*, as the subject of the passive verb *umsikā*, should have been in the nominative, *kilāhumā*, as suggested by ʿAyyād (p. 104, app.): *wa-ammā ʿalā ǧihatin radīʾatin ⟨fa-⟩in umsikā kilāhumā bi-t-tabdīl*. Such deviations from the norm, however, even if not committed by Abū-Bišr himself, are regular in this copy of his translation.

56a12 δὲ λέγω ΦΒ, Σ ut vid. : δὲ λέγω δὲ A
Given the freedom with which the Syro-Arabic translation on occasion disregards particles, and especially δὲ (see the preceding note), it is impossible to tell what Σ read here, though prima facie, on the basis of the Arabic text, the reading in B would seem to have been followed.

56a15–16 σημεῖον δὲ Π, Σ (*wa-d-dalīl*) : om. B

56a16 ἰλίου ὅλην A, Σ (*li-ʾĪliyūn … bi-ǧumlatihā*) : ἰλιούπολιν B

56a17 ⟨ἢ⟩ ci. Vahlen : om. Ω | Νιόβην ut vid. Σ (*niyāwī*)

56a18 Ἀγάθων A^c B Φ : ἀγαθῶν A, Σ (*min al-ḫayrāt*)

[63] See, for example, the references given by Schmitt (1970) 270a, and especially in *GALex* II,139, under *badala*.

56a19 τούτῳ μόνῳ ἐν om. Σ vel Ar. ex homoioteleuton | ταῖς A, Σ (*fī l-idārāt*) : τοῖς B

56a22 ὁ σοφὸς A, Σ (*ḥakīm*) : σαφὲς B | δ' rec. : om. Ξ et fort. Σ | ὥσπερ Π, Σ (*bi-manzilat*) : ὥσπερ γὰρ B
As stated before, this version frequently disregards the Greek particles and especially δὲ, sometimes justifiably, as there are no means in Arabic (as in most other languages) by which to register every occurrence of this particle without excessive and verbose paraphrasis. In this case it is difficult to tell whether the translator read δὲ in Σ. One indication that Σ had omitted it like the rest of the older Greek manuscripts, though there can be no certainty, is that the identical μὲν … δὲ construction in the immediately following sentence is translated differently than the present one: it reads, "the brave among the unjust is defeated" (*ġuliba š-šuǧāʿu mina l-ǧā'iri*), implying that other unjust people are not brave, which is part of the meaning of the Greek μὲν … δὲ construction; whereas in this instance the Arabic translation simply reads, "when a wise man like Sisyphus is deceived with villainy" (*mattā nḫadaʿa ḥakīmun bi-manzilati Siyūsīfūs maʿa r-raḏīlati*), without any indication of a contrast between wisdom and villainy.

56a23 καὶ[2] B, Σ (*ayḍan*) : om. Π

56a25 χορὸν Π, Σ (*ṣaff*) : χρόνον B

56a25–26 ὑπολαμβάνειν B Φ : ὑπολαβεῖν A : non vert. Ar.

56a28 λοιποῖς Ξ : πολλοῖς Σ (*kaṯīrun*) et ci. Gomperz | τὰ ᾀδόμενα Σ (*tutaġannā*), sed τῶν ᾀδομένων ut intell. Ar.; ci. Madius : τὰ διδόμενα Ξ | οὐδὲν Σ (*laysa … šay'un*) et ci. Vahlen : οὐ ci. Madius : om. Ξ
The Arabic has, "Many of those which are sung do not have in them anything else more than myth or tragedy" (*wa-kaṯīrun mina llatī tutaġannā laysa fīhā šay'un āḫaru akṯaru mina l-ḫurāfati aw mina l-madīḥi* [sic leg. pro *madḥ*]), which corresponds to an understanding of the Greek as, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς τῶν ᾀδομένων οὐδὲν μᾶλλον τοῦ μύθου ἢ ἄλλης τραγῳδίας ἐστίν, without this necessarily meaning that the reading of the word in Σ was in the genitive, ᾀδομένων, rather than in the nominative, ᾀδόμενα; in all likelihood the translator so (mis)understood the nominative (cf. Tkatsch, II,153a note 3, "Das Partizip [i.e., ᾀδόμενα] … syntaktisch falsch auf das vorangehende Adjektiv [i.e., πολλοῖς] bezogen worden ist").

56a28–29 ἄλλης τραγῳδίας Π, et Σ ut vid. (*āḫar … min al-mad⟨ī⟩ḥ*) : ἄλλως τραγῳδία B
The Arabic does translate ἄλλης but apparently in the wrong place; it reads, "nothing else more than myth or tragedy" (*laysa … šay'un āḫaru akṯaru mina l-ḫurāfati aw mina l-mad⟨ī⟩ḥi*), rather than, "nothing more than myth or another tragedy." Since the translator clearly did not understand the sentence, it would appear that the transposition is due to him rather than to a different text in his exemplar.

56a30 τοῦ τοιούτου A, B sed ante ἀγάθωνος et Σ ut vid. : *huius* Lat. O, *aut huius* Lat. T
The Arabic has, "the first who began that [was] Agathon the poet" (*wa-awwalu man bada'a bi-ḏālika Āġāṯūn aš-šā'iru*). Prima facie it appears that the word "that" (*ḏālika*) after "began" stands for τοῦ τοιούτου in Greek, and indeed before the proper name, as in B, and there is no good reason to doubt it. Gudeman's argument (in Tkatsch II,220) against this obvious explanation is based on two points, one of which is disproved by the evidence and the other is speculative. The former is that, according to Gudeman, in this Syro-Arabic translation τοιοῦτος is never rendered by the demonstrative "this" or "that" alone (*hāḏā* or *ḏālika*). This is inaccurate. In at least three instances it is indeed so translated (1447b12, 53a7, 54b12). There is accordingly no reason why it should not have occurred in this passage as well, especially since, given the context, τοιοῦτος is very close in meaning to οὗτος. Furthermore, it can neither be argued that the verb "began" (*bada'a*) requires an expressed object and the translator had to provide one. One of the characteristics of this translation is that it is mostly very literal and that it deviates from this practice when the translator did not understand the Greek and had to guess the meaning or translate according to the general sense of the sentence. This passage is very simple and the translator understood it well enough; he could surely have found ways to be literal without using an express object for *bada'a* if the Greek sentence did not contain one.

Gudeman's second argument is more substantial. He suggests that the identification of Agathon as τοῦ ποιητοῦ must have appeared in a marginal annotation of some ancestor of our manuscripts, which then found its way into the text and was later misread as τοῦ τοιούτου. This is probable, but the connection between the two stages of this development described by Gudeman cannot be proven. The presence of "the poet" in the Arabic translation is certainly a marginal gloss that has entered

the text at this point; Aristotle's own text could never have had it and the translator himself would not have added it since in the previous occasions when the name of Agathon appears he misunderstands it as the plural ἀγαθῶν. But the presence of "the poet" in the Arabic translation does not necessarily entail either that the marginal gloss τοῦ ποιητοῦ was made by a Greek scribe in the Greek transmission of the manuscript (it could very easily have been made in Arabic by a Baghdadi scholar on the Greek or even Syriac exemplar used by Abū-Bišr), or, if it was made in the Greek transmission, that τοῦ ποιητοῦ was corrupted into τοῦ τοιούτου (no Greek manuscript has the variant τοῦ ποιητοῦ). Accordingly it appears likely, though not certain, that τοῦ τοιούτου was present in Σ before the name of Agathon and that it was translated with a simple demonstrative by the translator. However, the question whether τοῦ τοιούτου was also in Aristotle's text is another matter.

56a31 εἰ Π : εἰς B : [Σ] | ἁρμόττοι] [Σ]
The Arabic changes the structure of the sentence from that of a rhetorical question to a plain statement; as a result, it is not possible to establish precise and certain correspondences between the Greek text and the Arabic translation (as Gudeman rather cavalierly assumes). The translation reads, "yet there is no difference between interludes being sung and a speech being put together from another to another" (*ʿalā ⟨annahū⟩ lā farqa bayna an yutaġannā bi-d-daḫīlāti wa-bayna an yuʾallafa qawlun min uḫrā ilā uḫrā*). It is clear that the rhetorical question was translated negatively in the Arabic, and the two alternatives introduced by the ἢ … ἢ structure in Greek were translated by the Arabic preposition "between … and" (literally, "between … and between," as required by Arabic style); but it is impossible to decide whether the translator read in Σ εἰ, or εἰς, or anything at all (as Gudeman assumes), and the same applies to the mood of the verb ἁρμόττοι/-ει.

56a31–32 ἢ ἐπεισόδιον ὅλον om. Ar., secl. Gudeman

56a33 εἰδῶν B, Σ (*anwāʿ*) : ἠδ' A

56a34 καὶ Σ (*wa-*), ci. Hermann : ἢ Ξ

56a37 τούτων Π, Σ (*hāḏihi*, sc. *al-ašyāʾ*) : τούτου B

1456b1 καὶ[1] Ξ : ἢ Σ (*aw*)

56b2 μικρότητα Φ, Σ (*ṣiġar*), Paris. 2038 : μικρότητας A B

56b3 ἰδεῶν Σ (*aṣ-ṣuwar wa-l-ḫilaq*) : εἰδεῶν AB
The Arabic translates ἰδέαι with the hendiadys *aṣ-ṣuwar wa-l-ḫilaq* also at 50b34. εἰδῶν at 56a33 he translates as *anwāʿ*, which indicates that he would have done the same here had he read εἰδεῶν as εἰδέων.

56b4 ἢ Ξ : ᾖ ut intell. Ar. | δέῃ Paris. 2038 : δεῖ BΦ, Σ ut vid. : δ' ᾖ A
The translator analyzed the sentence at 56b2–4, δῆλον … παρασκευάζειν, inaccurately. The Arabic has, "It is clear that, also in the things from these forms and characters [hendiadys for ἰδεῶν, see the preceding note], there ought to be used, when there are either sorrows or difficulties or calamities, and [there ought to] be prepared [things] which are realities" (*wa-ẓāhirun anna* [i.e., *annahū*], *fī l-umūri ayḍan min hāḏihi ṣ-ṣuwari wa-l-ḫilaqi, yanbaġī an yustaʿmala, matā kāna immā l-aḥzānu wa-immā ṣ-ṣiʿābu wa-immā l-ʿaẓāʾimu, wa-tustaʿadda llatī hiya ḥaqāʾiqu*). The Greek text was accordingly parsed by the translator as, δῆλον δὲ ὅτι, καὶ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀπὸ αὐτῶν τῶν [sic intell. Ar.] ἰδεῶν, δεῖ χρῆσθαι, ὅταν ἐλεεινὰ ἢ δεινὰ ἢ μεγάλα ᾖ, εἰκότα δεῖ παρασκευάζειν. The ἢ after μεγάλα was read as ᾖ, the subjunctive of εἰμί (properly, after ὅταν), and εἰκότα was accordingly seen as if it were the accusative object of χρῆσθαι. The following δεῖ then must have been seen as a repetition of the preceding δεῖ (or, possibly, was read as δὲ and the final *iota* before the *pi* of παρασκευάζειν simply ignored?), and was left untranslated, while the final παρασκευάζειν was seen also as a verb whose object was εἰκότα. Σ, then, in all probability had the same text as B, and the skewed translation is rather due to the translator's misreading of the sentence rather than to a different underlying text.

The other, less likely, alternative is that Σ had the same text as A, δ' ᾖ [ΔΗ?], which was then misread as δεῖ or δὲ[ι], as just explained.

56b5 ὅτι B[c], Σ (*anna*)

56b8 φαίνοιτο B : φανοῖτο A : [Σ] | ᾖ δέοι ci. Vahlen : ἡδέα A B, Σ (*laḏḏāt*)

56b21 ἄρθρον ante ὄνομα ῥῆμα Σ (*al-fāṣila al-ism al-kalima*), et ci. Spengel : post ῥῆμα Ξ
For the word order see the discussion in Tkatsch II,153–154, Gudeman app. crit. ad loc., and Edzard (2007) 173–174. It is to be noted that the Arabic translation of ἄρθρον as *fāṣila*, correct as it is (pace Edzard 2007,

174 note 50), derives from the anatomical use of the Greek term (joint) which is rendered as *mafṣal* in the translated literature (see Ullmann *WGAÜ* s.v.)

56b23 συνθετὴ Σ (*murakkab*), rec. : συνετὴ Ξ

56b24 θηρίων Π, Σ (*bahā'im*) : θεωριῶν Β

56b25 ταύτης Π, Σ (*hāḏā ṣ-ṣawt*) : ταύταις Β

56b26 ἄφωνον Π, Σ ([*ǧuz'*] *lā muṣawwit*) : ἄφωνα Β | ταῦτα Β : om. Π Σ | τὸ Σ (*allaḏī*), ci. Reiz : om. ΑΒ | προσβολῆς Π, Σ (*al-qar'i*) : προβολῆς Β | post προσβολῆς add. Ar. ⟨τῶν χειλῶν ἢ τῶν ὀδόντων⟩ (*al-kā'in 'inda š-šafatayn aw al-asnān*) ut glossema (Gudeman)
The gloss after προσβολῆς, τῶν χειλῶν ἢ τῶν ὀδόντων, is due most likely to the Syriac or Arabic translator, possibly on the basis of another source, but it can hardly be in the original text of Aristotle, as Gudeman assumes. See the discussion of this passage in Belardi 53–58.

56b27–28 ἀκουστὴν … ἀκουστήν Π, Σ : ἀκουστὴν Β

56b28 τὸ ρ̄ Α, Σ : τὸ β ΒΦ

56b29 προσβολῆς Π, Σ (*al-qar'i*) : προβολῆς Β

56b32 ψιλότητι Π : ψιλότησι Β : [Σ] | μήκει Π, Σ (*bi-ṭ-ṭūli*) : μεγέθει μήκει Β

56b34 ἐν Ξ, Σ (*fī*) : secl. Bernhardy, Spengel

56b36 συλλαβὴ καὶ Ξ : [Σ]
The Arabic for 56b36–37, "καὶ γὰρ … τὸ ΓΡΑ", reads as follows: "because Ǧ and R without A are not a syllable, since a syllable comes about only with A, but Ǧ and R and A *are* a syllable" (*wa-ḏālika anna l-Ǧ wa-r-R bi-lā A laysā qtiḍāb⟨an⟩, iḏ[ā] kāna innamā yakūnu qtiḍābun ma'a A, lākin al-Ǧ wa-r-R wa-A hiya qtiḍābun*).[64] This presupposes a

[64] Belardi 61 note 58 points out that it is possible to read the Arabic differently, viz., "because Ǧ [on the one hand], and R [on the other], both without A, are not a syllable, since a syllable comes about only with A; but Ǧ and R and A are [also] a

Greek sentence as follows: καὶ γὰρ τὸ ΓΡ ἄνευ τοῦ Α οὐκ ἔστι συλλαβή, συλλαβῆς οὔσης μετὰ τοῦ Α, οἷον τὸ ΓΡΑ (cf. Margoliouth (1887) 66 and Gudeman in his edition who suggest similar reconstructions). However, it is not clear that such may have been the reading in Σ. There are two reasons. The first, textual, is that this particular passage in the Arabic translation contains more glosses than any other passage in the *Poetics*, which indicates that somebody, at some unspecified stage, annotated it heavily, obviously to render it more intelligible. These glosses, which may have been originally marginal, were inserted into the text in the extant version of the Arabic translation. The second is based on content and meaning. It is not at all certain that Aristotle wants to say that ΓΡ is *not* a syllable (as the Arabic version has it), since he has just given Γ as example of a consonant and Ρ as example of a semi-vowel, and he has defined a syllable as being composed of a consonant and an element which has sound, i.e., a vowel or a semi-vowel (as noted by Janko 126). According to this definition, then, ΓΡ *is* a syllable, just as much as ΓΑ is—that is, a consonant plus a semi-vowel or a consonant plus a vowel (*pace* Gudeman (1934) 344). The problem is that Aristotle does not give ΓΑ as example of the consonant-plus-vowel syllable but ΓΡΑ, which would appear to have confused scribes and editors alike, but it would seem that this is what Aristotle meant.

The Arabic translation thus appears interpolated, in keeping with the rest of the passage, as mentioned; and if this is so, it is not possible to divine the actual reading in Σ, though the reading in the Greek paradosis seems likely. Now whatever the experts on versification to whom Aristotle refers may have thought about a syllable, the glosses and the particular interpretation of this sentence given in the Arabic translation are conditioned by a later understanding of what constitutes a syllable, and that is that ΓΡ is decidedly *not* one. This then would explain, first, the negative in the Arabic sentence ("Ǧ and R without A are *not* a syllable"), and second, the explanatory clause that follows it, "since a syllable comes about only with A," the first part of which has no counterpart in the Greek text. In all likelihood, then, the transmitted text in the Greek paradosis is not corrupt, and is perhaps to be read as Janko suggests (but without the comma after συλλαβή): καὶ γὰρ τὸ ΓΡ ἄνευ τοῦ Α συλλαβὴ καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Α, οἷον τὸ ΓΡΑ, meaning, "for GR is a syllable both

syllable." Technically, this is possible, but unlikely, on the basis of the Greek, that it was intended so to be read.

without an A and with an A, as in GRA." A final argument in favor of this reading is that it is also the *lectio difficilior*.

See the detailed analysis of the Greek in this passage, but also of the Arabic translation, by Belardi 59–62.

56b37 τὸ A, Σ (*al-*) : om. B

1456b38–1457a10[65] σύνδεσμος … μέσου

The Arabic of this passage on σύνδεσμος (56b38–57a5: σύνδεσμος δέ … σημαντικῶν δέ) reads as follows: "As for the ligature (i.e., σύνδεσμος), it is a composite sound[66] without signification, like "as for," and †"xxxxx."† For what is audible of it/them is without signification, composed of many sounds, and it/they signifies/-y a single composite sound[67] without signification."

Apart from the obvious omission in Arabic of the text between ἢ οὔτε … καθ' αὑτήν (56b38–57a3), there are three difficulties with this text. First, in the examples given (57a4), Arabic *ammā*, "as for," corresponds accurately to Greek μέν and is well attested (see *GALex* I,341 § 1). The rest of the example(s) in Greek, however, is not easily recognizable in Arabic. It is likely that the second example in Arabic is the conjunction *wa-*, "and," but the reading is not certain, apart from the fact that "and" does not translate the transmitted reading in Greek, ἤτοι. After *wa-*, the Arabic manuscript has a sequence of five letters here that have yet to be deciphered: والسس. Margoliouth in his text prints *wa-a-laysa*, which is not correct, because the skeleton in the manuscript has one ridge extra than is required by *wa-a-laysa*. Tkatsch I, 264, prints also incorrectly *wa-al-sīn*

[65] See the extensive and critical discussion of this entire passage in Gallavotti (1954a). Although I do not agree with him in all details, his analyses are to the point.

[66] The word φωνή is frequently translated by *ṣawt murakkab*, "composite sound," even when the Greek does not have συνθετὴ φωνή; for example, πέφυκε συνθετὴ γίγνεσθαι φωνή at 56b23 is translated as, "of the nature of the composite sound to be composed and generated" (*min šaʾni ṣ-ṣawti l-murakkabi an yatarakkaba wa-yukawwana*). Since it seems unlikely that Aristotle's original Greek text would have had φωνὴ συνθετή in all those places and that the Greek paradosis would have omitted the word συνθετή by mistake in all of them (as assumed by Gudeman who added it everywhere in his text), it would appear that the scholiast who annotated this particular chapter of the *Poetics* that was available to the Syriac or Arabic translator, as mentioned in the preceding comment, also noted in every occurrence of the word φωνή that it is to be understood as φωνὴ συνθετή (which would appear to be based on what Aristotle says at 56b22–23), and that the translator accordingly entered it into the text throughout.

[67] For the word *lafẓa*, "utterance" written over the word *ṣawt*, "sound," see below, note 71.

(*w'lsyn*), which he explains as "the letter s", but this is inaccurate because the shape of the ridges as written in the manuscript suggests *wa-al-ysn* (*w'lysn*). The problem remains, though it appears beyond serious doubt that whatever the Arabic letters stand for, they are supposed to render whatever the Syriac translator understood from ἤτοι δέ and whatever Abū-Bišr Mattā understood from the Syriac.

The second is the referent of the pronoun "it/them" in the second sentence of the paragraph, in the phrase, "what is audible of it/them" (*mā yusmaʿu minhā*). The feminine pronoun in Arabic can refer either to a feminine singular or a plural noun. The problem, though, is that in the preceding sentence no feminine or plural noun has been mentioned. The pronoun therefore can refer either (a) in general to the words given as examples of "sounds" (φωναί) that are without signification, or (b) to the presumed Greek noun φωνή which the translator has in mind and which is feminine in Greek (and also in Syriac, if the word used for φωνή was *ṣāwtā*) and which was thus also translated in feminine into Arabic, despite the fact that the Arabic word for it, *ṣawt*, is masculine, or, finally, (c) to a receding presumed feminine or plural noun that was theoretically omitted in the Paris manuscript. It is difficult to decide which of the three alternatives is the most likely since the Greek text that has been transmitted for this clause contains only the word ἡ φωνή; but all things considered, and given the confusion in gender between the Syriac and the Arabic that can be witnessed in this translation, and given the context, alternative (b) would seem to be preferable.

How we read this phrase and pronoun here will affect the next feminine pronoun we come across in the rest of the sentence, "and it/they signify a single compound sound" (*hiya dāllatun*). The Arabic pronoun *hiya* can again refer either (a) to what was referred by the previous pronoun, or (b) to the plural noun that has just been mentioned, the "many sounds". (a) If it refers to the previous pronoun as a singular subject, then the most likely antecedent would be the presumed φωνή, in which case the underlying Greek would have been σημαντική in the nominative, to agree with ἡ φωνὴ ἄσημος; (b) but if it refers to the "many sounds," the Greek would be σημαντικῶν. Again the first alternative would seem preferable, primarily because of the position of the word μιᾶς in the Greek, which is problematic (with translators either disregarding it—e.g. Butcher, Else—or secluding it, like Janko). In the Greek presupposed by the Arabic, however, it makes sense in the place where it is if one reads, ἢ ἐκ πλειόνων μὲν φωνῶν, μιᾶς (sc. φωνῆς) σημαντικὴ δὲ ἀσήμου (though clearly μιᾶς δὲ σημαντικὴ ἀσήμου would have been better). If one were to

read the plural, σημαντικῶν, μιᾶς would be in the wrong position, for it would be more natural to say, ἢ ἐκ πλειόνων μὲν φωνῶν, σημαντικῶν δὲ μιᾶς ἀσήμου. The Arabic syntax, which has a break in the sentence ("composed of many sounds, and it/they signifies/-y," *min aṣwātin kaṯīratin, wa-hiya dāllatun*,) reproduces the contrast indicated in the Greek by the μὲν … δὲ construction.

The third difficulty is the phrase at 57a4, "for what is audible of it/them", which corresponds in Greek just to the words ἡ φωνή. The conjunction "for," *wa-ḏālika anna*, as a rule translates Greek γάρ. This Greek particle is translated into Syriac most of the time also with *ger*, which would be translated into Arabic with *wa-ḏālika anna* (see the statistics for the *Poetics* given below under 61b12), and thus it appears quite likely that the Greek text in Σ may have read, ἡ γὰρ φωνή. Now it may be that the particle δέ just preceding ἡ φωνή in the Greek text was read together with what follows rather than with what preceded, in which case the Syriac translator understood what we now have as δὲ ἡ φωνή as ἡ δὲ φωνή. However, if that was the case, then the Syriac translator would have most likely rendered Greek δέ with *den* (again, the statistics for the *Poetics* is given below at 61b12), and Syriac *den* in the *Poetics* is never translated by Abū-Bišr Mattā with *wa-ḏālika anna*, what we have here. With this possibility eliminated, it appears even more likely that the Greek in Σ may have read, ἡ γὰρ φωνή.[68]

As for the Arabic "what is audible of it/them" for φωνή (*mā yusmaʿu minhā*), it appears quite unlikely that there would have been a different Greek text in Σ, something like, ἡ γὰρ ἀκουστὴ φωνή. If the Syriac word used for φωνή were *ṣāwtā*, then it is very likely either that some word from this same root (*ṣwt*), whose verbal form also means "to listen, hearken", was used in this phrase which Abū-Bišr interpreted as the passive verb, or that an actual passive form was used in Syriac for φωνή and was accordingly so translated into Arabic.

Next, the Arabic of this passage on ἄρθρον (57a6–10) reads as follows: "As for the 'disjunction' (ἄρθρον), it is a composite sound without signification, signifying either the beginning of a statement or its end or a border/definition, like 'he said,' or 'on account of,' or 'except that.' It is [also] said, it is a composite sound without signification which neither precludes nor brings about a single significant sound that by nature is composed of many sounds, and at the heads and at the middle."

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[68] By contextual analysis, Gallavotti (1954a) 246 and 253 also suggested reading γάρ in this phrase.

The Greek-Arabic correspondences can be seen in the following table which also gives the Greek readings presupposed by the Arabic (the order of the lines given here is that of the transmitted text, not as re-arranged in the present edition):

(56b38) *wa-ammā r-ribāṭu*	σύνδεσμος δέ
fa-huwa ṣawtun murakkabun ġayru madlūlin	ἐστιν φωνὴ ἄσημος,
(57a4) *bi-manzilati ammā wa-w †ʾlxsn/r†*	οἷον μέν ἤτοι δέ
wa-ḏālika anna mā yusmaʿu minhā	ἡ ⟨γὰρ⟩ φωνὴ
huwa ġayru madlūlin	ἄσημος
murakkabun[69] *min aṣwātin kaṯīratin*	ἡ ἐκ πλειόνων μὲν φωνῶν,
(a5) *wa-hiya dāllatun ʿalā ṣawtin* [*lafẓatin*] *wāḥidin*	μιᾶς σημαντικὴ [or: -ικῶν] δὲ
murakkabin ġayri madlūlin	⟨ἀσήμου⟩.
OM.	[ποιεῖν πέφυκεν μίαν σημαντικὴν
(a6) OM.	φωνήν]
(a6) *wa-ammā l-fāṣilatu*[70]	ἄρθρον δ'
fa-hiya ṣawtun[71] *murakkabun ġayru madlūlin*	ἐστὶ φωνὴ ἄσημος
immā li-btidāʾi l-qawli wa-immā	ἢ λόγου ἀρχὴν ἢ
(a7) *li-āḫirihī aw ḥaddin dāllun bi-manzilati*	τέλος ἢ διορισμὸν δηλοῖ οἷον
qāla aw min aǧli aw	τὸ φ⟨η⟩μί καὶ τὸ περί καὶ
(a8) *illā. wa-yuqālu: ṣawtun*[72] *murakkabun*	τὸ ἀλλά [sic Ar.]. ἢ φωνὴ
ġayru madlūlin allaḏī lā yamnaʿu wa-lā	ἄσημος ἣ οὔτε κωλύει οὔτε
yafʿalu ṣ-ṣawta (a9) *l-wāḥida l-madlūla llaḏī*	ποιεῖ φωνὴν μίαν σημαντικὴν
min šāʾnihī an yurakkaba min aṣwātin kaṯīratin	ἐκ πλειόνων φωνῶν πεφυκυῖαν συντίθεσθαι
(a10) *wa-ʿalā r-ruʾūsi wa-ʿalā l-wasaṭi*	καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μέσου

The section on ἄρθρον (57a6–10) is without serious problems; the text in Σ was almost identical to the Greek paradosis (see the apparatus for the minor variations). The section on σύνδεσμος, on the other hand (56b38–57a6), is problematic. Not only is the Greek text corrupt—a well known state of affairs much discussed by numerous editors and translators of the *Poetics*—but the Arabic translation has itself its own problems, independently of the distortions in the Greek. The unique Arabic Paris manuscript appears to be both lacunose in this passage and to contain additional material. Briefly, the Arabic text of this section in the Paris

[69] After *murakkabun* the manuscript has the letter *alif* which, however, appears to have been crossed out.

[70] The manuscript has *wāṣila*, but this is clearly a mistake proper to it; both Avicenna and Averroes read *fāṣila* here, which is in any case the correct translation for ἄρθρον; see the comment at 56b21.

[71] Over *ṣawt* there is written *lafẓa*. In two places in this passage, the scribe has added the word *lafẓa* as a gloss over the word *ṣawt*. This means that *ṣawt* is to be understood to mean *lafẓa*. Thus if both *ṣawt* and *lafẓa* are found in the text, *lafẓa* is to be deleted, since this was clearly the overline gloss which must have entered the text.

[72] Over *ṣawt* there is written *lafẓa*; see the preceding note.

manuscript on the one hand omits 56a38–57a3, ἢ οὔτε κωλύει … καθ' αὑτήν (or -όν) and 57a5–6 ποιεῖν πέφυκεν μίαν σημαντικὴν φωνήν, and on the other reads the intervening sentence (57a4–5, ἢ φωνὴ … σημαντικῶν δὲ) quite differently from the Greek text in the paradosis, as given above.

Avicenna apparently had a fuller text for this section, in which he was followed by Averroes. What needs to be determined is whether or not the fuller text in Avicenna came from a version of Abū-Bišr's translation that was added to from a Greek manuscript other than Σ (i.e., manuscript Ψ). The evidence in Avicenna and Averroes is the following:

Avicenna, Margoliouth (1887) 107 = ed. Badawī p. 65[73]

The ligature that is called conjunction, which is an utterance that does not signify by itself any meaning but merely indicates that there is a connection between one term and another, occurs [a] sometimes when the conjunction is mentioned first by means of one term following which another term is anticipated, like "as for,"[74] and [b] sometimes when it comes second and not at the beginning, like "then," "and," and what is *alpha* in Greek.

Averroes, p. 135 Sālim

As for the ligature (σύνδεσμος), it is a compound sound[75] that does not signify by itself. It is like the connective "and"[76] and "then." In short, they [i.e., such ligature words] are the particles that connect one part of speech with another—and this happens when they occur either at the beginning of a statement, like "as for," ⟨or subsequently, like "then"⟩[77] —, and the conditional particles which signify a connection, like "if-when" and "when."

The former passage indicates that the text of the *Poetics* available to Avicenna did contain some part of the passage 56a38–57a3, missing in the Paris manuscript, ἢ οὔτε κωλύει … καθ' αὑτήν, -όν—if not all, then at least the second half that talks about the positioning of these particles at the beginning or the middle of the sentence. Averroes would seem to be following here Avicenna rather than the Abū-Bišr version, for he

[73] I follow the more correct text in Margoliouth.

[74] In Arabic, *ammā*, "as for," introduces the protasis of a sentence in which the apodosis has to start with the particle *fa*-, "then."

[75] "Compound sound" (*ṣawt murakkab*) is the term that Abū-Bišr's translation uses to render Greek φωνή.

[76] In Arabic the particle *wa*- ("and") has some functions other than connective.

[77] The Arabic sentence as transmitted is clearly lacunose, for the second part of the disjunction "either … or" is missing. If Averroes followed Avicenna here, then something like what is proposed would have fallen out.

says only as much as Avicenna does about σύνδεσμος and nothing more of what is included in the Aristotelian text as represented either by the Greek paradosis or the Abū-Bišr version in the Paris manuscript.

From the above, the following conclusions may be drawn. On the basis of the Abū-Bišr translation available in the Paris manuscript, the Greek text on σύνδεσμος (56b38–57a6) in Σ appears to have read as follows:

σύνδεσμος δέ ἐστιν φωνὴ ἄσημος, οἷον μέν ἤτοι δέ· ἡ γὰρ φωνὴ ἄσημος, ἡ ἐκ πλειόνων μὲν φωνῶν, μιᾶς σημαντικῶν δὲ ἀσήμου (omitting the rest, ποιεῖν πέφυκεν μίαν σημαντικὴν φωνήν).

The question now is, whether the long omission of 56b38–57a3, from ἄσημος to οἷον, is peculiar to the Paris manuscript and to be attributed to the Arabic transmission alone or it already existed in Σ and is thus part of the Greek transmission. Although there can never be absolute certainty in cases involving omissions, certain considerations make it likely that in this case the omission was indeed in Σ. In the first place, there is no immediately discernible way in which the omission could have happened accidentally, by homoioteleuton or in any other way, either in Greek or in Arabic. The end words do not fit in either language to allow for the assumption of a homoioteleuton, and the omitted text itself is neat and makes what is left syntactically accurate; in other words, the omission does not appear accidental but deliberate, and such deliberate omission, especially given that most of the omitted text is a doublet recurring in the next paragraph, can only have occurred in the Greek tradition. Second, the Greek text after this major omission, 57a4–6, as reflected in the Arabic translation, is clearly different from the text we have in the Greek paradosis. This difference is of a substantive nature, involving both additions to and omissions from the text in the extant Greek paradosis, and such difference can accordingly not be dismissed as mere glosses that have entered into the text, as in numerous other places in this section of the *Poetics* (as mentioned previously). Thus if the second half of this passage, 57a4–6, clearly goes back to a text in Σ different from that in the Greek paradosis, then the omission in the first half (56b38–57a3) must also most likely go back to that.

If then Σ (and hence the Abū-Bišr translation) had a different text from that in the extant Greek paradosis, involving omissions and additions, then the paraphrase of the σύνδεσμος paragraph in Avicenna, which contains material that exists *only* in the extant Greek paradosis (the positioning of the particles at the beginning or the middle of the sentence) can have come from an Arabic version of Abū-Bišr's translation that was

corrected or revised from a Greek manuscript (i.e., Ψ) that belonged to the tradition of the extant Greek paradosis. This was also the case in the passage at 51b33, discussed earlier. Similarly, Averroes must accordingly be following Avicenna rather than the Abū-Bišr translation.

The final question then is, the extent to which the readings in Ψ can help establish a better Greek text for this notoriously difficult passage, or at least help us better understand what happened in its tortuous Greek transmission.

1456b38–1457a3 ἢ … αὐτήν om. Ar. et Σ ut vid.
See the discussion in the preceding comment.

1457a2 πεφυκυῖα B : πεφυκυῖαν Π : om. Ar. et Σ ut vid. | συντίθεσθαι Ξ : τίθεσθαι fort. Ψ et ci. Winstanley : om. Ar. et Σ ut vid.
Avicenna's paraphrase of this passage, which apparently derives from a corrected version of the Abū-Bišr translation on the basis of a manuscript other than Σ (Ψ), talks about the "mentioning" (*tuḏkara*) of the particles at the beginning or the middle, and Averroes, who seems to be echoing Avicenna, about their "occurring" (*wuqūʿ*) at the beginning, etc. This would appear to reflect an original Greek τίθεσθαι in Ψ rather than συντίθεσθαι.

57a3–10 μέσου … μέσου] μέσου B

57a3 τιθέναι A : *poni* Lat. : om. Ar. et Σ ut vid. | αὐτήν Φ, ci. Tyrwhitt : αὐτόν A : om. Ar. et Σ ut vid.

57a4 ἤτοι] [Σ] | ἢ A : ἡ γάρ ut intell. Ar., fort. Σ : om. Lat. | ἢ edd. : ἡ A Σ
See the preceding discussion at 56b38–57a10.

57a5 σημαντικῶν ci. Robortellus : σημαντικὸν A : σημαντικὴν Φ : σημαντικὴ vel σημαντικῶν Σ | δὲ A Σ : om. Lat.
See the preceding discussion at 56b38–57a10.

57a6 ἀμφί ci. Hartung : φ̄.μ̄. ῑ. Π, Σ : φημί ut intell. Syr. = *qāla* Ar.[ac], *fāʾ* ut interpr. Ar.[pc] | περί Σ (*min aǧli*), edd. : π̄.ε̄.ρ̄. ῑ Π | τὰ ἄλλα] τὸ ἀλλά ut intell. Ar. (*wa-illā*)
The scribe of the Arabic MS originally wrote *qāla*, "he said," which would be a rendering presumably of Syriac *emar* translating Greek φημί, as the Syriac translator apparently understood the three letters φμι in the

manuscript (Σ). Then somebody—it is not clear who—changed the final letter of the Arabic word *qāla* in the Paris MS from the letter *l* to the letter *w*; the resulting word, without diacritical points, thus reads *fāʾ*, since the final *hamza* in this manuscript is written essentially with a *wāw*. *Fa-* is the Arabic particle meaning "then," "so," and apparently represents somebody's attempt to "correct" the text since obviously the word "he said," in any language, is a verb and not a particle indicating disjunction. But the correction was made without recourse to any Greek manuscript, but simply on the basis of Arabic grammar. The original reading, "he said," however, reflects the reading of the Syriac translation which in turn reflects the Greek paradosis.

Σ also had the reading of the Greek paradosis for περι. The Arabic reads *min aǧli*, which normally translates "on account of," but in at least one crucial passage in the *Poetics*, 59a1, the two instances of περί are translated with *min aǧli*, and thus the rendering in this passage is corroborated. Περί as a preposition gave a lot of trouble to the translator, who uses an inordinate amount of prepositions and other phrases to translate it, e.g., *fī* 49b21², 54a13 and 16, 54b18, 56a33, etc.; *ilā* 51a17, 53a4–6, 59a15; *ʿinda* 51b14, 53a18, 54a9; *naḥwa* 48a11, 48a14, 51a28, 51b24, etc.; *min qibali* 47b23, 48b2; *bi-ḥasabi* 59a37.

57a7 ἢ edd. : ἤ Π, Σ (*immā*)

57a8 ἢ Σ (*wa-yuqālu* vel ⟨*a*⟩*w yuqālu*) : ἡ A | ἣ A, Σ (*allaḏī*) : ἢ Φ

57a9 πεφυκυῖα A : πεφυκυῖαν Φ, Σ (*aṣ-ṣawta … allaḏī min šāʾnihī*)

57a11 συνθετὴ σημαντικὴ Π Σ : σημαντικὴ σημαντικὴ B
The Arabic has a couple of doublets in this passage, which would appear to be additions into the text from marginal or interlinear annotations in the Arabic copy from which the Paris manuscript was transcribed. The text in this manuscript reads, "As for the name, it is an utterance [fem.] or sound [masc.], composite, signifying [fem.] or signifying [masc.]" (*wa-ammā l-ismu, fa-huwa lafẓatun aw ṣawtun murakkabun, dāllatun aw dāllun*). In Arabic the word "utterance," *lafẓatun*, is feminine, while "sound," *ṣawtun*, is masculine. They both translate φωνή, though the latter is the original term used by Abū-Bišr (and a literal translation of the Greek), while the former is the correct term to use for the Greek word; as noted before (above, note 71), the original *ṣawtun* that was used by Abū-Bišr was revised to the proper technical term *lafẓatun* by

some annotator. The Paris manuscript at times adds the revised term over the original inside the text, and sometimes, as is the case here, simply adds it into the text, thus creating a hendiadys. Of these two terms, one is feminine and the other masculine, so when the scribe of the Paris manuscript (or perhaps the Arabic scribe of his Arabic exemplar) came to write the active participle for "signifying," **dāll*, he wrote it twice, once in the feminine (*dāllatun*) to agree with *lafẓatun* and once in the masculine (*dāllun*) to agree with *ṣawtun*. Now as it happens, manuscript B of the Greek tradition also writes twice the word for "signifying," σημαντικὴ. But this must be sheer coincidence (and not an indication that the translator read in Σ the word twice) because the repetition of the participle in the Arabic text depends on the double translation of φωνὴ as *ṣawtun* and *lafẓatun*, which could not have been what Abū-Bišr originally wrote. He used consistently only *ṣawtun*, while *lafẓatun* is the term used by the reviser or annotator, and the presence of both words in the Paris manuscript is due to the scribe of the manuscript who added in his text what was a marginal or overlinear annotation. Thus if Abū-Bišr initially wrote only *ṣawtun* to translate φωνὴ, he could not have used both the masculine and the feminine form of the participle to render σημαντικὴ because it would have made no sense. Thus it is almost certain that Σ read the word only once.

57a13 θεόδωρος τὸ δωρος Σ (*dūrus min ṯāwudū⟨r⟩s*) et ci. Ritter : θεοδώρῳ τὸ δῶρον Ξ

57a17 πότε Ξ, Σ (*az-zamān*) : ποτέ ci. Spengel | βαδίζει Φ, Σ (*yamšī*), Paris. 2038 : βαδίζειν A B | προσσημαίνει Φ, Paris. 2038 : προσημαίνει AB : σημαίνει ut interpr. Ar. (*yadullāni*), (προσ- non vert.)
For the reading προσσημαίνει it should be noted that the Syriac (and following him, the Arabic) translator simply did not see the need to render explicitly the meaning of the preposition προσ-, not that there is a possibility that he read σημαίνει in his exemplar, Σ. The observation by Tkatsch I,161b, that compound Greek verbs are at times translated as the simple verb only (as is the case here), should not be taken to mean (as Edzard and Köhnken 225–226 seem to imply) that this is a general rule, for in other instances (also indicated by Tkatsch I,161b) the preposition of a Greek compound verb is translated independently (and properly). The kind of procedure used by the translator must be evaluated case by case.

57a18 ἐστὶν Π, Σ (*fa-huwa*) : om. B

57a19 κατὰ τὸ ci. Reiz : τὸ κατὰ A B, Σ
The translator uses different syntax to render the two passages in 57a19, ᾗ μὲν τὸ κατὰ (*ammā ḏāka ʿalā anna li-hāḏā*), and 57a12, ᾗ δὲ κατὰ τὸ (*ammā ḏāka, fa-ʿalā hāḏihī*), which shows that he read the text differently, as in AB.

57a21 ᾗ δὲ Π, Σ (*ammā ḏāka*) : ᾗ B

57a22 ἐπίταξιν Π, Σ : ἢ ἐπίταξιν B | ἐβάδισεν Ξ, Σ (*mašā*), interrogative Cooke, Tyrwhitt : ⟨ἆρ'⟩ ἐβάδισεν ci. Vahlen | βάδιζε rec., et fort. Σ (βαδίζει, *yamšī*, ut intell. Ar.) : ἐβάδιζεν Ξ
For ἐρώτησιν ἐπίταξιν the Arabic has, "question and order" (*mā fī s-su'āl wa-fī l-amr*). The Arabic has to use a conjunction between the two nouns (the two nouns side by side without a conjunction would mean something different), and the translator chose "and," which means that he did not see "or" (ἢ) in his exemplar. There is no reason to assume that he might have translated the Greek disjunctive particle by "and," as in some other instances where the context could allow it (cf. Tkatsch II,108b).

For the reading βάδιζε the Arabic has "he walks" (*yamšī*), which would tend to indicate that Σ in all likelihood did have βάδιζε but that it was misread or misunderstood by the translator as βαδίζει, as in 57a17. The fact that the verb is followed by a word that begins with letters that have three vertical lines in uncial writing (ΒΑΔΙΖΕΠΤΩCIC) may have contributed to the confusion. Less likely appears to be Tkatsch's explanation (II,56) that Σ did have βάδιζε but that the translator used the imperfect to express it (as it is sometimes done in Syriac), and that Abū-Bišr, unaware that the form was supposed to express the imperative, translated it into Arabic in the imperfect. Syriac, however, does have an imperative form, and it is difficult to imagine that the translator would not have used it but used the ambiguous imperfect instead, knowing full well, after the preceding ἐπίταξιν, that what is needed is an imperative form.

57a23 δέ ἐστι B, Σ (*huwa*) : δὲ A

57a27 τι Φ, Paris. 2038 : τί A, Σ (*mā huwa š-šay'*) : om. B

57a27–28 βαδίζει Φ, Σ (*yamšī*), Paris. 2038 : βαδίζειν A B

57a28 Κλέων ὁ Κλέων A : Κλαίων ὁ Κλέων B : [Σ] | εἷς Π, Σ (*wāḥid*) : ἑξῆς B
The Arabic certainly has the name twice, but the precise Greek spelling underlying the transliterated name is difficult to divine. The Arabic spelling in both instances is, *Q'lln's*, Kēllonās (?), which does not exactly correspond to Cleon. If what appears as double *l* is actually an *l* and an *a* (*lām alif*) badly written, we would get Kēlēnās. This is difficult, because, first, this form does not have anything that would correspond to the *omega* in the name of Cleon (cf. above, 57a13, *ṯāwudūrus*), and second, the ending in *-ās* is unaccountable: it cannot be the genitive, for that would need another *o* sound, and not an *alif* (*ālaf* in Syriac) which can stand for either *alpha* or *epsilon*; in addition, there is no reason why the (Syriac) translator should have read the genitive Κλέωνος: Vahlen (ed. 1875) had suggested emending to read Κλέων ὁ Κλέων⟨ος⟩, and Diels (1888a) 159, thought the Arabic supported this conjecture, but Vahlen's reading makes two examples out of the phrase ἐν τῷ βαδίζει(ν) Κλέων ὁ Κλέων (i.e., "ἐν τῷ βαδίζειν" and "Κλέων ὁ Κλέων⟨ος⟩"), while the Arabic clearly understands the whole clause as one example ("like our word 'Kēlēnās' in our statement 'Kēlēnās walks'"); besides, if Kēlēnās represents a genitive, then in Arabic it appears both times in the genitive, not once, as Vahlen's conjecture requires. Even less likely is it to read the Arabic name with a final *epsilon*, Κλέωνες, as if it were plural. It may well be that the Arabic form, obviously reproducing the Syriac, reflects a vulgar Greek form Κλέωνας (Kēlēnās, suggested above), as the morphology of the name eventually developed in demotic Greek.

As for the suggestion by Bywater (1889) 501, that the Arabic version supports the reading τὸ Κλέων as opposed to the transmitted ὁ Κλέων, it cannot be maintained. Either reading, if understood correctly as Aristotle intended, which seems to have happened here, would have been translated the same in Syriac and then in Arabic, and thus the evidence provided by the Arabic is inconclusive.

57a29 σημαίνων Π, Σ (*al-qawl … yadull*) : σημαῖνον B | συνδέσμῳ rec. : συνδέσμων AB, Σ (*ribāṭāt*)

57a30 ἀνθρώπου (sc. λόγος) A B, Σ (*qawlunā insān*) : ἀνθρώπου ὁρισμὸς (ex lin. 26) Φ | τῷ Φ, Σ (*min qibali anna*), Paris. 2038 : τὸ A B
The Arabic has, "as for our statement, 'man walks,' it is one by signifying one [thing]" (*wa-ammā qawlunā 'insānun yamšī' fa-huwa wāḥidun min qibali annahū yadullu 'alā wāḥidin*). This makes it clear that the translator understood λόγος to be referred to by the article ὁ and to go with

ἀνθρώπου; for he correctly understood the Greek ὁ δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου to mean, "as for that of man," with "that" referring to the immediately preceding λόγος, which is also translated in the Arabic with *qawl*. Thus he understood, "as for the statement of man," i.e., about man, "it is one," etc. And when he wanted to see which statement is the one referred to, he naturally found the example given a few lines before, "man walks," as the closest referent. Thus Tkatsch (I,193) is right to identify the referent in the preceding example, but wrong to ascribe all this to the translator's naiveté. The Arabic translation makes it clear that the Greek in Σ did not have any other word after the genitive in ἀνθρώπου and that the translator correctly understood it to go with λόγος.

57a32 σημαινόντων Π, Σ (*tadullu*) : συμβαινόντων B

57a33[1] ὀνόματι Σ (*bi-l-ismi*), ci. Spengel : ὀνόματος A : ὀνόματο (*sic*) B | καὶ ἀσήμου] om. Ar.

57a34 καὶ τετραπλοῦν om. Ar.

57a34–35 ὄνομα καὶ πολλαπλοῦν Π : καὶ πολλαπλοῦν ὄνομα B : [Σ]
The Arabic has, "insofar as the name may be triple and multiple" (*min qibali anna l-isma qad yakūnu ḏū* [sic pro *ḏā*] *ṯalāṯati l-aḍʿāfi wa-kaṯīri l-aḍʿāfi*), which translates εἴη δ' ἂν καὶ τριπλοῦν ὄνομα καὶ πολλαπλοῦν (or … τριπλοῦν καὶ πολλαπλοῦν ὄνομα), omitting, by haplography, καὶ τετραπλοῦν. Either of the two alternative phrasings in the Greek could lie behind the Arabic text.

57a35 τὰ A B : [Σ] | μεγαλειωτῶν ci. Bywater : μεγαλιωτῶν Ξ : μεσαλιωτῶν Σ (*māsāliyūṭā*) : μασσαλιωτῶν frustra ci. Diels ex Ar.
For οἷον τὰ πολλὰ τῶν μεγαλειωτῶν the Arabic has, "like many of māsāliyūṭā" (*bi-manzilati kaṯīrin min māsāliyūṭā*), which *prima facie* appears not to have the article, but unless the translator had decided to *add* the word "names," for which presumably the article τὰ (sc. ὀνόματα) stands, the translation would have been the same; it is thus difficult to say with certainty that Σ did not have the article (as Gudeman assumes).

The Arabic form of the problematic word, *māsāliyūṭā*, is a transcription of the Syriac transliteration, which itself has been taken to be a transcription of Greek Μασσαλιωτῶν by Diels (1988b) 53, upon the suggestion of Margoliouth (1887) 68 (in Latin form, *Massiliotis, Massiliotae*). If this is in fact what Σ had, then the Syriac translator must be assumed not

to have understood the meaning of the word, for if he had known the name of the city itself he would have translated correctly, and the Arabic version of that would have been something like, *min ahl Māsāliyā*, "of the people of Marseilles." But this appears an unwarranted assumption, under the circumstances discussed below. As a matter of fact, the Syriac translator did recognize the genitive plural ending of the word, -τῶν, and he accordingly transliterated the word with a Syriac plural, *māsāliyūṭē*. Abū-Bišr then simply transcribed the word in Arabic characters.

There is, furthermore, no evidence whatsoever that Σ had the word spelled with an alpha in the first syllable and double sigma so that we can be justified in assuming a form of the word Μασσαλιωτῶν, referring to the inhabitants of Marseilles; this is merely Margoliouth's assumption, as sanctioned by Diels, mentioned above. What actually happened is that an uncial form of the word as it appears in the Greek MS A, ΜΕΓΑΛΙΩΤΩΝ, was misread as ΜΕCΑΛΙΩΤΩΝ and copied as such in Σ.[78] Thus it appears certain that, since the Syriac translator was working from the uncial manuscript Σ, the misreading of one letter, Γ to C, had occurred either during the copying of Σ itself, or of its source manuscript (Σ). Now it is true that this form of the word, ΜΕCΑΛΙΩΤΩΝ, and the other, presumed form ΜΑCCΑΛΙΩΤΩΝ, would be transcribed in exactly the same way in Syriac, as *māsāliyūṭē* (what we now have), because the *alpha* and the *epsilon* would be transliterated in the same way in Syriac, and the double *sigma* would not be indicated. However, to infer from this evidence that the actual spelling of the word in Σ was ΜΑCCΑΛΙΩΤΩΝ (with an *alpha* and double *sigma*), referring to the people of Marseilles, is not justified. The reason is that first, since the original mistaken transcription of ΜΕΓΑΛΙΩΤΩΝ as ΜΕCΑΛΙΩΤΩΝ occurred in uncials at some stage, an assumption has to be made that at a subsequent stage somebody must have "corrected" the meaningless ΜΕCΑΛΙΩΤΩΝ to ΜΑCCΑΛΙΩΤΩΝ so that the word would appear in this form in Σ. But there is no evidence to support such an assumption. Second, and equally importantly, why would anybody make a "correction" that is actually not correct but a mistake: for as a Greek scholar remarked to Margoliouth (1887) 68, if a "correction" was actually effected, it would have had to have been to change the word to Μασσαλιωτικῶν, the proper form in context, not Μασσαλιωτῶν. And third, the fact that the Syriac translator

[78] See the discussion of the history of this explanation by Tarán in his note ad loc.

transliterated rather than translated the word—if he can be assumed to have at least known some geography if not Greek poetics—would support that he was faced with the meaningless ΜΕϹΑΛΙΩΤΩΝ in Σ rather than a supposedly "corrected" form of it, ΜΑϹϹΑΛΙΩΤΩΝ. It thus seems beyond a reasonable doubt that Σ read ΜΕϹΑΛΙΩΤΩΝ. If this is the case and ΜΕϹΑΛΙΩΤΩΝ is a unique error of Σ, then we have only one attested true reading for this word, μεγαλιωτῶν in all the other primary witnesses (AB and the Latin translation), and if *that* is an error, it represents a primitive error of the archetype.

1457b1 * * * lac. unius verbi explenda ex Ar., *supplicans domino caelorum*; ut e.g. Διοσουρανιαστής
The name is translated literally in Arabic as "the worshipper of the lord of the heavens" (*al-mutaḍarriʿ ilā rabb as-samawāt*). It is given as a second example of a multiple name and is not in apposition to the preceding one, as the Arabic might seem to suggest (Gudeman, in app., considered it *titulum hieraticum*). In all probability this was a theophoric name beginning with Διοσ- and ending in -στής, as in Διοσξενιαστής (cf. LSJ s.vv.). Διοσουρανιαστής would be a good candidate, but it seems not to be attested; Bywater (1909) 279 suggested another "invented" word, ἐπευξιθεῶναξ, while Gudeman (in Tkatsch II,25b) proposed ἐπευχουράνουχος or ἀρητηρουράνουχος. The Greek words suggested by Diels (1888b) 52, ἐπευξάμενος Διὶ πατρί, cannot be entertained because they constitute a phrase, not a single word, the point Aristotle is making; Bywater thinks it may even be a τετραπλοῦν ὄνομα. It is not clear why it should have dropped out from the extant Greek paradosis.

57b2–3 ἀφηρημένον Σ (*mufāraq*), ci. Spengel : ὑφηρημένον Ξ
The Arabic uses *mufāraq*, "separated, disengaged," both here and at 58a1, which points to a reading ἀφηρημένον in both places. Similarly, ἀφαιρεῖν in this version is translated by other Arabic roots which are semantically related to *frq* (separation), like *fṣl* (division, segregation) at 58a3, and *dfʿ* (pushing away) at 51a34. It thus appears quite certain that ἀφηρημένον was the reading in Σ rather than ὑφηρημένον, which has a different semantic range.

57b3 ἐξηλλαγμένον Π, Σ (*mutaġayyir*) : ἐξεληλαγμένον (sic) B
The reading ἐξηλλαγμένον in Σ is assured by the Arabic translation, *mutaġayyir*, "altered." The variant in B seems impossible: there is no form ἐξεληλαγμένον but only ἐξεληλεγμένον, from ἐξελέγχω, "refute," which is

not what is meant here. Besides, the word ἐξηλλαγμένον is repeated at 58a5–6, without variants.

57b6 σίγυνον Π, Σ (*sīġūnun*) : σίγυλλον B | γλῶττα Π : γλῶτταν B : γλῶττα τὸ δὲ δόρυ ἡμῖν μὲν κύριον Κυπρίοις δὲ γλῶττα Σ (Κυπρίοις om. Ar.)
The whole sentence, "while *dory* is standard for us but dialectal for the people of ⟨Cyprus⟩" (*wa-ammā dūrū fa-huwa lanā ḥaqīqiyyun wa-ammā li-ahli* ⟨*Qubrūs*⟩ *fa-lisānun*), manifestly goes back to the text in Σ, either itself or a marginal gloss. If it was also at some point in the Greek text of the archetype, then it was omitted in the tradition of Ξ by homoioteleuton (Gudeman in app.). The omission of the name of Cyprus in the Arabic translation is accidental.

57b7 ἀπὸ Π, Σ (*min*) : κατὰ B
The Arabic of the passage 57b6–9 on μεταφορά … γένους is defective in the Paris manuscript, showing a number of lacunae. Given the repetitiveness of the passage in both Greek and Arabic, it is not certain at which stage the lacunae, mostly due to haplography, occurred, i.e., whether they are to be attributed to Σ or to the Syriac intermediary or even to the very scribe of the Paris manuscript. Since the latter is frequently guilty of such errors, the lacunae perhaps can be attributed to him and the text easily restored. Avicenna and Averroes reproduce correctly the four alternatives laid out by Aristotle in this passage, but apparently not from this passage but from the repetition of the list of four with examples in the following paragraph, 57b9–25. The first passage reads as follows in the Arabic, with the lacunae restored:

[6]The trans[7]ferral of a name is	[6]μετα[7]φορὰ δέ ἐστιν ὀνόματος
the application of a strange/uncommon name	ἀλλοτρίου ἐπιφορὰ
either from the [8]genus ⟨to an additional species,	ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ [8]γένους ἐπὶ εἶδος
or from the species⟩ to an additional genus,	ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ εἴδους ἐπὶ [τὸ] γένος
or from the [9]species ⟨to a species⟩[79]	ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ [9]εἴδους ἐπὶ εἶδος
[which is] additional in accordance with a formation	[ἢ] κατὰ τὸ ἀνάλογον
which we express from the genus.	λέγω [δὲ] ἀπὸ γένους

The Arabic is, *wa-ta'addī l-ismi huwa ta'diyatu smin ġarībin immā mina l-ǧinsi* ⟨*ʿalā nawʿin mā bi-ziyādatin, wa-immā mina n-nawʿi*⟩ *ʿalā ǧinsin mā bi-ziyādatin, wa-immā mina n-nawʿi* ⟨*ʿalā nawʿin mā*⟩ *bi-z-ziyādati llatī bi-ḥasabi tašakkulin*[80] *naqūluhū mina l-ǧinsi.*

[79] Omission due to haplography, phrases beginning with ʿ*alā* and *allatī*.
[80] After *tašakkul* the manuscript adds *allaḏī* which is then crossed out.

Noteworthy is the omission of τὸ and ἢ in lines 8 and 9 together with manuscript B in the Greek tradition, and the translator's disregard of δὲ in line 9 which leads him to read λέγω ἀπὸ γένους with the preceding sentence.

57b8 ἀπὸ[1] A : κατὰ B : om. Ar. | τὸ A : om. B Σ
See the preceding comment.

57b9 ἐπὶ εἶδος ἢ A : ἐπὶ τὸ εἶδος B : ἐπὶ εἶδος Σ
See the second preceding comment.

57b10–13 εἶδος … εἶδος Σ : εἶδος B

57b10 δέ μοι A : *autem mea* Lat. (= δ' ἐμὴ Φ?) : [Σ]
The Arabic does have "which is mine" (*allatī lī*), but this could translate either one of the Greek formations. For the Arabic rendition of this verse, through Syriac, see Kraemer 263–264.

57b10–11 τὸ … τι non vert. Ar.
The sentence τὸ γὰρ … τι is not translated in the Arabic.

57b11–12 ἦ δὴ μυρί' Ὀδυσσεὺς Paris. 2038 : ἤδημυρι ὀδυσσεὺς A, fort. Σ
Instead of the perfect tense, the Arabic used the past perfect to render ἔοργεν, "had done" (*kāna ṣṭanaʿa*), which may be taken for a translation of ἤδη in the sense of already, and hence the past perfect. But this is not absolutely certain.

57b12 ἐσθλὰ A, Σ (*ḫayrāt*) : *premia* (= ἆθλα? ci. Minio) Lat. | τὸ γὰρ A : τὸ μὲν γὰρ Φ : [Σ] | μυρίον edd. : μύριον A : [Σ]
The presence or absence of μὲν in this construction and in this passage cannot be inferred from the Arabic.

The Syriac clearly understood "tens of thousands" (*ribwāt* in Arabic) from the Greek but it cannot be ascertained where he saw the accent, if there was one, in his exemplar.

57b14 ἀρύσας καὶ τεμὼν ci. Tyrwhitt (ἀρύσας rec., καὶ rec. al.) : ἐρύσασκε τεμὼν B, Σ (*intazaʿa* … *ʿinda-mā qaṭaʿa*) : ἀερύσασκε τεμῶν A : *exsecuit secans* Lat. | ταναήκεϊ ci. Margoliouth (ταναηκέι), fort. Σ (*ḥādd*) : τανακέϊ B : ατηρει A : *duro* Lat. (= ἀτειρέι? ci. Kassel)
For the two quotations in χαλκῷ … χαλκῷ, the Arabic has, "he tore out his soul with the bronze as he cut his strength with sharp bronze" (*intazaʿa*

*nafsahū bi-n-nuḥāsi ʿinda-mā qaṭaʿa *mirratahū bi-nuḥāsin ḥāddin*). In the first half of this text, then, the translator read in his exemplar, together with the tradition in manuscript B, ἐρύσασκε τεμών, correctly identifying the finite tense of the verb ἐρύω in the former and rendering the participle through the circumstantial clause "as he cut" (*ʿinda-mā qaṭaʿa*); there was no conjunction καὶ in Σ.

In the second half, the translator qualified the copper/bronze as "sharp" (*ḥādd*), which would be a correct etymological translation of ταναήκεϊ (if that was the word in Σ, which appears in corrupt form as τανακέϊ in manuscript B), assuming he recognized the derivation of the word from ἀκή and understood it to mean, as the most recent Supplement to LSJ has it (s.v.), having a long edge "tapering to a point." But given that ταναήκεϊ is Homeric, there is a good chance that the translator would have recognized it and translated it as "sharp." This is one alternative for the reading in Σ.

Schrier (1998b) 577 and note 7, said that the reading ταναήκεϊ is first given by Margoliouth in his 1911 edition (though Margoliouth (1911) 290 actually prints ταναηκέι), and that it is based on the reading in B. This *seems* to be correct, insofar as Margoliouth prints in the apparatus,

> ταναηκέι: τανακέι B * (= γυναῖκα),

which, however, is not easy to understand, as Tkatsch II,85a rightly noted ("nicht leicht verständlich ist"). According to Margoliouth's explanation of the symbols he used in the apparatus, an asterisk in the apparatus "signifies the Arabic version" (p. 229). So, strictly speaking, his notation *may* mean that the word τανακέι, which is found in B, is also expressed by the Arabic version. This of course is not correct, for τανακέι does not mean anything, so it could not be expressed by the Arabic version which clearly reads "sharp" (*ḥādd*). Schrier interpreted this notation to mean that "Margoliouth's conjecture [i.e., ταναήκεϊ, or actually ταναηκέι, as Margoliouth prints in his text] is based on the reading τανακέϊ in the Riccardianus 46 (= B) and is confirmed by the Arabic translation." Schrier does not specify which Arabic word in particular "confirms" ταναήκεϊ, but clearly he must be referring to the word "sharp" (*ḥādd*). However, the rest of Margoliouth's notation, as well as his Latin translation of this passage, raise doubts about the accuracy of Schrier's interpretation, if not its overall correctness.

In the first place, Margoliouth uses the asterisk in his apparatus as an independent siglum for the Arabic translation, so in this case "τανακέι B *" does not mean that Margoliouth *based* his allegedly correct

conjecture ταναηκέι on this reading, but that he believed that τανακέι was the reading of *both* B *and* the source of the Arabic. Second, the parenthetical "(= γυναῖκα)" that follows the asterisk means that Margoliouth thought that the reading τανακέι which existed in B and also in the source of the Syro-Arabic translation (i.e., Σ), either actually was, or was read by the translator as, γυναῖκα (Margoliouth does not specify which of the two alternatives he thinks was the case). This becomes clear from Margoliouth's translation of the Arabic that stands for the words, τεμὼν ταναήκεϊ χαλκῷ as, "*cum scinderet uxorem suam aere acuto*" (p. 291). What Margoliouth translates as "his wife" (*uxorem suam*) in Arabic can only mean that he thought that an undeciphered reading in the Arabic manuscript was to be read as "his wife." This reading goes, مرىه or مريه, which does not mean anything as such; it needs to be supplied with the appropriate diacritical points. In his original edition of the text (1887), p. 56, Margoliouth had suggested reading this as *marīʾahū*, "*oesophagum eius*", but in his edition of the Greek text he changed his mind and decided to read the Arabic characters as *marʾatahū*, "his wife." This is inferred only from his Latin translation; he nowhere stated this explicitly. However, this means that what Margoliouth thought the Syriac/Arabic translator read in the Greek was, τεμὼν γυναῖκα χαλκῷ, with the word γυναῖκα being read *instead* of τανακέι, not in addition to it. His Latin translation, however, has both *uxorem* (γυναῖκα) and *acuto* (ταναήκεϊ), which means that his Latin version kept both alternative readings. So Margoliouth clearly has doubly erred here: as a result of oversight, he neglected to eliminate *acuto* from his Latin translation of the passage, and he failed to describe accurately in the notation of his apparatus how he thought the translation reflecting the underlying Greek text is inaccurate. Nevertheless, from all this it does appear that he derived his reading ταναήκεϊ from the erroneous form τανακέι in B, and thus Schrier's interpretation of Margoliouth's apparatus, though strictly speaking inaccurate, is in the main correct.

As for the undeciphered word in the Arabic, Tkatsch suggested reading it as *mirya(h)*, which he translated as "*lac*" (I,267,15) or "*lactis radium*" (II,18, n. 63), adding, "*scriptura incerta*." For his part, finally, Badawī, p. 130, and ʿAyyād, p. 119, read it as *mirratahū* ("his strength"), which is more convincing than the suggestions made by Margoliouth and Tkatsch. The addition of this word in the Arabic—it does not appear in the Greek—would seem to be the translator's own, inserted to provide an object for the verb "he cut;" alternatively, it may be a marginal

gloss explaining the cutting or tearing out metaphors of killing in these passages, which was then inserted into the text.

On the other hand, the second alternative for the reading in Σ is the variant reading in manuscript A, ἀτειρέι, "that does not get worn away." This could also be translated, by semantic metathesis (i.e., a negative quality expressed by its positive opposite), as "sharp;" thus although this alternative would appear to be less likely, it cannot be ruled out either, and hence the notation for Σ, in the apparatus line after ταναήκεϊ, "fort."

57b16 τὸ δὲ ἀνάλογον λέγω ὅταν om. Ar.
This text is omitted in the Paris manuscript and in both the paraphrases by Avicenna and Averroes. The omission was accordingly in the original translation by Abū-Bišr, and it was never corrected in the version available to Avicenna. The omission is thus due to Abū-Bišr himself or, most likely, either to the Syriac translator who skipped the corresponding Greek words or to the scribe of Σ who omitted them by haplography (? ἐστιν … ὅταν).

57b17 ὁμοίως Π, Σ : ὁμοίως ὅτι B | καὶ Π, Σ (*wa-*) : om. B

57b18 δευτέρου Π : δεύτερον B : [Σ]
The Arabic of this sentence at 57b18–19, ἐρεῖ … δεύτερον, appears to be corrupt and cannot help the Greek readings.

57b19 προστιθέασιν Π, Σ (*zādū*) : προτιθέασιν B

57b20 ὁμοίως Π, Σ (*ḥāl … šabīh bi-ḥāl*) : ὅτι B

57b21 ἄρη A : ἄρην B : [Σ] (*aris*)
The translator, who obviously recognized the name of the god, preferred to transcribe it in the nominative.

57b24 ἢ Ξ : om. Σ, del. M. Schmidt
The Arabic reads, "he will call evening the old age of the day just as Empedocles calls old age also the evening of life" (*fa-yusammī l-ʿašīyata šayḫūḫata n-nahāri ka-mā yusammī Anfādoqlis aš-šayḫūḫata ayḍan ʿašīyata l-ḥayāti*), clearly omitting the disjunction ἢ and interpreting καὶ to mean "also" rather than "and."

57b25 ἐνίοις Π, Σ (*fī hāḏihī*) : ἐνίων B | κείμενον Π, Σ (*mawḍūʿ*) : om. B
The Arabic renders ἐνίοις as "in these" (*fī hāḏihī*), with the preposition "in" (*fī*) normally used to render the dative, whereas the genitive is normally translated with the preposition *li-*, "of, to," indicating possession or belonging, as in the plural τῶν further down this line, *li-hāḏihī*.

57b26 ὁμοίως Π B^2, Σ (*ʿalā miṯālin wāḥidin*) : ὅτι B

57b27 ἐπὶ ci. M. Schmidt : ἀπὸ Ξ, Σ (*min*)

57b28 ὁμοίως Π, Σ (*ḥāl … šabīh bi-ḥāl*) : ὅτι B

57b29 τὸν καρπόν Ξ, Σ ut vid. : ⟨τὸν ἀφιέντα⟩ τὸν καρπόν ci. Castelvetro
This whole sentence is rather corrupt in the Arabic transmission and it has not been possible in the previous editions to arrive at satisfactory readings.[81] For the clause (ὁμοίως ἔχει) καὶ τὸ σπείρειν πρὸς τὸν καρπόν the Arabic has, *šabīhun bi-ḥāli z-zurʿati ʿinda* [*ġayr*] *aṯ-ṯamarati*, "as the seed is to the non-fruit," where the word for "non-", *ġayr*, was already secluded by Margoliouth as a dittography of the preceding word, *ʿinda*, which has a similar skeleton in Arabic (with Tkatsch pointing in addition to the same dittography occurring on the previous page of the manuscript, at 142b3). This appears convincing, and if this is the case, then the Arabic would be reading, "as the seed is to the fruit," which indicates a Greek text καὶ τὸ σπείρειν πρὸς τὸν καρπόν, without the addition proposed by Castelvetro. But due to the corrupt nature of the text in this sentence (see note 81), it is not possible to be certain.

57b32–33 ἀλλ' ἄοινον ci. Victorius : ἀλλὰ οἴνου Ξ, Σ (*lākin li-l-ḫamri*)

57b33 lac. ci. Madius, deest in Σ

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[81] The Arabic tends to indicate that the Syriac translator parsed the sentence (at 57b26–29) wrongly, as so often in this translation, and put the comma after ἀφιέναι, not σπείρειν, and thus the unidentifiable Arabic word before *min aš-šams*, which has been mostly read as *fa-faġruhā*, would appear to stand for σπείρειν at 57b27. The same Greek word at 57b29, however, is rendered as *zurʿa*, which in any case would translate σπόρον rather than σπείρειν. Thus it is clear that the corruption in this sentence in Arabic needs to be resolved before any definite assertions about the underlying Greek text can be made.

57b35 ἐρνύγας] [Σ]
The Arabic translates correctly the word as "sprouters", *nābita*, from ἔρνος, but it is not possible to determine the spelling of the Greek word in Σ.

1458a1 ἢ Ξ : καὶ Σ (*wa-*)
See Tkatsch II,178a for a discussion of the frequent confusion of the one conjunction for the other in Greek MSS, which, however, is equally valid for Arabic.

58a1–3 ἀφῃρημένον … ἀφῃρημένον Π, Σ : ἀφῃρημένον B

58a2 ᾗ Φ, Σ : ἢ A | τοῦ οἰκείου non vert. Ar. | συλλαβῇ ἐμβεβλημένῃ Φ, Σ (*bi-l-muqtaḍabi d-daḫīli*), Paris. 2038 : -ὴ -η A
The Arabic reads, "the former is the one which uses vowels, and this is the one which is long, or by means of an inserted syllable" (*ammā ḏāka, fa-huwa llaḏī yastaʿmilu l-usṭuqussāti l-muṣawwitati—wa-huwa llaḏi huwa ṭawīlun—aw bi-l-muqtaḍabi d-daḫīli*). Apart from the misunderstanding of μακροτέρῳ to refer to the former name rather than to the vowels (a misunderstanding which may have been caused by the Syriac translation), the translation is quite accurate. In this context, it is clear that the translator read only one disjunctive ἢ, not two, and thus the word "uses" (*yastaʿmilu*) can be taken to stand for κεχρημένον ᾗ, and that the words τοῦ οἰκείου were not translated. After the disjunction, the use of the preposition *bi-* to translate ἐμβεβλημένῃ indicates plainly the dative in the original (for the preposition *bi-* translating the Greek dative see *GALex* II,21 § 21).

58a3 ἀφῃρημένον τι ᾗ] [Σ]
The Arabic abbreviates this sentence and omits the remaining of this paragraph (for obvious reasons) making it impossible to discern the readings in Σ. For the entire passage 58a2–5, τὸ δὲ ἂν … ὄψ, it reads, "The latter is straight (?), separate, lengthened, as when we use in the place of a long letter a short letter" (*wa-ammā ḏāka, fa-muʿtadilun munfaṣilun mamdūdun, bi-manzilati mā naʾḫuḏu badala ḥarfin ṭawīlin ḥarfan qaṣīran*). "Separate" (*munfaṣil*) apparently stands for ἀφῃρημένον, and perhaps this much can be said about the reading in Σ, though one cannot be certain about the status of τι ᾗ. The word before "separate," *muʿtadil*, which can mean "level, straight, harmonious, moderate," is difficult to account for. It would stand to reason to think it

as part of a hendiadys translating ἀφῃρημένον, though in the previous instances this Greek word was not translated by a hendiadys. The following word, "lengthened" is certainly ἐπεκτεταμένον, which, however, was clearly taken as part of the same sentence and as another description of "the latter." What follows after that is the translator's substitution of an explanatory gloss for the examples that appear in the Greek.

58a3–5 exempla non vert. Ar.

58a5–6 ἐξηλλαγμένον] [Σ]

58a6 ὀνομαζομένου Ξ, Σ (*allaḏī yusammā*) : νομιζομένου ci. Snell

58a9 καὶ σ Σ (*wa-bi-l-waḍʿi*), rec. : om. Ξ
As Margoliouth (1887), Arabic p. 58 note m, suggests and Tkatsch I,207a and II,88 elaborates, the Syriac appears to have had, in transliteration of the Greek, *w-sygmʾ* for καὶ σ. The transliterated word was apparently misread—or was already corrupt in the Syriac manuscript used by Abū-Bišr—as Syriac *symʾ*, which means "position" and was accordingly translated into Arabic as *al-waḍʿ*. Abū-Bišr or a later glossator appears to have added, "in accordance with Greek" (*bi-l-waḍʿi bi-ḥasabi l-yūnānī*), in order to explain the word "position;" it would appear that what the Arabic translator or glossator understood by *waḍʿ* was the final position of *sigma* or σ τελικόν.

58a11 ἀεὶ non vert. Ar.

58a13 πλήθει B[c], Σ (*bi-kaṯratin*) : πλήθη Ξ
The reading in the Arabic should be *bi-kaṯratin*, as ʿAyyād indicates, rather than *li-kaṯratin* as printed by Margoliouth and Tkatsch. The preposition *bi-* normally translates the dative (see above at 58a2) rather than the preposition *li-* (argued for by Tkatsch II,134a), which as a rule renders the genitive.

58a14 σύνθετα Σ (*murakkabāni*) : ταὐτά Φ, Paris. 2038 : ταῦτα A B
For τὸ γὰρ Ψ καὶ τὸ Ξ σύνθετά ἐστιν, the Arabic has, "for *ksi* and *psi* are both composite" (*min qibali anna ksi wa-fsi humā murakkabāni*), clearly indicating the word σύνθετα for what is transmitted as ταυτα in the other main witnesses.

58a15 κόμμι B : κόμι Π : [Σ]

58a16 πέντε, δόρυ πῶυ νᾶπυ γόνυ ** Σ ut vid. : πέντε, τὸ πῶυ τὸ νᾶπυ τὸ γόνυ τὸ δόρυ τὸ ἄστυ in marg. cod. Estensis 100 adnotavit G. Valla, unde in rec. quosdam devenerunt | ταῦτα καὶ A καὶ om. Σ

The Arabic has the transliteration of five Greek words, the first four of which are easily identified as those listed above; the fifth, which ought to have been ἄστυ, manifestly represents another word (برابو), represented in the entry above with two asterisks, **. Margoliouth (1911) 295, and Tkatsch II,88b–89a, who transliterate this word as *astu* and *asty* in their respective Latin translations, do not explain how this can be derived from the actual skeleton in the Arabic. On the basis of the words listed by Herodian (ap. Gudeman (1934) 367), it comes closest to τρῆνυ, but as Gudeman himself observes, this unknown and foreign(?) word could hardly have been what Aristotle wrote.

The list of five nouns could only have been present in a Greek manuscript, manifestly in Σ; it is difficult to assume that it might have been added after the Syriac translation was completed in the course of revision on the basis of some other Greek source. The five transliterated nouns would be meaningless to someone who did not know Greek, and accordingly their addition would not constitute an improvement or increase the intelligibility of a revised Syriac version. The question is whether it was in the main text as part of the transmitted text of Aristotle or was added as a gloss at some point in the process of the Greek transmission.

After this list, the Arabic has, "As for the nouns that are in the middle, they end in *nu* and 'position,'" i.e., *sigma*; see the explanation above at 58a9 (*wa-ammā l-asmāʾu llatī fī l-wasaṭi fa-tatimmu bi-nū wa-l-waḍʿi*). This would correspond to a Greek text in Σ, τὰ δὲ μεταξὺ εἰς N καὶ Σ, omitting ταῦτα καὶ A καὶ, and then καὶ P. It is difficult to say whether the omissions, if they are omissions, occurred already in the Greek or later in the Syriac or Arabic traditions, though on the basis of the argument regarding the additions made in the preceding paragraph, it would appear equally implausible that the translator(s) themselves would include some of the letters and not others in a sentence that manifestly had no meaning for Syriac and Arabic readers; and since they translated and copied the letters N and Σ, they would have equally translated and copied A and P if they had been there. In all probability, then, the text of this entire sentence in Σ read, εἰς δὲ τὸ Υ πέντε, δόρυ πῶυ νᾶπυ γόνυ **, τὰ δὲ μεταξὺ εἰς N καὶ Σ.

58a17 καὶ P ci. Morelius : om. Σ | post καὶ Σ add. Ar. οἷον ἄρθρον εἰς N καὶ πάθος εἰς Σ (*bi-manzilat immā artarūn bi-n-nū wa-immā fātūs bi-sīġma* [sic leg.])
The provenance of the addition in Arabic is difficult to determine. The two transliterated Greek words (of which, πάθος appears well attested while ἄρθρον is more doubtful—Margoliouth (1887) 69, suggests δένδρον) clearly point to a Greek source. Aristotle lists the actual words that end in short *iota*, and posibly also those that end in *ypsilon*, because those are the only ones that do so (or at least so he thought), while neuter nouns that end in *nu* and *sigma* are numerous. Thus in all likelihood the two examples present in the Arabic translation are illustrative examples added by a zealous reader or commentator which entered the text either already in Σ or its exemplar; it is difficult to think that they would serve any purpose in the context of the Syriac or Arabic translations among the Baghdad Aristotelians. This addition would appear to deserve a place in the apparatus but not in the text itself, as printed by Gudeman.

58a19 οὖν Π, Σ (*illā anna*) : om. B
For *illā anna* translating οὖν see *GALex* I,270 §7.

58a21 τὸ ἰδιωτικὸν ἢ τοῖς Π, Σ ut vid. : τῷ ἰδιωτικῷ ἢ τῷ B
The Arabic incorporates in the translation what appears to be a gloss, and it is accordingly difficult to see precisely what Σ had. It reads, "as for the chaste (σεμνὴ) and diverse (ἐξαλλάτουσα) [diction], insofar as it is called the lowly (τὸ ἰδιωτικὸν), it is diverse and uses …" (*wa-ammā l-ʿafīfatu wa-l-muḫtalifatu, fa-min qibali an tuqāla l-miskīna, hiya muḫtalifatun wa-tastaʿmilu* …). It appears that τὸ ἰδιωτικὸν was taken as the objective accusative of a presumed verb "to be called" and the clause was understood—possibly with the help of a marginal gloss?—as if it read, ἐξαλλάτουσα, διὰ τὸ ἰδιωτικὸν καλεῖσθαι, ἢ … κεχρημένη. But there can be no certainty.

58a24 ἅπαντα B : ἂν ἅπαντα Π : [Σ] | ποιήσῃ Φ, Paris. 2038 : ποιῆσαι AB : [Σ] | ἔσται Π : ἔστιν B : [Σ]

58a25 ἐὰν A : ἂν B : [Σ]

58a26 γλωττῶν A^{c}, B, Σ (*al-lisān*)

58a27 λέγοντα Φ, Paris. 2038 : λέγον τὰ A : λέγοντα τὰ B : [Σ]
The Arabic certainly read the plural article, "those which exist" (*allatī hiya mawǧūdatun*), but it is not clear whether it read λέγοντα or λέγον—or even λέγειν, "that it be said" (*an yuqāla*).

58a28 ἄλλων Σ (*uḫar*), ci. Twining ex Piccolominii versione : om. Ξ | σύνθεσιν om. Ar. | οὐχ οἷόν τε BΦ, Σ (*lā yumkinu*) : οὐχοίονται A

58a29 δὲ Π, Σ (*wa-ammā*) : om. B | μεταφορῶν ci. Bywater : μεταφορὰν Ω | ἄνδρ' εἶδον edd. : [Σ] | πυρὶ χαλκὸν Σ (*an-nuḥāsa bi-n-nāri*), ci. Robortellus : πυρίχαλκον Ξ
The Arabic reads μεταφορὰν together with κατὰ: "in accordance with metaphor" (*bi-ḥasabi t-ta'diyati wa-l-intiqāli*).

For the quotation the Arabic has, "he connected in an evident way copper with fire and copper itself with man" (*alṣaqa ilṣāqan ẓāhirani n-nuḥāsa bi-n-nāri wa-n-nuḥāsa nafsahū bi-r-raǧuli*). The translator accordingly saw in his exemplar some form of εἶδον but apparently he could not identify it precisely and decided to fudge the issue by rendering it adverbially, "in an evident way." On the other hand, he clearly read πυρὶ χαλκὸν.

58a30 τὰ δὲ B : om. Π Σ
The Arabic has, "the likes of these are from the language", with a gloss over the last word correcting it to "dialect" (*wa-amṯālu hāḏihī hiya mina l-lisāni*, where the last word was corrected to *al-luġa*). The word *hiya* here, which acts as the copula, "are," is much more likely to have been added by the translator to make a sentence out of καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐκ τῶν γλωττῶν (omitting τὰ δὲ) than to be translating τὰ δὲ misread as τάδε (as Tkatsch II,107b suggests). For τάδε one would have expected something more.

58a31 βαρβαρισμός] [Σ] | δεῖ Ξ : δ' εἰ ut intell. Syr. (*wa-ammā … in kānat*) | κεκρᾶσθαι B, Σ (*tamtaziǧu*) : κεκρίσθαι A | τὸ A, Σ ut vid. : τότε vel τό γε B
The Arabic has something that corresponds to βαρβαρ-, but the suffix of the word is not transliterated accurately and thus it cannot be ascertained.

For τὸ μὲν γὰρ … ταπεινόν the Arabic has, "as for there not being produced a defective noun or a lowly one" (*wa-ammā allā yu'mala smun nāqiṣun wa-lā ayḍan miskīnun*), which would appear to be closest to the reading in A.

58a32 τὸ B : om. A : [Σ]

1458b2 καὶ[1] Π : αἱ B : [Σ]

58b6 ἐπιτιμῶντες B : ἐπιτιμοῦντες A : [Σ]
The Arabic translates the two words ψέγουσιν and ἐπιτιμῶντες as if they were syntactically constructed in the same manner: "The disparagement [ψέγουσιν] and criticism [ἐπιτιμῶντες] in this manner of dialectic [mistaking διαλέκτου for διαλεκτικῆς] that take place are not correct" (*mā yağrī mina l-hiğā'i wa-ṯ-ṯalbi ʿalā hāḏā ḍ-ḍarbi mina l-ğadali laysa yağrī ʿalā l-istiqāmati*). Thus the participial form is not reproduced in Arabic and it is not possible to guess what the translator read in his exemplar.

58b6–7 διακωμῳδοῦντες Π, Σ (*yahza'ūna*) : διακωμῳδοῦντος B

58b8 ὂν B, Σ (*qad kāna*) : om. Π

58b9 Ἐπιχάρην ci. Bursian : ἢ ἐπιχαρην (sic) B : ἢ ἐπὶ χάριν Σ (*innanī … bi-n-niʿmati*) : ἤτει χάριν Π | εἶδον B, Σ (*ra'aytu*) : ἴδον A | μαραθῶνάδε edd. : μαραθῶνα δὲ A B Σ
The Arabic of the quotation reads as follows: "Truly I saw Marathon as he was walking with grace"' (*innanī ra'aytu Mārāṯūn min ḥayṯu yamšī bi-n-niʿmati*). The introductory emphatic particle (*innanī*) is very common in Arabic and would merit no comment were it not for the Greek text in manuscript B which begins with an η, and could accordingly be very well the emphatic adverbial ἦ or even the interjection ἤ. The name of Epichares is taken as the prepositional phrase ἐπὶ χάριν, while Marathon in the accusative is taken as the object of "I saw." The Syriac translator apparently did not pay attention to the δὲ following Marathon.

58b10 ἄν γ' ἐράμενος rec. : [Σ]
Both words that would be standing for whatever there was in Σ for γεράμενος, etc., and for ἐλλέβορον, are corrupt in the Arabic manuscript. Given also the corruption in the Greek, the permutations of possible combinations of words in Arabic that would give something resembling a conjectural reading in Greek are too great to allow any reasonable inference of the reading in Σ.

58b11 πως B : πῶς Π, Σ (*kayfa*)

58b12 μέτρον Ξ, Σ (*al-miqdār wa-l-wazn*) : μέτριον ci. Spengel

58b14 ἐπὶ τὰ B, Σ (*fī l-ašyāʾ*) : ἔπειτα A

58b15 ἁρμόττον Φ, Paris. 2038 : ἁρμόττον vel ἁρμόττοντος Σ (*mā huwa muwāfiqun*) : ἁρμόττοντος A : ἁρμόττον πως B
For τὸ δὲ ἁρμόττον/-τος ὅσον διαφέρει ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπῶν θεωρείσθω the Arabic has, "As for what is suitable to the amount of everything [of the laughable things (τὰ γελοῖα)] that has been different, then these are seen in the epics" (*wa-ammā mā huwa muwāfiqun li-miqdāri kulli mā kānat takūnu muḫtalifatan fa-hāḏihī turā* ⟨*fī*⟩ *efī*, where the feminine verbs refer to the preceding *al-ašyāʾ hiya ḍuḥka*). This is difficult to interpret. The Syriac translator took the Greek participle to apply to ὅσον, as if it were ὅσῳ, and he took the subject of διαφέρει to be the neuter plural τὰ γελοῖα of the preceding sentence. He thus translated as if the Greek text read, τὸ δὲ ἁρμόττον ὅσῳ διαφέρει τὰ γελοῖα, ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπῶν θεωρείσθω. The question is, given the Greek text of the paradosis, with its variants, which version was most likely to be (mis)read in this fashion? Since the word ὅσον is transmitted without any variants, it is difficult to assume that it figured in Σ in the dative, and hence the participle in the nominative would be hard to defend. The other alternative would be to assume that, if Σ had ἁρμόττοντος, the translator may have read it as, τὸ δὲ ἁρμόττον τοῦ ὅσου/ὅσον διαφέρει etc., which may seem to be a more plausible explanation of what happened. But neither is certain, so the Arabic translation can be taken to support either ἁρμόττον or ἁρμόττοντος, while it excludes the other variants. Tkatsch II,81a suggests that the Arabic supports only ἁρμόττον, and Schrier (1998b) 577 and note 10, agrees.

58b17 καὶ[1] Π : om. B, Ar. | ἐπὶ τῆς γλώττης δὲ om. Ar.

58b18 ἰδεῶν edd. : εἰδέων AB, Σ (*anwāʿ*) : *speciebus* Lat.
The Arabic translates ἰδέαι with the hendiadys *aṣ-ṣuwar wa-l-ḫilaq* at 50b34 and 56b3. Here, as in 56a33, he uses the word *anwāʿ*, which indicates that the Syriac translator read εἰδέων.

58b20–21 μεταθέντος B : μετατιθέντος A : [Σ]

58b23 φαγέδαιναν] [Σ]
The Arabic has what appears to be (the manuscript has a tear in this place), "lions ate my flesh" (*as-sibāʿu akalat luḥūmī*), a mistranslation

which Margoliouth (1887), Arabic p. 62 note b, plausibly attributes to a misreading of φάγε λέαινα for φαγέδαινα. Whatever the case might be, it is not possible to infer the precise form of the underlying Greek.

58b25 δέ μ' ἐὼν] [Σ] | ὀλίγος Π, Σ ut vid. : ὀλιγοστός B | ἀεικής B^c^, Σ (*bi-lā an yaṣiḥḥa*) : ἀειδής Π
The Arabic correctly translates, "and now, I, being by way of paltriness," (*fa-ammā l-āna, anā min ḥayṯu ʿala ǧihati ṣ-ṣiġari*), but it is unclear how precisely the translator read the participle in Greek.

As for ὀλίγος, it would seem that this was the reading in Σ, insofar as the Syriac (and Arabic) translation does on occasion use a prepositional phrase (*ʿalā ǧihati ṣ-ṣiġari* = "by way of paltriness") to translate an adjective (Tkatsch I,162a) and the translation itself shows no signs of rendering any of the superlative force which ὀλιγοστός would carry.

That ἀεικής was the reading in Σ is evident from the relatively proper translation as "unsound," (*bi-lā an yaṣiḥḥa*), and also from the fact that the word ἀειδής two lines down is translated differently (cf. Tkatsch II,105a–b). See also the discussion in Kraemer 266.

58b26 λέγοι A : λέγει BΦ : [Σ] | μετατιθεὶς A : μεταθεὶς B : [Σ]
The Arabic in this instance cannot differentiate between the Greek tenses and moods.

58b27 μ' ἐὼν] [Σ] | τε BΦ, Σ (*wa-*) : δὲ A | ἀειδής B^c^, Σ (*allaḏī bi-lā manẓarin*)

58b29 δίφρον B Φ : δίφρον τε A, Σ ut vid.
The Arabic has, "And he placed the seat" (*wa-waḍaʿa l-maǧlisa*) for δίφρον … καταθεὶς, where it would appear that the conjunction *wa-* would stand for τε (cf. Kraemer 1956, 264n4), though it is also likely that the conjunction was simply added in the Syriac or Arabic as is normal in Semitic syntax.

58b31 ἠϊόνες … ἠϊόνες B : ἴωνες … ἢ ἴωνες Π, Σ (*al-yūnāniyyīn* … *badala* [*sic*] *mina l-yūnāniyyīn*) | ἀριφράδης BΦ, Σ ut vid. (ἀριφραδεῖς ut intell. Ar., v. Tkatsch I, 205a2) : ἀρειφράδης A
For the misreading of the word ἠϊόνες and the Arabic rendition (*anbaʾa l-yūnāniyyīn*) see Kraemer 264.

58b32 τραγῳδοὺς Π, Σ (*ḏawī l-madīḥ*) : κραμοδοὺς B[c] | εἴπειεν ἐν] εἴπ—? ἐν Σ (*lā yaqūluhā … fī*)
From the Arabic it is not possible to determine the mood of the verb "to say" that the translator found in Σ, though it is clear that he read the preposition ἐν separately: "would not say … in dialectical speech" (*lā yaqūluhā … fī l-ǧadal*), where διαλέκτῳ was misunderstood as διαλεκτικῄ apparently by the Syriac translator.

1459a4 τὸ B, Σ (*huwa*) : τῷ A

59a4–5 πρεπόντως Π, Σ (*ʿalā maǧrā l-alyaq*) : πρεπόντων B

59a5 διπλοῖς Π, Σ (*muḍaʿʿafa*) : δι' ἁπλοῖς B

59a11 ἅπαντα A, Σ : ἅπαντα τὰ B
The Arabic reads ἅπαντα … τὰ εἰρημένα together, "everything that has been described (*ǧamīʿ mā wuṣifa*)," but χρήσιμα separately (i.e., he does not understand, "everything useful that has been described"), which indicates that the Syriac translator did not read an article after ἅπαντα.

59a13 ὅσοις κἂν ἐν λόγοις edd. : ὅσοις κἂν εὐλόγως B, Σ : ὅσοις καὶ ἐν ὅσοις λόγοις Π | τις B, Σ (*al-insān*) : τί A
The Arabic has the reading of B, ὅσοις κἂν εὐλόγως τις χρήσαιτο: "to the extent that (ὅσοις) one (τις) uses them in a ⟨…⟩ way (εὐλόγως)" (*bi-miqdāri mā yastaʿmilu bihā l-insānu ʿalā ṭarīqi* ⟨…⟩). The lacuna was properly conjectured by Tkatsch II,45–46, followed by ʿAyyād, and the missing word would stand for εὔλογος, insofar as the expression "in a ⟨certain⟩ way" stands for the adverbial suffix -ως in εὐλόγως.[82]

59a14 τὸ κύριον καὶ μεταφορὰ Π, Σ (*al-ḥaqīqī al-mutaʾaddī*) : κύρια καὶ μεταφοραὶ B

59a17 καὶ ἐν μέτρῳ Π : καὶ ἐμμέτρου B, Σ ut vid.
The Arabic has, "and the meter that imitates" (*wa-l-wazn al-muḥākī*) for καὶ ἐν μέτρῳ / καὶ ἐμμέτρου. Insofar as there is no preposition in the Arabic

[82] See the examples in Tkatsch II,46a, though Tkatsch failed to recognize that the expression *ʿalā ṭarīq* stood for the adverbial ending -ως and assumed that the Greek reading indicated by the Arabic was ἐν λόγοις (also at II,80a).

to reflect the Greek ἐν, it can be thought that Σ read ἐμμέτρου, which the translator either took to mean the same as μέτρου or of which he simply disregarded the embedded preposition ἐμ-.

59a20 μέσα Ξ : μέσον (*wasaṭ*) ut intell. Ar.
The singular form of the word in Arabic does not necessarily indicate that Σ also had the singular Greek word (as Tkatsch II,127b argues). Among other reasons, in particular the morphological identity of singular and plural masculine nouns in the emphatic state in Syriac, without the proper diacritics, could easily occasion misunderstandings.

59a20–21 ἵνα … ποιῇ B : ἵν' … ποιεῖ A : *que … facit* Lat. : ὥσπερ ζῷον ποιεῖ ut intell. Ar. (om. ἵνα et ἓν ὅλον)
The Arabic has, "like the animal that produces a proper pleasure" (*ka-mā l-ḥayawānu l-ʿāmilu li-laḏḏatin ḫāṣṣiyatin*), which indicates that the translator did not translate the words ἵνα and ἓν ὅλον in that clause. It is difficult to gauge what stood in Σ other than that in all likelihood the verb was in the indicative.

59a21–22 ἱστορίαις τὰς συνθέσεις ci. Sophianus, Dacier, et fort. Σ (ἱστορίας Σ vel ut intell. Syr.) : ἱστορίαις τὰς συνθήσεις B (sic) : ἱστορίας τὰς συνήθεις Π
For this sentence the Arabic has, "insofar as there do not enter into these compositions accounts of similarity" (*wa-min ḥayṯu lā tadḫulu fī hāḏihi t-tarkībāti qtiṣāṣātu tašabbuhin*), which indicates that the translator understood the sentence as if it read, καὶ μὴ ὁμοίας ἱστορίας ἐν ταῖς συνθέσεσιν εἶναι, though it is clear that Σ did not actually have this reading. In all likelihood he parsed the sentence wrongly and read the ἐν αἷς of the following clause with this sentence, καὶ μὴ ὁμοίας ἱστορίας τὰς συνθέσεις εἶναι ἐν αἷς, taking the last pronoun to refer to συνθέσεις; it is also likely that he may have understood αἷς as αὐταῖς (*hāḏihī*). In any case, two things are clear. First, the Syriac translator read ἱστορίας in the accusative to agree with ὁμοίας, either because he actually read this in Σ (as thought by Margoliouth (1911) 85), or, what I consider more likely, because he so understood it, i.e., he misread or disregarded the iota in ἱστορίαις, hence the notation "fort." in the apparatus. Second, he read συνθέσεις (*tarkībāt*) for the garbled word συνθήσεις / συνήθεις in B and Π respectively (pace Margoliouth, ap. Butcher, 3rd ed., pp. xvii and 165 note 1, the word *tarkībāt* in the Arabic points certainly to συνθέσεις).

59a23 περὶ Π, Σ : ἢ περὶ B

59a25 σαλαμῖνι B : σαλαμίνῃ A : [Σ]

59a26 ναυμαχία BΦ, Σ ut vid. (ναυμαχίαι, *ḥurūb al-marākib* ut interpr. Arab.) : ναύμαχος A

59a27 οὕτω Π, Σ (*ka-ḏālika*) : οὔτε B

59a28 μετὰ θάτερον Paris. 2038 : μετὰ θατέρου Ξ : [Σ]
The Syriac translator misconstrued the Greek and apparently took θάτερον to refer to "time" as if it amplified the sense of ἐνίοτε or perhaps continued the sense of the temporal clause ἐν τοῖς ἐφεξῆς χρόνοις. The Arabic which reflects this reads, "Similarly (οὕτω) in the times that came next (καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐφεξῆς χρόνοις), in time after time (ἐνίοτε [?] … θάτερον μετὰ θάτερον), there comes about one of them (γίνεται … ἐξ ὧν ἓν) which has nothing (οὐδὲν) that is an end (γίνεται τέλος)" (*wa-ka-ḏālika fī l-azminati llatī kānat baʿdu fī waqtin baʿda waqtin yakūnu wāḥidun minhā llaḏī lā yakūnu lahū šay'un aḥadun huwa āḫirun wa-nqiḍā'un*). As it is seen, ἐνίοτε is either not translated at all (cf. the only other occurrence of ἐνίοτε in the *Poetics*, 57b19, where it is also left untranslated) or its sense is rolled into the expression "in time after time" which, in this context, can hardly reflect anything else but θάτερον μετὰ θάτερον, misunderstood as just described. As for the case of the second θάτερον, it is impossible to say what Σ read. Given the misunderstanding of the entire sentence by the translator, it cannot be ascertained whether he could distinguish, in this context, between the two meanings of μετά, with the genitive and the accusative.

59a31 τῷ Φ, Σ (*min ḥayṯu*), rec. : τὸ AB

59a33 ἂν Π et fort. Σ (fort. ἦν ut intell. Ar.) : αὖ B | μέγας B, A^2, Σ ut vid. : μέγα Π
The Syriac again misconstrues the syntax of this sentence and fails to recognize μῦθος as its subject; instead, it ends the sentence with εὐσύνοπτος, which it takes (together with μέγας) as referring to the war (πόλεμον, at 59a31), and starts a new sentence with ἔμελλεν. For λίαν … εὐσύνοπτος the Arabic thus reads: "this, because of the fact that it (masc.) was very big and it (masc.) was not easy to be seen" (*hāḏā ʿalā annahū qad kāna ʿaẓīm⟨an⟩ ǧidd⟨an⟩ wa-lam takun tashulu ru'yatuhū*).

There is a slight problem in that the word for "war" in Arabic (*ḥarb*) is feminine, while the pronouns in this sentence in Arabic referring to it are masculine; however, in addition to the fact that there can hardly be any other referent for the pronouns given the structure of the Arabic sentence, it is possible that the choice of the gender of pronouns was influenced by the Syriac. If the word for war used in the Syriac translation was the cognate word *ḥarbā*, which can be either masculine or feminine, but the translator used the much more common masculine form (cf. Brockelmann's *Lexicon*, ed. Sokoloff, s.v.), then it is likely that Abū-Bišr followed his Syriac model.

As for the particle ἄν, given its modal function, it normally does not appear in Arabic translation, but the absence in the Arabic of any word meaning "again" (αὖ) indicates that Σ did not read αὖ. However, the reading ἄν is again not certain because the Arabic reads, as noted above, "it was" (*qad kāna*), which may indicate that the translator read, or understood, ἦν for ἄν.

59a33–34 ὁ μῦθος ᾗ B : ὁ μῦθος ᾗ ut interpr. Ar. : ᾗ A
As just mentioned above, the Syriac/Arabic understands the new sentence to begin with ἔμελλεν and end with ποικιλίᾳ; the Arabic text in the beginning is uncertain, and it goes something like this: "nor, again (?), did he have in mind (ἔμελλεν) to clarify (? ἔσεσθαι) in his myth (ὁ μῦθος, with "in" perhaps to be deleted) in this state, [namely] insofar as (ᾗ) …" (*wa-lā ayḍan kāna muzmiʿ⟨an⟩ an yubayyina [?] fī ḫurāfatihī bi-hāḏihi l-ḥāli min qibali annahā …*). It is very difficult to account for the first part of this translation, and it is likely that we have here to do with an original translation and a later correction of the same passage somehow appearing in a confused way in the text of the manuscript as we have it, but at least this much is clear, that the words, "in this way, [namely] insofar as" reflect an understanding of the Greek as ᾗ, with the phrase "in this way" preparing the way for "insofar as" that is to come later.

59a35 αὐτῶν AB : *ipsi* Lat. O : *ipsis* Lat. T : αὐτοῦ ut intell. Ar. ut vid.
The Arabic reads the pronoun in the singular; it says, "and it is that which a man does" (*wa-huwa mā llaḏī yafʿalu l-insānu*) apparently standing for κέχρηται αὐτοῦ. See the discussion immediately following

59a36–37 πολλοῖς … ποίησιν om. Ar. ut vid.
The Arabic clearly has a lacuna here; what is contested is the extent of it. The translation has everything until ἐπεισοδίοις (*al-madāḫil*) in

59a35, and then it clearly resumes with οἱ δ' ἄλλοι in 59a37. But after ἐπεισοδίοις, it also adds one clause which is not obviously the translation of any of the intervening words. The Arabic has, plainly written in the manuscript, "and it is that which a man does" (*wa-huwa mā llaḏī yafʿalu l-insānu*). This should stand either for κέχρηται αὐτῶν/αὐτοῦ (as suggested in the preceding entry), or for διαλαμβάνει τὴν ποίησιν in 59a37. The second alternative, which was proposed by Margoliouth (1887), Arabic p. 66, notes c and d, and Tkatsch II,81a, has the advantage that it explains the lacuna as being due to a homoioteleuton, from after ἐπεισοδίοις in line 35 to ἐπεισοδίοις in line 36. If that is the case, then the unaccounted clause in Arabic, "and it is that which a man does" (*wa-huwa mā llaḏī yafʿalu l-insānu*), should stand for διαλαμβάνει τὴν ποίησιν. Since it obviously doesn't, Margoliouth suggested emending the Arabic text to make it do so; he proposed reading *yufaṣṣilu l-inšāda*, "he divided the recitation into sections," for *yafʿalu l-insānu*, which is a very plausible (and ingenious) emendation of the skeletal Arabic. The problem is, though, that the word *inšād* for ποίησις is completely unattested in this translation. In all the numerous passages where the word ποίησις occurs in this work, it is always translated either as *šiʿr* "poetry," or as *ṣināʿat aš-šiʿr*, "the art of poetry," never as *inšād*. And it is difficult to imagine that in this particular passage, in this treatise about this very word, the Syriac or Arabic translator would have changed his usual practice. So it seems that the unaccounted clause in Arabic, "and it is that which a man does" (*wa-huwa mā llaḏī yafʿalu l-insānu*), cannot stand for διαλαμβάνει τὴν ποίησιν, and this leaves κέχρηται αὐτῶν/αὐτοῦ as the only alternative text for which it could stand. The problem with this alternative is that the word translating κέχρηται is *yafʿalu*, "he does," or, as it could be easily emended, *yaʿmalu*, "he makes," which is not exactly what the Greek says; besides, in the many times that the verb χρῆσθαι occurs in this treatise it is almost always translated with the Xth form of the root *ʿml*, *istaʿmala*, not the base form, *ʿamila*. Nevertheless, this alternative appears closer to the Greek than the other. As for what caused this omission, if the homoioteleuton explanation is removed, it is impossible to say. This whole passage is misunderstood in the Syriac/Arabic translation, and anything could have gone wrong in the transmission until the moment the Arabic version was recorded in the manuscript we actually possess.

59a36 ἄλλοις Π : ἄλλως B : om. Ar. | δὶς] om. Ar.

1459b1 καὶ μίαν πρᾶξιν Ξ : μῦθον ut interpr. Ar., et fort. Σ ut glossema
The Arabic translation of the words περὶ ἕνα ποιοῦσι … πολυμερῆ is very literal: "they compose about each single one in each single time myths of many parts" (*fa-yaqtaḍibū⟨na⟩ bi-ḥasabi wāḥidin wāḥidin fī wāḥidin wāḥidin mina z-zamāni ḫurāfātin kaṯīrata l-ağzā'i*). The word *ḫurāfa* invariably translates μῦθος, so it is difficult to see how the translator would have introduced it if it had not been present in his exemplar. (It is true that the Arabic has the plural for the word, but rather than suppose a Greek original μύθους πολυμερεῖς it is more likely that the variation is due to Syriac writing as misread in Arabic; see a list of such variants in Tkatsch I,178a.) Furthermore, a few lines previously, at 59a19, the same Greek phrase, καὶ περὶ μίαν πρᾶξιν, is translated accurately, "about a single action," *naḥwa l-'amali l-wāḥidi*. It is thus clear that the translator read something different in his exemplar than what we find in the Greek paradosis as represented by Ξ. If μῦθος was not actually present in Σ, then perhaps καὶ μίαν πρᾶξιν was glossed as μῦθος in it and was thus transmitted into Syriac and then into Arabic.

59b2 κύπρια ci. Castelvetro : κυπρικὰ Ξ : [Σ]
Here and two lines down (κυπρίων) the name is transliterated in exactly the same way: *qūfr'xx'*, where the two *x*'s represent ridges in the Arabic script that can stand for any number of letters, depending on the dots that one provides. Whatever the original intent was, which seems to be beyond our ken at this time, it appears difficult to assume that the underlying Greek was either κύπρια or κυπρικά, although κυπρικὰ seems much more difficult to extract from this transliteration than κύπρια.

59b4 μόναι A^2, Paris. 2038 : μόνας Ξ : μόλις Σ (*ba'da kaddin*)[83]

59b5 πλέον ὀκτώ, οἷον A : πλέον ἢ ὀκτώ, οἷον B : ὀκτὼ καὶ πλέον ἐξ ὧν vel similia ut intell. Ar. | ὅπλων Π, Σ (*silāḥ*) : ἁπλῶς B

59b5–7 Φιλοκτήτης … Τρῳάδες Ξ : Νεοπτόλεμος, Φιλοκτήτης, πτωχεία, Ἰλίου πέρσις, ἀπόπλους, Σίνων καὶ Τρῳάδες Σ

59b6 λάκαιναι A : λάκαινα BΦ : om. Ar.

59b7 ἔτι δὲ bis A (non Σ)

[83] For this translation of μόλις see Ullmann, *WGAÜ* 423, *Suppl.* I,697, s.v. μόγις.

59b8 τὰ εἴδη ταὐτὰ Π : ταῦτα τὰ εἴδη B, Σ (*hāḏihi l-āliha*) | δεῖ BΦ : ἀεὶ Σ (*dā'iman*) : δὴ A
The Arabic has "these gods" (*hāḏihi l-āliha*), which is clearly a mistake for "these kinds," possibly based on a misreading by the Arabic translator of the Syriac word for εἴδη (Margoliouth (1887), Arabic p. 66 note k = Tkatsch II,21a note 119). Whatever the case, it is certain that Σ had the same reading as B.

The reading ἀεὶ in Σ for δεῖ in B and in Φ goes back to another misreading in the uncial transmission of the work, ΔΕΙ—ΑΕΙ (cf. Irigoin (1997) 175), or even in the misreading by the Syriac translator of his uncial exemplar, Σ.

59b10 ταὐτὰ Π : ταῦτα B, Σ (*hāḏihi*)

59b13 καί^{1} Π, Σ (*aw*) : om. B | ἱκανῶς B Φ, Σ (*ʿalā l-kifāya*) : ἱκανὸς A | καὶ γὰρ BΦ, Σ (*wa-ḏālika anna*) : καὶ γὰρ καὶ A | ποιημάτων B, Σ (*šiʿr*) : πονημάτων Π | ἑκάτερον Π, Σ (*kiltayhimā*) : ἑκάτερον σῶτερ B

59b15 γὰρ Π : om. B : [Σ] | ἠθική Ξ, Σ : ἠθικὸν A^{2} (ὸν s.l.)
For πεπλεγμένον … ἠθική the Arabic has, "complex, which (i.e., the *Odyssey*) is the one which points in its totality to habits" (*fa-murakkabatun, wa-hiya llatī* [sic leg.] *tadullu bi-l-kulliyyati ʿalā l-ʿādāti*). The conjunction with the pronoun, *wa-hiya* ("which," literally "and it") after "complex" (*murakkaba*), is not paratactic but syntactic, and thus it could well reflect the Greek γὰρ; see the discussion of this feature of the Syriac and Arabic translations in Tkatsch I,172b—but there can be no certainty about the presence or absence of γὰρ in Σ. As for ἠθική/ἠθικόν, it is clear that the translator took this word to agree with ἀναγνώρισις—and hence his translation "points to habits"; in which case he read the word as feminine, understanding ἀναγνώρισις ἠθική to mean ἀναγνώρισις ἠθῶν.

59b16 δὲ Σ (*wa-*), Paris. 2038 : γὰρ Ξ | πάντα Π, Σ (*kull fiʿl*) : πάντας B
The conjunction in the Arabic in this passage, as opposed to the preceding instance, is paratactic, and there seems to be little likelihood that it could translate γὰρ. In any case, the Arabic conjunction here, *wa-*, normally translates δέ, but never γάρ.[84]

[84] See Tkatsch II,108b, and especially Gutas (2010) 476b–477a.

"Every action" (*kull fiʿl*) is the translator's semantic elaboration for πάντα, but at the same time it makes clear that this is what he read, the reference being to inanimate things and not to people.

59b17 κατά τε τῆς συστάσεως τὸ μῆκος Π : κατὰ τὸ μῆκος τῆς συστάσεως B, et fort. Σ
The Arabic takes κατὰ τὸ μέτρον to be part of the subject, together with ἐποποιία, rather than the second leg of the τε … καὶ construction in the prepositional phrase with κατά; it reads, "The making of tales and meter differs with regard to the length of its structure" (*wa-ṣanʿatu l-asmāri wa-l-wazni muḫtalifatun fī ṭūli qiwāmihā*). Since this mistake is easier to make if the particle τε is not present in the text, it is likely that the reading in Σ was like that in B.

59b21 πρὸς δὲ B, Σ (*wa-ammā naḥwa*) : πρόσθε Π

59b24 πραττόμενα Π, Σ (*ʿinda-mā kānat tuqtaṣṣu wa-yutaḥaddaṯu bi-hā*) : πραττομένοις B

59b27–28 ἔστι … αὔξεται om. Ar.
Tkatsch I,210a believes that the words omitted are μέρη … ὄγκος. The words *al-maʿnā li-š-šiʿr*, however, must somehow reflect ὁ τοῦ ποιήματος ὄγκος, a phrase which, in addition, is taken as the subject of the Arabic sentence. This could happen only if the words ἔστι … αὔξεται are considered as missing (i.e., the translator read the sentence as if it were, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐποποιίᾳ διὰ τὸ διήγησιν εἶναι ὁ τοῦ ποιήματος ὄγκος).

59b31 τὰς τραγῳδίας Π, Σ (*al-madīḥāt*) : τὴν τραγῳδίαν B

59b33 διηγηματικὴν B : διηγητικὴν A : [Σ]
The Arabic has "narrative" (*iqtiṣāṣ*), which is the word the translator uses for διήγησις. Insofar as both variants in A and B can be derived from διήγησις, it is not possible to tell what word stood in Σ.

59b34 στασιμώτατον Π : στασιμώτερον B : [Σ]
The Arabic uses the same construction for both adjectives (στασιμώτ-, ὀγκωδέστ-), indicating that the translator did not see any difference between them in his exemplar; on the other hand, τῶν μέτρων is translated in the way in which the object of comparison is rendered in Arabic, "than all the meters" (*min ǧamīʿi l-awzāni*), suggesting a com-

parative in the exemplar. It is not possible to determine the reading in Σ.

59b36 γὰρ καὶ Ξ, Σ (*min qibali anna*) ut vid.
The phrase *min qibali anna* frequently translates γάρ in this version; e.g., a few lines previously, τὸ γὰρ ὅμοιον 59b30, *min qibali anna š-šabīh*, and τὸ γὰρ ἡρωικὸν 59b34, *min qibali anna wazna n-našīd*. There is thus no doubt that Σ read γὰρ. The question is whether it also read καὶ after it, for there is no word corresponding to it in the meaning of "also" in the translation. However, the translator(s) may have just as easily disregarded it.

59b37 μίμησις B, Σ (*at-tašbīh*) : κίνησις Π | καὶ Π : καὶ τὸ B : om. Ar.

1460a1 κινητικὰ καὶ Bc : κινητικὰ Φ, Σ ut vid. : κινητικαὶ A
It is not clear what the translator saw in his manuscript and what he understood. The Arabic has, "As for (τὸ δὲ) the poetry known as iambic (ἰαμβεῖον), it has (omitting καὶ) four meters (τετράμετρον), … (tear in the manuscript with the possible loss of one very small word) of the motions, two: I mean ὀρχηστικόν, πρακτικόν" (*wa-ammā š-šiʿru l-maʿrūfu bi-ʾiyānbū fa-huwa ḏū arbaʿati awzānin … mina l-ḥarakāti, iṯnatāni, aʿnī* …). The translator clearly did not read καὶ after κινητικὰ, and since the other variant, κινητικαὶ, is a conflation of κινητικὰ and καὶ, κινητικὰ is the only existing variant and in all likelihood Σ read thus too. The translator understood it to mean "(something) of the motions" (and perhaps the plural in "motions," *ḥarakāt*, is a reflection of the plural in κινητικὰ), and added the word "two" to explain the mention of the two kinds of meters that follow.

1460a2 μιγνύοι Paris. 2038 : μιγνοίη B : μὴ γνοίη ut intell. Syr. (*lam yaʿrif*) | τις αὐτά] om. Ar.

60a3 τῷ B, Σ (*fī*) : τὸ A

60a4 αὐτῇ BΦ, Σ (*fī hādihī*) : αὐτὴ A

60a5 αἱρεῖσθαι Φ, Σ (*iḫtiyār*), ci. Bonitz : διαιρεῖσθαι A B

60a6 δὴ Π, Σ (non δεῖ) : δεῖ B

60a7 αὐτὸν γὰρ δεῖ A : δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν B, fort. Σ
The Arabic does not exactly translate the emphatic αὐτὸν, so it is difficult to say which word order the translator read. On the other hand, the Arabic does connect the force of γὰρ with δεῖ, suggesting that it might have followed the reading in B; the translation reads, "it being incumbent upon the poet that what he says be very little" (*wa-qad yanbaġī li-š-šāʿiri an yakūna mā yatakallamu bihī yasīran qalīlan*), where the particle *qad* with the imperfect introduces a circumstantial (*ḥāl*) clause translating γὰρ.

60a8 μὲν δι' Π : μὲν οὖν δι' B : [Σ]
The Arabic normally does not translate particles like οὖν when they do not have a particular force. However, the variant in B is so obviously a mistake due to the repetition of the particle combination μὲν οὖν that in all likelihood it is a scribal error peculiar to B.

60a11 οὐδέν' ἀήθη ci. Victorius : οὐδένα ἀήθη B, Σ (*šay' lam yuʿtad*) : οὐδένα ἤθη A | ἦθος² B : ἤθη Π : [Σ]
For the second ἦθος, the translation uses a verb to render ἔχοντα ἦθος/ἤθη, "habituated" (*uʿtīda*), which does not reveal the exact reading in Σ.

60a13 ἄλογον ci. Victorius : ἀνάλογον Ξ, Σ (*taqsīm*) | δι' ὃ Φ, Paris. 2038 : διὸ AB : [Σ]
The translator uses *taqsīm*, "[proportional] distribution, allotment" to render ἀνάλογον also at 48b38. For the reading δι' ὃ, the translator misunderstood the sentence and it is not clear how he interpreted what he saw in Σ in the place of δι' ὃ.

60a14 ἐπεὶ τὰ B : ἔπειτα Σ (*wa-min baʿdi hāḏihī*) : ἔπειτα τὰ Π

60a16 μὲν Π, Σ ut vid. (*ammā … fa-*) : μὲν οὖν B | οὐ Π, Σ (*lā*) : οἱ B
The Arabic translates μὲν in the usual fashion, without any indication that he also read οὖν which on some occasions, depending on the force of the particle, is indeed translated. However, there can be no certainty in the case of the translation of the particles.

1460a17 ἡδύ … 1461a7 πρὸς deest Ar.
The last word extant in the translation is θαυμαστὸν, together with the implied copula ἐστί (= *al-ʿaǧīb fa-huwa*), and the translation resumes with the word ὃν (*man huwa*) at 61a7 (as indicated by Magoliouth in

the Latin translation of the Arabic text in his 1911 edition of the Greek, pp. 307–311, and not, as he had noted earlier, Margoliouth (1887) 71, from 60a19 to 6a18). Tkatsch I,278 note 17, suggests that the word ἡδύ also is represented by *min hawan* (for *man huwa*), but the problem is that *hawan* does not mean "pleasant" or "pleasurable", but "fancy" and "whim." In the one other place where the Greek text uses a word from the same root, ἥδιστον at 48b13, the translation is *laḏīḏ*, "pleasant, sweet." It is thus almost certain that the words *man huwa* represent ὂν in πρὸς ὄν. The missing text is accordingly from ἡδύ in 60a17 to, and including, πρὸς in 61a7.

In all likelihood, an entire folio (two pages) was missing from the exemplar from which the Paris manuscript was copied (cf. Tkatsch I,147–148).

1460b14–15 τῆς πολιτικῆς … δὲ] om. B, habet Π, et Σ (apud Avic.)

60b15 διττὴ ἁμαρτία Π, Σ (apud Avic.) : om. B

60b16 εἰ Φ, A^2 s.l., Paris. 2038 : ἡ A, Σ ut vid. (apud Avic.) : ἢ εἰ B
In this and in the following instance, Σ appears to have had the same text as A, reading the feminine article rather than εἰ. The Arabic translation is missing in the Paris MS due to the lost folio, but Avicenna's relatively close paraphrase of the passage suggests it. He says, in Dahiyat's translation (p. 119, slightly emended), "The poet errs in two ways, one essential …, and the other accidental, if the object of his imitation exists but its form has been distorted, as when a painter represents a horse …". This indicates that after stating the accidental nature of the poet's errors, the translation used by Avicenna did not have the two alternatives represented by the two conditional clauses, εἰ μὲν γὰρ … εἰ δὲ at 60b16–18, one each for the essential and the accidental errors respectively, but presented both of them as one clause explaining accidental errors and giving examples. This most likely happened because Σ read ἡ μὲν γὰρ … ἡ δὲ, a text which does not present these alternatives, like the readings in A. This also indicates, incidentally, that the lacuna conjectured by Vahlen at 60b17–if it was a lacuna—was also present in Σ, something which facilitated, due to the extreme brevity of the text of the first alternative, the misunderstanding in the Syro-Arabic translation.

60b17 εἰ Φ, Paris. 2038 : ἡ AB, Σ ut vid. (apud Avic.)
See the preceding comment.

1461a8 ἢ οὗ ἕνεκεν] om. Ar. | εἰ Φ : ἢ AB : ᾖ Σ ut vid.
The translation is rather obscure at this point. For οἷον εἰ/ἢ μείζονος ἀγαθοῦ it has, "like the good, that it is superior" (*bi-manzilati l-ḫayri annahū fāḍilun*), taking ἀγαθοῦ to be the subject and μείζονος the predicate in this clause (as noted by Tkatsch, p. II,22b note 52). This tends to indicate that the translator most likely understood the subjunctive of the verb to be, ᾖ, for ἢ in the Greek paradosis. In any case, it is clear that he did not see εἰ in his exemplar.

61a9 ἢ B Φ, A[2] : om. A, Σ ut vid.
The translation appears to be corrupt here. It reads, "so that the thing will be the sense of evil" (*ḥattā yakūna š-šay'u ma'nā š-šarri*), which indicates that the translator read the two phrases together, i.e., without the disjunction, as follows: ἵνα γένηται μείζονος κακοῦ (cf. Tkatsch II,64b). However, unless there was some kind of corruption that occurred in the transition from Syriac into Arabic, μείζονος also was misunderstood, despite the correct rendition in the preceding sentence. It is thus not clear what the translator understood from ημειζονος in his exemplar, though it appears that he did not perceive the disjunctive particle.

61a10 οἷον] A B[c], Σ (*bi-manzila*) | τὸ B, Σ (*mā*) : om. A

61a12 ὅς ῥ' ἤ τοι] [Σ] | ἔην B, Σ ut vid. : εἰ ἦν Π
Homeric particles are not something that one would expect the Arabic translation to reflect. The translator stuck to the essentials of the quotation from the *Iliad*, omitting even the name of Dolon: "also, when he [i.e., Homer] said that he was ugly of appearance" (*wa-ayḍan iḏā mā qāla innahū qabīḥu l-manẓari*). This rendering makes it likely that the translator read ἔην rather than εἰ ἦν, but given the looseness of the translation there can be no certainty.

61a14 τὸ[1] ci. Bywater : om. A, Σ
The Arabic takes εὐπρόσωπον as the direct object and εὐειδές as the indirect, which indicates that the translator did not read the article before εὐπρόσωπον: "they give the name of 'beautiful of face' to the beautiful of appearance" (*yusammūna l-ḥasana l-manẓari bi-l-ḥasani* [or *al-ḥasana* (cf. *al-mutaqabbala* in the next sentence); sic leg. pro *li-l-ḥasani* in cod.] *l-waǧhi*).

61a14–15 καὶ τὸ … ὡς] non vert. Ar.
For the omission in this passage see Tkatsch I,216a, who suggests that the omitted words are glossed as "one whose face is tolerated" (*al-mutaqabbala l-waǧhi*).

61a15–16 ἀλλὰ τὸ θᾶττον Ξ : non vert. Ar.

61a16 τὸ δὲ Ξ : τὰ δὲ Σ (*wa-ammā l-asmā'u*), ci. Spengel | κατὰ μεταφορὰν Π, Σ (*mina t-ta'diya*) : καταφορὰν B | πάντες ci. Graefenhan : ἄλλοι Ξ, Σ (*al-uḫar*)

61a17 ἀνέρες ἱπποκορυσταὶ Φ, Σ (*riǧāl … mutasalliḥa ʿalā l-ḫayl*) : ἀνέρες AB
For the Homeric citation the Arabic reads, "The other men and the gods, equipped with arms on horses, were sleeping heavily all night long" (*ar-riǧālu l-uḫaru wa-l-ālihatu mutasalliḥatan ʿalā l-ḫayli kānū raqqādīna l-layla kullahū*; thus in the correct text printed by ʿAyyād), which stands for ἄλλοι μέν ῥα θεοί τε καὶ ἀνέρες ἱπποκορυσταὶ εὗδον παννύχιοι. There is some ambiguity in the Arabic syntax in that it is not clear whether the expression "equipped with arms on horses" refers only to the gods or both to men and gods, but this is inconsequential in divining the Greek behind it. The expression itself is an etymological translation of ἱπποκορυσταὶ and does not point to any additional word in the Greek—the translator did not take the horses to be the object with which the men or gods were equipped, and thought that they were armed men or gods *and* on horseback.

What *is* different in the Arabic is that the two nouns, gods and men, are transposed. This is an anomaly which in all probability is due to the Syriac or Arabic translator. In Greek it makes no sense, and every Greek scribe would have known enough Homer so as not to misquote him at this place; so Σ almost certainly had the text reconstructed above. As for the Syriac and Arabic translator, there is no apparent reason for the transposition other than a pious wish to express the cosmic order, first gods then men. There are other instances in this translation of such transpositions without any substantive (i.e., textual) reason.

61a18 ἦ τοι edd. : ἤττοι A B : [Σ] | ἀθρήσειεν A : ἀθροίσειε B, Σ (*muǧtamiʿīna*)

61a19 τὸ A, Σ ut vid. : τό τε vel τότε B | τοῦ B : om. A : [Σ]
The Arabic certainly does not have τότε, but it cannot be ascertained that it does not have τό τε either since τε would not show in the translation.

61a19–20 κατὰ μεταφορὰν A, B², Σ (*bi-ḥasabi t-ta'diya*) : καταφορὰν B

61a20–22 τὸ γὰρ πᾶν … προσῳδίαν non vert. Ar.

61a22 Ἱππίας Ξ : ἵππους (*al-ḫayla*) ut intell. Ar. | δίδομεν δέ οἱ B², Σ (*wa-naʿmalu l-ḥīlata an yafūza huwa*) : δίδομεν δέοι A

The Arabic has, "we will provide the means that *he* achieve [his] boast" (*wa-naʿmalu l-ḥīlata an yafūza huwa bi-l-faḫri*), which renders the indicative first person plural form of the verb in Greek (δίδομεν) and the enclitic pronoun (οἱ). The Arabic manuscript does not have the diacritical points that establish the first person plural, but the morphology of the verb as we have it (معمل, *xʿml*, with the initial ridge of the word, represented by *x* in my transliteration, being either *n* or *y* or *t*) cannot represent either a Greek imperfect / imperative or participle, as a presumed reading διδόμεν(ον) in Σ would have required.

61a23 εὖχος ἀρέσθαι B, Σ (*an yafūza huwa bi-l-faḫri*) : om. Π | οὗ A : οὐ BΦ, Σ (*lā*)

The Arabic translates literally, "that *he* achieve [his] boast," selecting the equally valid meaning of "boast" for εὖχος rather than "wish, prayer."

For τὸ μὲν οὗ καταπύθεται ὄμβρῳ the Arabic has, "as for that, it is not poured over" (*wa-ammā tilka, fa-lā tunṣabbu*), the word "poured" apparently standing for καταπύθεται ὄμβρῳ, where the translator does not seem to have known the precise meaning of καταπύθεται. But he clearly understood a negative οὐ, while the rest of the sense is close enough to the Greek to ensure that the reading of the exemplar was identical with that in manuscript B.

61a24 θνήτ' ci. Morelius : θνητὰ AB : [Σ]

61a25 μάθον Ξ : μένον vel similia ut intell. Ar. | ἀθάνατ' B : ἀθάνατα A : [Σ] | εἶναι B : om. Π : [Σ] | ζωρά ci. Victorius : ζῷά Ξ, fort. Σ (ζωή ut intell. Ar.) | τε Ξ, Σ (*wa-ammā*) : τε ἃ ci. Gomperz | κέκρητο A : κέκριτο BΦ, Σ (*ḥukimat*), A²

The Empedocles quotation in Arabic reads: "Those who had remained immortal from before were growing suddenly mortal; as for life, it is that which was judged for them of old" (*kānū llaḏīna lam yazālū ġayra māʾitīna munḏu qaṭṭu yanšuʾūna min sāʿatihim māʾitīna, wa-ammā l-ḥayātu fa-llatī ḥukimat lahum qadīman*). This reflects an understanding of the following Greek: αἶψα δὲ θνητὰ (or: θνήτ') ἐφύοντο τὰ πρὶν μάθον (or:

μένον?) ἀθάνατα (or: ἀθάνατ᾽ εἶναι), ζωή τε πρὶν κέκριτο. The problematic areas are: θνητὰ or θνήτ᾽ cannot be decided from the Arabic, though given the presence of the former in the Greek manuscripts, it is most likely that it was also present in Σ. The word μάθον does not appear in the translation, which has instead, literally, "have not ceased," i.e., "remained," the usual locution in Arabic to express "still," i.e., in this case, "those who were still immortal." This meaning could, with some stretch of the imagination, be elicited from μάθον, though it seems more probable that the translator read, or understood, some other word like μένον. It is also not clear whether the infinitive εἶναι appeared after ἀθάνατα; the copula is normally not expressed in Arabic. Though again, given the absence of the word in the Greek manuscripts, most likely it was also absent in Σ. For ζωρά, Σ again followed the Greek manuscripts and had ζῶά, which the Syriac translator may have misread or misunderstood as ζωή, though the mistake could have also occurred in the transition from Syriac into Arabic. The last word, finally, was κέκριτο in Σ. The Arabic word expressing it in the Paris manuscript is written defectively حلمت, which all editors have pointed as خلقت, "it was created," though clearly this does not satisfy either Greek variant; the skeletal Arabic word ought to be read as حكمت, *ḥukimat*, "it was judged," translating κέκριτο.[85]

61a27 τὰ δὲ Π, Σ (*wa-ammā llatī*) : τὸ δὲ Β | τὸ A : om. Β : [Σ] | τὸν κεκραμένον Β, Σ (*innahū mumtaziǧun*) : τῶν κεκραμένων Π | φασιν Π : φησιν Σ (*yaqūlu*) : φασιν vel φησιν Β

Margoliouth (1887) 71 suggested, and Tkatsch II,103b–104a argued for a reading in Σ οἷον τὸν κεκραμένον as reflected in the Arabic *ka-mā* introducing the example, "*Just as* he says about the wine ..." (*ka-mā yaqūlu* ...). On second thought, Margoliouth changed his mind in his 1911 edition of the Greek in which he neither added οἷον in the text nor made any comment to that effect in the apparatus, though his Latin translation of the Arabic did include the sense of *ka-mā* as *quemadmodum*. Margoliouth may have been right to reconsider (pace Tkatsch II,102b): the presence of *ka-mā* in Arabic does not incontovertibly point to the presence of οἷον in Σ. There are two reasons. First, the context requires such an understanding of the connection between the two sentences in question—since τὸν κεκραμένον etc. is manifestly an example of the

[85] For the word *ḥakama* used to translate κρίνω see *WGAÜ Suppl.* I,594.

preceding κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῆς λέξεως—and just as modern translators have added a word to that effect in their translations, so could the Syriac or Arabic translator have done the same as a semantic elaboration without the presence of οἶον in Σ. Second, although οἶον would be palaeographically the most likely word to have dropped by haplography (before τὸν) out of Σ if it had existed there, the fact is that Arabic *ka-mā*, the word we have in the Arabic translation, does not so much render οἶον as it does καθάπερ or ὥσπερ: of the 84 occurrences of the word οἶον in the Greek text of the *Poetics* for which the Arabic translation is extant, only four (4) are translated by *ka-mā* in somewhat paraphrastic fashion (at 1450a37, 54a29, 61a16, and 61b12);[86] the terms most frequently used for οἶον are *miṯla (mā)* and *bi-manzilat*. Thus, if it is assumed that Σ did have a word before τὸν meaning "just as", as the Arabic translation implies, then that word would have been most likely either καθάπερ or ὥσπερ, in which case its omission from Σ becomes more difficult to account for palaeographically. Given these uncertainties, it is difficult to argue for the reading οἶον τὸν in Σ and safer to assume that *ka-mā* in the Arabic is an interpretive addition by the translator.

The syntax of the example itself, τὸν κεκραμένον οἶνόν φασιν εἶναι, is slightly misunderstood by the translator, though his version leaves little room for doubt about the underlying Greek. The Arabic has, "He says about the wine that it is mixed" (*yaqūlu fī š-šarābi innahū mumtaziǧun*) which would literally correspond to a presumed Greek, κεκραμένον τὸν οἶνόν φησιν εἶναι. It is much more likely that the the Syriac translator misjudged the agreement of the accusative article, or that Abū-Bišr found the (mis)interpretation of the Greek article in the Syriac version ambiguous and thus gave the Arabic as we have it, than that the article itself was misplaced in Σ. But it is clear that the article itself, correctly placed in Σ, was accusative singular. The attempt by Tkatsch II,103–104 to justify the reading τὸ κεκραμένον is based (misguidedly) on an analysis of the Greek rather than of the actual Arabic text; had the reading in Σ been τὸ κεκραμένον, as he claims, the Arabic would have said something completely different to render the neuter article.[87]

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[86] Tkatsch II,102a, last paragraph, lists the last two occurrences as examples of the use of *ka-mā* to translate οἶον, but fails to mention the other eighty occurrences in which it is not so used.

[87] For the different ways in which the Greek neuter article in its function as substantive maker is translated into Arabic (none of which is used here), see Gutas (2010) 426a–427a.

61a30 ὁ A, Σ ut vid. (*al-Ġānūmīdis*) : om. B | οἰνοχοεύειν B : οἰνοχοεύει Π et Σ ut vid. (*šarraba*) | πινόντων A^2, B : πίνων τὸν ut intell. Ar. (*yašrabu li-*) : πεινόντων A
With regard to the οἰνοχοεύειν/οἰνοχοεύει variants, the translator normally renders Greek infinitives with the particle *an* followed by the subjunctive,[88] e.g., "that he do". In this passage the Arabic has a verb in the perfect indicative, *šarraba*, which would indicate an indicative in the original Greek.

61a31 γε καὶ κατὰ Σ (*bi-ḥasabi … ayḍan*), ci. Heinsius : γε κατὰ A : κατά γε B

61a31–32 ὄνομά τι ὑπεναντίωμά τι Paris. 2038 : ὄνομα ὑπερεναντίωμά τι B, Σ (*al-ismu … ʿalā taḍāddin mā*)

61a32 δοκῇ B : δοκεῖ Π : [Σ] | σημαίνειν ἐπισκοπεῖν Π, Σ : ἐπισκοπεῖν σημαίνειν B
The Arabic has the word order in Π: "One/we should consider, in the case of the name when it signifies some contradiction, that it …" (*wa-yanbaġī an natafaqqada min amri l-ismi matā kāna dāll⟨an⟩ ʿalā taḍāddin mā, annahū …*).

61a33 σημήνειε B : σημαίνοιε A : [Σ] | οἷον τῷ ci. Bywater : οἷον τὸ A B, Σ (*bi-manzilati mā qīla inna*) | τῇ ῥ' non. vert. Ar.

61a34–35 ὡδὶ ἢ ὡδὶ ὡς B, ci. Vahlen : ὡδὶ ἢ ὡς A : ὡς Σ (*ḥattā*)

1461b1 ὅτι A^2 vel A^3 (in marg.), Paris. 2038 : ἔτι Σ (*wa-ayḍan*) : τί AB | ἔνιοι Σ (*al-afrād minhum*), codex (?) Victorii : ἔνια Ξ | τι B : om. Π Σ

61b2 εἰρηκότος B : εἰρηκότες A, Σ (*qālū*)

61b3–62a18 ἐπιτιμῶσιν … τέλος] om. B, Σ habet

[88] A standard procedure in Graeco-Arabic translations; see the examples collected in *GALex* I,408 ff., § A.

61b3 ἐπιτιμῶσιν A², Σ (*allaḏīna yubakkitūna*), Φ : ἐπειτιμῶσιν A | ᾖ fec. A², Σ (*huwa*), Φ : ἤ A | αὑτῶν Φ, Paris. 2038 : αὐτῶν A, Σ ut vid. (αὐτοῦ ut interpr. Ar.)
The Arabic takes ἐπιτιμῶσιν as the dative plural participle, and translates δοκεῖ ἐπιτιμῶσιν accordingly as, "those who criticize think …" (*yaẓunnu llaḏīna yubakkitūna*).

For ὑπεναντίον … οἰήσει the Arabic has, "that which he does is contrary" (*ḏālika llaḏī yaʿmaluhū huwa ḍiddun*), which indicates that the translator read the text as if it were, ὑπεναντίον ᾖ τῇ αὐτοῦ ποιήσει. The misreading of the last word as ποιήσει is clear; Tkatsch I,198a, who suggests this, nevertheless prefers to think that the Arabic word for "he does," *yaʿmaluhū*, is due to a miswriting of *yaʿlamuhū*, "he knows," for οἰήσει. But οἴομαι does not mean "to know" and is never translated by the verb *ʿalima*, as in the immediately following line (οἴονται), where it is properly translated by *yaẓunnūna*, "they think."

61b4 περὶ Ἰκάριον fec. A² ut vid., Paris. 2038 : περ ἰκάριον A ut vid. : [Σ]

61b6–7 Κεφαλλῆνες Paris. 2038 : κεφαλῆνες Π : [Σ]

61b7 αὐτῶν Σ (*ʿindahum*), rec. : αὑτῶν A | γῆμαι A Σ
The Arabic context makes it clear that *ʿindahum*, "among them", refers to the Cephallenians.

For an explanation of the mistaken rendering in Arabic of the correct Syriac translation of γῆμαι see Tkatsch I,214a.

61b8 εἶναι et Ἰκάριον non vert. Ar. | δι' ἁμάρτημα Φ, Σ (*min qibali anna ḏālika ḥaqqun*), ci. Madius : διαμάρτημα A
The Arabic translation of this line leaves out a couple of words, εἶναι and Ἰκάριον, and translates as if the text were, τὸν Ὀδυσσέα καὶ Ἰκάδιον ἀλλ' οὐ δι' ἁμάρτημα, "Odysseus and Icadius, on account that this is right" (*Ūdūsāwus wa-ʾĪqādiyus … min qibali anna ḏālika ḥaqqun*). The two names Icarius and Icadius are written almost identically in both Syriac and Arabic (cf. Tkatsch I,196b), so the name may have been omitted by the translator or any scribe as a doublet, while εἶναι may or may not have been seen by the translator—and in any case it is difficult to discern the Greek cupola in regular Syriac and Arabic. The translator thus took the negative before Ἰκάριον to apply to δι' ἁμάρτημα, and thus rendered οὐ δι' ἁμάρτημα, which he understood to mean, "not on account of a mistake," as "on account that this is right" through a negative/affirmative

metathesis. The preposition διά is clearly visible in the Arabic "on account that" (*min qibali anna*), as it is also in the Latin, *propter*. After ἁμάρτημα the Arabic translation skips the words, τὸ πρόβλημα εἰκός ἐστιν ὅλως δὲ, which, though it seems like an omission by homoioteleuton in the Greek, may just as well have taken place in the Syro-Arabic transmission.

61b8–9 τὸ πρόβλημα εἰκός ἐστιν ὅλως δὲ om. Ar.
See the discussion in the preceding entry.

61b11 πιθανὸν Paris. 2038 : πειθανὸν A, Σ (*iqnāʿ*)

61b11–12 ἢ ἀπίθανον καὶ δυνατόν om. Ar.

61b12 ἴσως γὰρ ἀδύνατον Σ (*wa-ḏālika annahū laʿallahū an lā yumkina*), prop. Diels 1888a, 159a : om. Π : lac. ci. Vahlen | οἷον Π, Σ (*ka-mā*) : οἵους Paris. 2038
Margoliouth (1887) 72 conjectures ἴσως δ' ἀδύνατον, but *wa-ḏālika anna* in this as in other translations regularly stands for γάρ. There is no evidence that would suggest that Margoliouth's conjecture could be possible.

For the *Poetics*, the statistics is as follows. The only surviving fragment of the Syriac translation of the work is 1449b24–50a9 (edited in Margoliouth (1887), Arabic pp. 77–79). In the Greek text of this passage, the particle δὲ occurs ten times, and γὰρ three. In the Syriac and Arabic translations these are rendered as follows:

δὲ	Syriac	Arabic
1449b28	not translated (= n.t.)	n.t.
29	*den*	*wa-ammā*
31	n.t.	n.t
34	*den*	*wa-*
35	*den*	*wa-ammā*
36[1]	n.t.	n.t.
36[2]	*den*	*wa-*
1450a3	*den*	*wa-*
5	*den*	*wa-ammā*
6	n.t.	n.t

γὰρ	Syriac	Arabic
1449b33	*ger*	n.t.
38	*ger*	*wa-ḏālika anna*
1450a4	*den*	n.t. (or *wa-*)

From this tabulation it is clear that δὲ, whenever it was translated at all in this version of the *Poetics*, was always rendered by *den*, while γὰρ was rendered by *ger* two thirds of the times. Although it appears that *den*, in the sense of "now, by the way",[89] could be used to translate γὰρ, δὲ was never translated by anything other than *den*. These two particles, being originally Syriac words,[90] had a wider range of meanings than the corresponding Greek particles, and hence the slight inconsistency in their use in the translations. In Syriac texts from the first few centuries of the Christian era there was "by no means a one for one equivalence of δὲ / *den*, γὰρ / *ger*,"[91] but by the eighth and ninth century when the Graeco-Syriac translations of secular Greek works were made for Arab patrons, Hellenizing trends in Syriac writing had become dominant and the inconsistency can be expected to be slight. The Arabic renditions of the Syriac show no irregularity: connective δὲ / *den* is translated by the conjunction *wa-*, "and," while δὲ / *den* in response to μὲν / *man*, by *wa-ammā*, "and as for." Similarly *ger*, when translating causal γὰρ, is rendered in Arabic by *wa-ḏālika anna*, "for, the reason is that."

For οἷον … ἔγραφεν, Arabic has *ka-mā faʿala*, "as he did;" had the reading in Σ been οἵους, one would have expected a plural pronoun following as object of the verb (*ka-mā faʿala-hum* or, using a more appropriate verb, *ka-mā waṣafa-hum*).

61b13 ὑπερέχειν A, Σ (*yatazayyadu wa-yafḍulu*) : *existere* (ὑπάρχειν ci. Minio) Lat.

61b15–16 ὑπεναντίως Σ (*ʿalā ṭarīq at-taḍādd*), ci. Twining : ὑπεναντία ὡς Π

61b16 οὕτω A, Σ (*hākaḏā*) : non vert. Lat.

61b17 εἰ A : εἷς (vel ἓν? cf. Tkatsch I,197b) ut intell. Ar. : non vert. Lat. ut vid.

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89 T. Muraoka, *Classical Syriac*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2005, Glossary.

90 See Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar* ([1]1904), Eugene, Or.: Wipf and Stock, 2003, 101n1.

91 S.P. Brock, "Some Aspects of Greek Words in Syriac," in A. Dietrich, ed., *Synkretismus im syrisch-persischen Kulturgebiet*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975, 80–108 [Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philol.-hist. Klasse, Dritte Folge, Nr. 96], at 89n49. See also S.P. Brock, "Greek Words in Syriac: Some General Features," *Scripta Classica Israelica* 15 (1996) 251–262, at 258.

61b17–18 καὶ ὡσαύτως … πρὸς ἃ αὐτὸς om. Ar.

61b18 φρόνιμος Paris. 2038 : φρόνιμον A^2 : φρόνημον A : [Σ]
The Arabic manuscript is defective and the text is lacunose at this point so the construction of the sentence is not clear enough to allow us to detect whether the Greek exemplar had the nominative or accusative of φρόνιμος. The Greek spelling with an η is a mistake that even if it had been present in Σ the word would have been correctly translated.

61b19 ἀλογίᾳ καὶ μοχθηρίᾳ ci. Vahlen : ἀλογία καὶ μοχθηρία Π : ἀλογία Σ, καὶ μοχθηρία om. Ar. ut vid.
The Arabic is rather corrupt in this passage. It reads, “Rebuke which is irrational is also correct when there is need either for the use of ? (undecipherable word) or for the use of speech” (*wa-l-intihāru llaḏī huwa lā nuṭqun huwa ayḍan mustaqīmun matā takūnu ḍarūratun immā ilā stiʿmāli l-x’wsh (?) aw ilā stiʿmāli l-qawli*). This implies the following understanding of the Greek, with the words and letters in curly brackets being omitted in the Arabic: ὀρθὴ δ’ ἐπιτίμησις καὶ ἀλογία {καὶ μοχθηρία} ὅταν {μὴ} ἀνάγκης οὔσης {μηθὲν} χρήσηται τῷ {ἀ}λόγῳ. It is not clear how the translator perceived that there is a disjunctive construction in the Greek which he rendered with the corresponding “either … or” construction in Arabic, just as it is not clear what the undecipherable word in the first leg of the disjunction, which seems not to have a correspondence in the Greek, is supposed to convey. In the place in which it is found in the sentence, it should stand for μηθὲν which is otherwise not translated. It has been thought by most editors that it might stand for μοχθηρία (Margoliouth (1887), Arabic p. 73 note i, alone thinks it stands for Αἰγεῖ), which is also not translated, but that is not its place in the sentence; besides, μοχθηρία is consistently translated in this work with the word *taʿab* (at 53a9, 15, 52b37), which does not fit the skeleton of the undecipherable word.

61b21 Αἰγεῖ ἢ τῇ ci. Victorius : αἰγειήτη A : [Σ] | $τῇ^2$ Σ (*fī tilka llatī*), ci. Vahlen : om. A
The Arabic manuscript has a tear in the place where Aegeus is mentioned.

61b25 σκεπτέαι Φ : σκεπταίαι A : [Σ] | εἰσὶν δὲ δώδεκα Π, Σ (*wa-hiya ṯnā ʿašara*) : secl. Tucker

61b26 βελτίων Φ, Paris. 2038 : βελτίον A : [Σ]

61b28 δ' ἤ Paris. 2038, Σ (*allaḏī huwa*) : *autem* Lat T, om. Lat O : δὴ A | ἀεί, λίαν ci. Vahlen : δειλίαν A : non vert. Ar.

61b30 κινοῦνται Σ (*allaḏīna yataḥarrakūna*), Paris. 2038 : κινοῦντα Π
The translator parsed the sentence wrongly, though the underlying reading is clear: "… he adds a lot of movement, for those who move are like those who play on …" (*yuzayyidu huwa* [sic leg.] *l-ḥarakata l-kaṯīrata, wa-ḏālika anna llaḏīna yataḥarrakūna fa-miṯlu llaḏīna yazmirūna fī* …), representing, αὐτὸς προσθῇ πολλὴν κίνησιν, κινοῦνται οἷον οἱ … αὐληταί.

61b34 πίθηκον Π : [Σ] : καλλίαν ci. Gudeman ex Ar. (*ġālās*)
The Arabic has *ġālās*, which is clearly, as Margoliouth (1887) 72 and in his textual note remarks, a transcription of the Syriac *galas*, the word for monkey which itself derives from the Greek καλλίας. So the question is, whether Σ had πίθηκον or καλλίαν, since in either case the Syriac would have translated it in the same way. Avicenna had a corrected copy, or at least one in which the meaningless (in Arabic) transcription *ġālās* was properly glossed, for he paraphrased accurately: "the ancients used to liken such [actors] to monkeys," using one of the common terms for monkey, *abū zanna* (Badawī 73.6 and note 6). But Avicenna's corrected text does not give us the readings in Σ, so the question remains, and it is impossible to tell with the information available.

1462a1 δ' οὗτοι Φ, rec. : δ' οὗτοι δ' A : [Σ] | αὐτούς A : αὐτοὺς Φ, edd. : [Σ]

62a3 οἳ Σ (*allaḏīna*), ci. Victorius : om. Π | σχημάτων τὴν Σ, fort. A, Paris. 2038 : σχήματα αὐτὴν fec. A^2 | δὲ A : non vert. Lat. et Ar.

62a4 εἰ Paris. 2038 : ἢ Π, Σ
The Arabic starts the sentence with, "as for" (*wa-ammā*) for ἢ οὖν.

62a7 ἐποίει Σ (*kāna yafʿaluhū*), Paris. 2038, ci. Gudeman ex Ar. : ἐστὶ Π | καὶ διᾴδοντα Σ (*yazʿaqu wa-yazmiru*), Paris. 2038 : καὶ διαδόντα A
The Arabic translates the two ὅπερ clauses in this line in identical fashion: "which is what Sosistratus used to do" and "which is what Mnasitheus used to do" (*wa-*⟨*huwa*⟩ *mā kāna yafʿaluhū S.* and *wa-huwa mā kāna yafʿaluhū M*). It thus appears that the Greek in Σ read ἐποίει in both places.

62a8 ὁ ὀπούντιος Paris. 2038 : ὁ πούντιος A : [Σ]
The manuscript has a tear right where the name starts, and what is visible of the rest is quite corrupt; it is not possible to determine the reading of Σ from this evidence.

62a9 μηδ' Σ (*wa-lā*), Φ (*neque*) : μὴ δ' A

62a10 ἐπετιμᾶτο fec. A[2] : ἐπιτιμᾶτο A : [Σ]

62a11 καὶ A, Σ (*wa-*) : non vert. Lat. | αὑτῆς Φ, Σ (*allaḏī yaḫuṣṣuhā*), Paris. 2038 : αὐτῆς A

62a12 ὁποία Σ ut vid., Paris. 2038 : ὁποῖα A
The Arabic essentially misunderstands the word, translating, "however many it is/they are" (*kam kānat*), with the feminine verb representing either a singular feminine or a plural subject; hence it is not possible to decide definitively whether the translator read the feminine or plural form in ὁποί/ῖα. However, given that the immediately preceding subject to which the verb would be understood to refer is feminine singular (in the Arabic, it is "making epics," i.e., ἐποποιία), the presumption is that the translator read ὁποία.

62a13 τά γ' ἄλλα Σ (*hāḏihi l-uḫaru*) : τὰ γάλλα A | τοῦτό γε A : *hocque* Lat. : [Σ]
The Paris manuscript is physically damaged at this place.

62a14 αὑτῇ Φ, Paris. 2038 : αὐτὴ A : om. Ar.

62a16 καὶ τὰς ὄψεις Π, Σ (*wa-n-naẓar*) : secl. Spengel

62a17 ἐναργέστατα Π : ἐνεργέστατα Σ vel Syr. (*akṯara fiʿlan*) | ἐναργὲς Π : ἐνεργὲς Σ vel Syr. (*lahā fiʿlun*)
It is not clear whether in both cases Σ had ἐναρ- rather than ἐνεργ-, but it is clear that the Syriac translator so read it, as reflected in the Arabic.

62a17–18 ἀναγνώσει ci. Madius (e codd. quibusdam?) : ἀναγνωρίσει Π, Σ (*istidlāl*)

62a18 τῷ Π : τὸ Σ ut vid., ci. Jortin, Winstanley | ἐν ἐλάττονι Π : ἐναλλάτον(τ)ι ut intell. Ar. (*muḫtalifa*)
The Arabic has for ἔτι τῷ … εἶναι: "Again, that which is varied in length, so that it be the end of the imitation" (*wa-ayḍani llatī hiya muḫtalifatun fī ṭ-ṭūli li-takūna āḫira t-tašbīhi wa-l-ḥikāyati*). "Varied in length" is clearly due to a misreading of ἐν ἐλάττονι as ἐναλλάτον(τ)ι; otherwise the clause "that which is varied in length" is intended to be the subject of the sentence and thus seems to point to the nominative rather than the dative in the contested article. The presence of the subjunctive, "so that it be" (*li-takūna*), is problematic, though it may be due to the infinitive εἶναι rather than the indicative which the translator might have expected.

1462b1 τῆς A, Σ : ἐκ B | ἥδιον ἢ ci. Madius : ἴδιον ἢ B, Σ (*ḫāṣṣa … akṯar min*) : ἡδονὴ Π
For τῆς μιμήσεως in Σ see the preceding comment.

62b2 οἰδίπουν θείη B Φ, Σ (*an yaḍaʿa … ʾŪdīfus*), A[2] : δίπουν θείη θείη A

62b3 τὸν fec. A[2], Φ : τὸ AB, Σ ut vid. (*allaḏī waḍaʿahū Sūfāqlis*) | ἡ Ἰλιάς Σ (*ʾīliyadā*), rec. : ἢ ἰλίας A[2] : ἢ ἰδίας AB | ἔτι ἧττον μία ἡ om. Ar. | μία ἡ ci. Spengel : ἡ μία AB
For τὸν Οἰδίπουν θείη τὸ Σοφοκλέους the Arabic has, "someone put Oedipus for that which Sophocles put" (*an yaḍaʿa l-insānu ʾŪdīfus li-ḏālika llaḏī waḍaʿahū Sūfāqlis*). "That which," *li-ḏālika llaḏī*, would seem to render τὸ.

After Ἰλιάς, the words ἔτι ἧττον μία ἡ are omitted in the Arabic, which resumes with 62b4, μίμησις.

62b5 μιμήσεως Ξ : ἐποποιίας ut interpr. Ar. (*ṣanʿat ʾifī*) | post γίνονται deficit Ar.
For μίμησις … γίνονται (62b4–5) the Arabic has, "in the imitation which belongs to the makers of epics; the sign is this, and this is that ⟨from⟩ the one [such] making of epics many tragedies indeed are generated" (*fī t-tašbīhi wa-l-muḥākāti llatī li-llaḏīna yaṣnaʿūna l-ʾifī; wa-l-ʿalāmatu hiya hāḏihī wa-hiya anna l-wāḥida min ṣanʿati ʾifī* [*annahā*] *kānat qad taḥduṯu madīḥātun kaṯīratun* ⟨*minhā*⟩). It is noteworthy that ὁποιασοῦν μιμήσεως is translated according to sense, "the one [such] making of epics," the translator substituting "making of epics" for the "mimesis" in the text, a legitimate interpretation of the passage (cf. "any [epic] representation," as translated by Janko). The final words, "from it" (*minhā*),

representing ἐκ in 62a4, started in all likelihood the following and last folio of the Arabic translation, which is missing in the Paris manuscript.

APPENDIX

ANALYSIS OF THE OPENING LINES OF THE ARABIC *POETICS*

Abū-Bišr's Arabic translation runs as follows, as preserved in the Paris MS (the phrases are numbered to facilitate the reference to them):

(1) innā mutakallimūna l-āna
(2) fī ṣināʿati š-šuʿarāʾi
(3) wa-anwāʿihā
(1) wa-muḫbirūna
(4) ayya quwwatin li-kulli wāḥidin wāḥidin minhā
(5) wa-ʿalā ayyi sabīlin yanbaġī an tataqawwama l-asmāru wa-l-ašʿāru
(6) in kānati l-fawāsis muzmiʿatan bi-an yaǧriya amruhā maǧrā l-ǧūdati
(7) wa-ayḍan min kam ǧuzʾin hiya
(8) wa-ayyamā hiya aǧzāʾuhā
(9) wa-kaḏālika
(1) natakallamu
(10) min aǧli kam allatī hiya mawǧūdatun allatī hiya lahā bi-ʿaynihā
(1) wa-natakallamu wa-naḥnu mutakallimūna fī hāḏā kullihī
(11) min ḥayṯu nabtadiʾu awwalan mina l-ašyāʾi l-awāʾili

The paraphrases by Avicenna and Averroes reproduce these lines in the following manner:

Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), *Kitāb aš-Šifāʾ, al-Manṭiq, aš-Šiʿr*, pp. 31–32 Badawī:

(1) ammā l-kalāmu
(2) fī š-šiʿri
(3) wa-anwāʿi š-šiʿri
(4) wa-ḫāṣṣatan kulli wāḥidin minhā
(5–6) wa-waǧhi iǧādati qarḍi l-amṯāli wa-l-ḫurāfāti š-šiʿrīyati
(6a) wa-hiya l-aqāwīlu l-muḫayyilatu
(7) wa-ibānati aǧzāʾi kulli nawʿin bi-kammīyatihī
(8) wa-kayfīyatihī

Ibn Rušd (Averroes), *Talḫīṣ Kitāb Arisṭūṭālīs fī š-Šiʿr*, pp. 55–56 Sālim:

(1) inna qaṣdanā l-āna t-takallumu
(2) fī ṣināʿati š-šiʿri
(3) wa-fī anwāʿi l-ašʿāri
(1) wa-qad yaǧibu ʿalā man yurīdu
(6) an takūna l-qawānīnu llatī tuʿṭā fīhā taǧrī maǧrā l-ǧūdati

(1) an yaqūla awwalan
(4) mā fiʿlu kulli wāḥidin mina l-anwāʿi š-šiʿrīyati
(5) wa-⟨bi⟩-māḏā tataqawwamu l-aqāwīlu š-šiʿrīyatu
(7) wa-min kam šayʾin tataqawwamu
(8) wa-ayyamā hiya aǧzāʾuhā llatī tataqawwamu bihā
(10) wa-kam aṣnāfu l-aġrāḍi llatī tuqṣadu bi-l-aqāwīli š-šiʿrīyati
(1) wa-an yaǧʿala kalāmahū fī hāḏā kullihī
(11) mina l-awāʾili llatī lanā bi-ṭ-ṭabʿi fī hāḏā l-maʿnā

The English translation of Abū-Bišr's Arabic as emended below, with the corresponding Greek passages for each phrase, is the following:

(1) We are now going to discuss [λέγομεν]
(2) the art of the poets [περὶ ποιητικῆς αὐτῆς τε]
(3) and its species, [καὶ τῶν εἰδῶν αὐτῆς]
(1) and we will report [λέγομεν]
(4) on whatever power each one of them has [ἥν τινα δύναμιν ἕκαστον ἔχει]
(5) and in which way tales and poems ought to be put together [καὶ πῶς δεῖ συνίστασθαι τοὺς μύθους]
(6) if poiesis is to be such as to be good; [εἰ μέλλει καλῶς ἕξειν ἡ ποίησις]
(7) also [on] of how many parts it is [ἔτι δὲ ἐκ πόσων]
(8) and of whatever [kind] its parts are; [καὶ ποίων ἐστὶ μορίων]
(9) similarly, [ὁμοίως δὲ]
(1) we will discuss [λέγομεν]
(10) other [things], as many as are to be found, which belong to it itself; [καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστι μεθόδου]
(1) and we will discuss all this [λέγομεν]
(11) inasmuch as we will begin naturally first from the first things. [ἀρξάμενοι κατὰ φύσιν πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων]

Avicenna:

(1) As for the discussion
(2) about poetry
(3) and the species of poetry
(4) —in particular, every single one of them—
(5–6) and the way of putting into good verse similes and poetic fables
(6a) (which are the statements that evoke images)
(7) and explaining the parts of each species quantitatively
(8) and qualitatively,

Averroes:

(1) Our intent now is to discuss
(2) the art of poetry
(3) and the species of poetry;
(1) indeed it is incumbent upon those who wish
(6) for the rules that are given about it to be good
(1) to state first

(4) what the function of each one of the species of poetry is,
(5) ⟨by⟩ what [things] poetic statements are put together,
(7) from how many things they are put together,
(8) whatever [kinds] their parts are by which they are put together,
(10) and how many are the classes of purposes which are aimed at by poetic statements;
(1) and to make their discussion on all this
(11) from the first [things] which we have by nature on this subject.

A comparison of the Arabic translation with the Greek and the two paraphrases by Avicenna and Averroes yields the following additional results (above, pp. 308–309):

The translation renders μύθους (5–6) with the hendiadys, "tales and poems" (*al-asmār wa-l-ašʿār*), which Avicenna interprets as "similes and poetic fables" (*al-amṯāl wa-l-ḫurāfāt aš-šiʿrīya*) and Averroes with a simple "poetic statements" (*al-aqāwīl aš-šiʿrīya*). The Arabic version extant in the Paris manuscript curiously does not translate the word ποίησις in 47a10 but transliterates it, *fawāsis* (<*poiēsis*). Averroes had this very text at his disposal, and since *fawāsis* is gibberish in Arabic, he (or possibly the scribe of the *Poetics* manuscript he used) read it as *qawānīn*, "rules," which has a similar form in Arabic script (without dots, فواسس >فواس); Margoliouth (1887), Arabic p. 1, note c, had already recognized this. Avicenna, on the other hand, gives a correct rendition of the meaning of this sentence (πῶς δεῖ … ἡ ποίησις), "how μύθοι are to be put together if the poetic composition is to be good," by saying, "the way of putting into good verse similes and poetic fables." "Putting into verse" is the meaning of the word *qarḍ* in Avicenna's text, which clearly renders ποίησις. This means that Avicenna was reading a revised and corrected version of the Abū-Bišr translation, one in which the word *fawāsis*, unintelligible for an Arabic speaker, was emended to *qarḍ*.

For the Greek text περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστι μεθόδου (10) we have in the Arabic manuscript the following: *min ağli kam allatī hiya mawğūdatun allatī hiya lahā bi-ʿaynihā* ("on account of how many which are found which it has itself"), a manifestly corrupt passage; it makes little sense in Arabic, to say nothing of the implausible grammar, even for this translation. This entire first paragraph of the Arabic *Poetics* has a few obvious errors, such as the repetition of the redundant *wa-natakallamu* immediately following this sentence (which has been rightly secluded by all editors), as well as the repetitious *allatī hiya* in this sentence. These repetitions give the impression that the fault for the most part lies with this particular scribe and this manuscript rather than with the original

translation of Abū-Bišr from Syriac. This being so, it is advisable to try and emend the passage.

To begin with the phrase *min aǧli*, which ought to render περὶ τῶν ἄλλων, it is obviously to be emended to *fī uḫara*, as suggested by Tkatsch in the apparatus to his text (note 3). The translator uses the word *uḫar* to translate ἄλλων throughout the treatise (v. 47b12, 48b7, 56a33, 58a28, 58b18, and 59b37, for which also cf. Tkatsch I,210a). That the word *uḫar* was in the original text is also evident from the fact that the relative pronoun(s) and the word that follows (*mawǧūdatun*) are feminine, to agree with *uḫar*. Without it, the feminine gender of these words after *kam*, which comes next, could not have been justified. The word *kam* itself is clearly part of the expression that renders the Greek word ὅσα, but it is not alone. In this treatise, this Greek word is mostly translated by the phrases *bi-miqdār*, *bi-mablaġ* (54b3–4, 55a29, 58a9–11, 59a23), but also by other circumlocutions, as the context requires. In one of these instances (59a1), ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα is rendered by, *wa-ašya' kaṯīra min amṯāl hāḏihī kam kānat* ("and many things, the likes of these, however many they were"). This makes it probable that a similar turn of phrase was also used here and that the word *mawǧūdatun*, which otherwise would have no reason to be there (see further below), belongs to this phrase. If, in addition, we seclude the repeated relative phrase that comes right after *kam*, *allatī hiya*, on the grounds that it was inserted in the sentence in the wrong place (some editors tend to seclude the second occurrence of the phrase rather than the first one, as I do here), then we can get a tolerably accurate rendering of ὅσα as, *kam* ⟨*kānat*⟩ *mawǧūdatan* ("as many as are to be found").

Thus emended, this sentence in the original Arabic translation of Abū-Bišr most likely read,

wa-ka-ḏālika natakallamu fī uḫara kam ⟨*kānat*⟩ *mawǧūdatan allatī hiya lahā bi-ʿaynihā* [*wa-natakallamu*] *wa-naḥnu mutakallimūna fī hāḏā kullihī min ḥayṯu nabtadi'u* ⟨*bi-ṭ-ṭabʿi*⟩ *awwalan mina l-ašyā'i l-awā'ili*

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1 *fī uḫara* conj. Tkatsch: *min aǧli* cod. | *kānat* add. Gutas; cf. 59a1 | *allatī hiya* before *mawgūdatan* om. Gutas, after *mawǧūdatan* secl. ʿAyyād ‖ 2 *wa-natakallamu* secl. edd. beginning with Margoliouth ‖ 3 *bi-ṭ-ṭabʿi* add. Gutas from Averr.

INDEX OF GREEK WORDS OF THE *POETICS*

This is a modified version of Bywater's Index of Greek Words. I have included words printed in the text, even if excised, but (with a few exceptions) not variants. (Wartelle's *Lexique de la "Poétique" d'Aristote* has fuller references, although one may not always agree with his interpretations and classifications.) The first two figures in Bekker's pages are omitted (e.g. 1447a8 = 47a8). The sign + after a reference means that the word recurs more than once in the context.

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